THE LANDS OF SAINT AMBROSE

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Previously published volumes in this series are listed at the back of the book.

Volume 44

The Lands of Saint Ambrose

Monks and Society in
Early Medieval Milan

by

Ross Balzaretti

Contents

Part II. Dossiers

Part III. Conclusion

List of Illustrations

Figures

Maps

Tables

Acknowledgements

This book has taken a long time to write and so there are many people to thank. In alphabetical order they are Karen Adler, Stuart Airlie, Penelope Allison, Annamaria Ambrosioni (†), Frances Andrews, Michele Baitieri, Irene Barbiera, Julia Barrow, Anthony Blane, Alan Booth, Tom Brown, Leslie Brubaker, Raffaella Bruzzone, Helena Carr, Roberta Cevasco, Neil Christie, Roberta Cimino, Harry Cocks, Eddie Coleman, Marios Costambeys, Katy Cubitt, Peter Darby, Wendy Davies, Gwilym Dodd, Joyce Ellis (†), Georgina Endfield, Nick Everett, Ros Faith, Christine Fell (†), Paul Fouracre, Richard Goddard, Caroline Goodson, Edoardo Grendi (†), Guy Halsall, Bernard Hamilton, Liz Harvey, Robert Hearn, Colin Heywood, Richard Hodges, Jonathan Jarrett, Judith Jesch, Michael Jones, Paul Kershaw, Don Sandro Lagomarsini, Cristina La Rocca, David Laven, Christina Lee, Wolf Liebeschuetz, Chris Loveluck, Rob Lutton, Mark MacDonald, Simon MacLean, Lucila Mallart, Carole Mallia (†), Robert Markus (†), Becky Maryan, Alison McHardy, Tim McManus, Rachel Middlemas, John Mitchell, Bob Moore, John Moreland, Diego Moreno, Jinty Nelson, Elisa Occhipinti, Marco Panato, Mark Pearce, Teresa Phipps, Pietro Piana, Clare Pilsworth, Chiara Ravera, Susan Reynolds, Gabriella Rossetti, Alessandra Rovelli, Raffaela Sarti, Valerie Scott, Elina Screen, Susanne Seymour, Trish Skinner, Pauline Stafford, Laura Grazia di Stefano, Rachel Stone, Claire Taylor, Faye Taylor, Alan Thacker, Theresa Tyers, Elizabeth Tyler, Maiken Umbach, Giacomo Vignodelli, Cinzio Violante (†), Charles Watkins, Geoff West, Chris Wickham, Ian Wood, Alex Woolf.

Some of these people deserve special mention. This book has emerged from my doctoral thesis which was supervised by Wendy Davies and Chris Wickham between 1985 and 1988. I owe them both a huge debt for being such stimulating readers then, and for much support since. The thesis was examined by the

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the notes and the bibliography.

AA	*Archivio Ambrosiano*
AB	*The Annals of St Bertin*, trans. J. L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991); *Les Annales de Saint Bertin*, ed. by F. Grat, J. Vielliard, and S. Clémencet (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964)
AdSM	Archivio di Stato di Milano
AF	*Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. by F. Kurze, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 7 (Hannover: MGH, 1891); *The Annals of Fulda*, trans. by T. Reuter (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)
Aist.	*Aistulfi leges*, in *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. by F. Bluhme and A. Boretius, MGH, Leges in Folio, 4 (Hannover: MGH, 1868)
AM	*Archeologia medievale*
ARF	*Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. by F. Kurze, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 6 (Hannover: MGH, 1895)
ASL	*Archivio storico lombardo*
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Medii Aetatis* (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–99)
Bibl. Ambr.	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan
BIIM	*Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo*
CDA	*Codice Diplomatico Sant'Ambrosiano delle carte dell'ottavo e nono secolo*, ed. by A. Fumagalli (Milano: Amoretti, 1805)
CDL	*Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae*, ed. by G. Porro-Lambertenghi (Torino: Regio Typographeo, 1873), cited by document number

CDL, i, ii, iii	*Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, vols i and ii, ed. by L. Schiaparelli (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1935); vol. iii, ed. by C. Brühl (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1973)
CISAM	Centro italiano di studi per l'alto medioevo
ChLA	*Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Giovanna Nicolaj (Dietikon-Zurich: Graf, 1954–2017)
Cortesi	M. Cortesi, ed., *Le pergamene degli archive di Bergamo a. 740–1000* (Bergamo: Polis, 1988)
CSSH	*Comparative Studies in Society and History*
DBI	*Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 88 vols to date (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1925–); online at <http://www.treccani.it/biografico/elenco_voci/a> (all references are to the online version)
DCA	*Dizionario della chiesa ambrosiana*, 6 vols. (Milano: Nuove Edizioni Duomo, 1988)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Forcella	V. Forcella, ed., *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo viii ai giorni nostri*, 8 vols (Milano: Tipografia Bortolotti di Giuseppe Prato, 1893)
Forcella & Seletti	V. Forcella and F. Seletti, eds, *Iscrizioni cristiane in Milano anteriori al ix secolo* (Codogno: Cairo, 1897)
G&H	*Gender & History*
HL	Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum*
IMU	*Italia medioevale ed umanistica*
ISTAT	Istituto nazionale di statistica, <http://www.istat.it/it/istituto-nazionale-di-statistica>
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
Liut.	*Liutprandi leges*, in *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. by F. Bluhme and A. Boretius, MGH, Leges in Folio, 4 (Hannover: MGH, 1868)
MD	*Il museo diplomatico dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano*, vol. i, ed. by A. R. Natale (vol. ii never published) (Milano: A. Pizzi, *c.* 1970), cited by document number
MGH AA SRG	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores antiquissimi Scriptores rerum Germanicarum

Natale & Piano	A. R. Natale and P. Piano, eds, 'Chartae saeculi x (901–928): Nota di Pierluigi Piano', *ASL*, Ser. 12, 5 (1998–99), 405–86
NCMH, II	*The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, ed. by R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
Niermeyer	J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976)
Notizario	*Notizario della Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici della Lombardia* (Milano: Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici della Lombardia, 1981–), cited by date of issue
NRS	*Nuova rivista storica*
Olivieri	D. Olivieri, ed., *Dizionario di toponomastica Lombarda*, 2nd edn (Milano: Ceschina, 1961)
P&P	*Past & Present*
Pandolfi	L. S. Pandolfi, *Pergamene registro dal VII al XI secolo*, unpublished handlist of charters, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, Milano, cited by catalogue number
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLAC	*Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. I, ed. by E. Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881); vol. III, ed. by L. Traube (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886–96); vol. IV, pt 3, ed. by K. Strecker (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923)
QF	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
QS	*Quaderni storici*
Rach.	*Ratchis leges*, in in *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. by F. Bluhme and A. Boretius, MGH, Leges in Folio, 4 (Hannover: MGH, 1868)
RMR	*Reti Medievali Rivista*, <http://www.rmojs.unina.it/index.php/rm> (online only)
Roth.	*Edictum Rothari*, in in *Leges Langobardorum*, ed. by F. Bluhme and A. Boretius, MGH, Leges in Folio, 4 (Hannover: MGH, 1868)
RSI	*Rivista storica italiana*
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
Settimane	*Settimane di studio di Spoleto*
SM	*Studi medievali*
SSDM	*Studi di storia e diplomatica di Milano*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
VA	*Vita Ambrosii*, Paulinus of Milan

Part I
Small and Large Worlds

Introduction to Part I

The ancient Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan houses the bodily remains of Ambrose, one of the great figures in Christian history. Today the church remains a site of active religious practice housed within one of the most impressive Romanesque buildings in Italy, much frequented by tourists. Many memories of Late Antiquity haunt the old church which was constructed for Ambrose to house the remains of Saints Gervasius and Protasius alongside his own bones which have lain there in a prominent position since he died in AD 397. Until the eighth century the history of the building is difficult to trace and the nature of religious practice there is obscure. There is little doubt that a local cult of Ambrose developed alongside that of the many martyr saints venerated in the city, even though he was a confessor rather than a martyr. It is likely, although evidence is mostly lacking, that the archiepiscopal church developed significant property holdings in the region alongside those which are reasonably well documented in Sicily and to a lesser extent in Liguria.[1] If the extent of any such property in this specific instance remains unclear, the fact of the importance of church property as a social phenomenon throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages is not.[2] This book examines this issue through an extended case study of one monastery, Sant'Ambrogio in Milan.

---

[1] Pasini, 'Chiesa di Milano e Sicilia'; Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 92–95. On church property in late Antiquity, see Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church'; Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth*, pp. 48–51; and for the later period Devroey, *Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque*, pp. 274–78.

[2] Herlihy, 'Church Property on the European Continent', p. 83 (Italy).

For churches as for others in these complex societies ownership was not a straightforward concept.[3] Some anthropologists have argued that 'all societies are characterized by an *internal* divide between a short-term transactional order, in which impersonal, competitive individualistic behaviour is the norm, and a long-term order in which the stakes are the reproduction of the moral values of the society'.[4] Matthew Innes has argued strongly that property in the Carolingian world was indeed a moral issue with practices of reciprocity as a central feature.[5] Like so much that has survived from Carolingian times, it is important to remember that such attitudes were by and large confined to a small educated elite, which understood 'the ideology of sharing' from biblical reading.[6] According to numerous written 'rules' monks were definitely not meant to have personal property and little time for avarice.[7] Ironically, their monasteries sometimes had huge patrimonies, justified in the end by being 'owned by God' or by saints like Ambrose, those mediators with the divine. For other groups in society having a moderate amount of wealth was legitimate, at least according to Alcuin writing at the turn of the ninth century.[8] Yet even outside the monastery lay individuals had relatively little freedom of movement to dispose of any property as they wished, as many different parties could have interests in a single plot of land.[9] For example, a father might intend to pass a plot of land which he had purchased by charter to his son, but first bequeath a lifetime interest in it to his wife meaning that the transfer would be delayed, perhaps for some time. If the son once he had acquired it then decided to become a monk, the land might be donated to his monastic community, removing it from any family control. That donation could be challenged by siblings or cousins. The plot might be leased out by the monastery to a tenant who thus could acquire some 'rights' in it, especially if he farmed there over a long period of time.[10] How 'possession' related to 'ownership' was therefore poten-

---

[3] Most lucidly debated by Susan Reynolds: *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 53–64; *Before Eminent Domain*, pp. 4–7; 'Tenure and Property in Medieval England', pp. 563–64.

[4] Hann, *Property Relations*, pp. 32–33.

[5] Innes, 'Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire', p. 251.

[6] Ganz, 'The Ideology of Sharing', p. 26, on the tension between actual individual possession and the ideology of communality.

[7] Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, pp. 116–21.

[8] Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, p. 120.

[9] Hann, *Property Relations*, p. 6.

[10] Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St Peter*, pp. 1–5 on the social meaning of property.

tially very complicated especially in our period as it can be argued with some force that private property, in the sense of outright and absolute ownership by an individual, is an entirely modern development.[11]

The processes by which property was transferred from the laity to the church have recently been highlighted as one of the most important developments of Late Antiquity in western Europe, although the bulk of the transfer was over by *c*. 700.[12] At Milan property transactions of this sort are documented only *from c*. 700, and the pace noticeably changed when in the 780s a monastery which explicitly followed the sixth-century Rule of St Benedict was founded alongside the basilica (on a site which is now part of the Catholic University). The growing community was soon patronized by Charlemagne (in 790) and became a focus for gift-giving by Carolingian elites in the decades thereafter. The process of acquiring land by gift, sale, and exchange engaged the new institution in complex ways with the established wider community, and it is the history of this engagement that is the overriding question tackled in this book.[13] The focus is social rather than strictly religious because the main evidence to have survived at Milan is the corpus of property deeds ('charters') which the monks carefully preserved as single-sheet parchments throughout the first two hundred years of their community's existence (and well beyond),[14] although it is likely that these texts had some sort of sacred meaning to the monks which is now lost to us.[15] These documents when analysed from a microhistorical per-

---

[11] Linklater, *Owning the Earth*, pp. 9–23.

[12] Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church', pp. 46–50 (on Italy). Wood suggests that the church held much less property in Lombard than in Byzantine Italy. This may be true but, as he notes, the Lombard evidence is very thin. The loss of the early medieval episcopal archive of Milan is fairly typical, but very significant given the importance of the city in the late Roman period. Cf. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 9–55.

[13] Wide-ranging studies of the social impact of property holding by early medieval monasteries include Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, esp. pp. 47–50; Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 224–26; Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 184–21.

[14] In order of publication the main editions used in this book are *CDA*, *CDL*, *MD*, Natale & Piano, and *ChLA*. Other specialist editions are cited when relevant. The identification of place names is far from straightforward in charters of this period. In general, I have accepted those given in *MD* and consulted *ChLA*, as these are the most reliable editions available. Those given in *CDL* (used here for most of the tenth-century texts) are often unreliable, and the identifications offered by Olivieri have usually been preferred. Place names which cannot be identified with modern settlements are retained in Latin in italics.

[15] None of these charters were written into gospel books, for example, as was the case in

spective can illuminate in considerable detail the ins and outs of village politics, the nature of monastic land-management, and the responses of the wider community to monastic activity of this sort. This micro-level activity was part of much deeper historical processes which had sustained the complex development of Milan at the macro level since the time of Ambrose. These processes included the developing cult of Ambrose,[16] local religious practice especially monastic,[17] the continuation of urban life,[18] and the ever-changing interactions between city dwellers and the countryside.[19] From the eighth century the monastic community newly founded in honour of Ambrose acted as a mediator through which many of these connections came about and were maintained up to the year 1000 and beyond.[20] The conclusion to this book (Part III) pulls everything together to argue that the formation of a hinterland around Milan was a process which took half a millennium and was the result of a profound dynamic connection between town and country partially observable now through property transactions initiated and preserved by the community of Sant'Ambrogio. Monasteries were essential agents of this macro-level change.[21]

Like fourth-century Milan, its twenty-first century successor is a vibrant city with a deep, complex, but relatively neglected distant past. Archaeological evidence traces its settlement history back to the fifth century BC, and yet, especially for those who have neither visited nor lived there, Milan remains the epitome of modernity, a fast-moving place known for its style and fashion.[22] Modern 'cultural tourists' tend to ignore it, preferring instead Rome, Venice, Florence, or almost any other Italian city. In many ways touristic indifference is perfectly understandable as Milan's historic urban fabric has suffered calamitous

---

'Celtic' practice: Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Societies*, Essay XI ('The Latin Charter-Tradition in Western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the Early Mediaeval Period'), p. 260. In Italy the practice was known at Bobbio: Ferrari, 'Nuovi frammenti documentari Bobbiesi'.

[16] Boucheron and Gioanni, *La Mémoire d'Ambroise de Milan*, pp. 211–84.

[17] Jenal, *Italia ascetica et monastica*.

[18] Brogiolo and Gelichi, *La città nell'altomedioevo italiano*.

[19] Banaji, *Theory as History*, pp. 215–50.

[20] Sennis, 'Monasteries and Cities' is one of the rare essays which investigate the role of monasteries in the continuation of urban life in this period. Cf. Carver, 'Commerce and Cult'.

[21] Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries'.

[22] Pearce, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro* for the prehistory of the region. Contrasting impressions of contemporary Milan are given by Foot, *Milan since the Miracle* and Nove, *Milano non è Milano*.

Figure 1. Destruction of Sant'Ambrogio, August 1943.
Contemporary photograph. No known copyright.

losses in modern times. How would visitors now realize that Milan was one of
the most impressive cities of the later Roman world, when hardly any evidence
of its fourth-century splendour can be seen above ground today? Its impres-
sive later medieval buildings — most famously its vast statue-clad Duomo with
its origins deep in our period — have fared better, although many were badly
damaged during the Allied bombing campaign of August 1943, including the
basilica church of St Ambrose (Figure 1). The city's vast network of canals — a
remarkable part of the built environment — which even in the 1930s could
make comparison with Amsterdam just about plausible,[23] has almost entirely
disappeared, apart from the commercialized and much-altered *Naviglio* area.

'Success' is what explains this distinctive historical development of loss.
Milan has been Lombardy's largest, wealthiest, and most dynamic city for very
many centuries and has expanded steadily to cover the surrounding country-

---

[23] The photographs and paintings reproduced in Pagani, *Milano com'era*, pp. 64–65, 73, 88,
106–07, 113, 138–39, 155, 166–69, 179–80, and 238, document this long-gone past.

side (a true 'hinterland'),[24] drastically altering its character. Much change is quite recent. Rapid industrialization at the end of the nineteenth century was very significant. In 1871 the recorded population of Milan was 199,009;[25] by 1936 it had grown to 1,068,079, and since 1945 the city has again expanded enormously.[26] The population in 2011 of the 134 communes of the Provincia di Milano was 3,038,420, and the metropolitan area itself 1,242,123.[27] Neighbouring towns have grown at similar rates.[28] Consequently, Lombardy is now the most densely populated region of Italy (1,954 inhabitants per square kilometre in Milan province), and the landscape near the towns especially is one of the most thoroughly humanized in the whole of Europe. Indeed, many of the early medieval village sites in which the monks of the community of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan had property are now part of the greater Milan conurbation (e.g. Cologno Monzese) or have been swallowed up by agro-industries (e.g. Inzago). This exceptional level of economic development is not an exclusively modern phenomenon. One recent assessment of Italian demographic patterns in the Middle Ages argued that Milan was probably the largest city in Western Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century with as many as 150,000 residents, a maximal figure which is disputed.[29] Certainly its *contado*

[24] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 115–22.

[25] Naval Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook Series: Italy*, p. 496. The population of the whole Commune di Milano was 291,000 (del Pianto and others, *La popolazione italiana dal medioevo a Oggi*, table 5, p. 278).

[26] Wartime aerial photographs can be found at the National Collection of Aerial Photography, e.g. <http://ncap.org.uk/frame/1-1-216-1-227?search=keywords/Milan&free-text=yes> [accessed 4 August 2017], taken 16 August 1944, and at the British School at Rome, 'The Ancient Monuments of Italy' (class mark 609.4.ITA 9/11), Milan G.S.G.S. 4164, sheet 45/2464, taken 8 August 1943. These show clearly the scale of the city at this time, as well as how much green space there was quite close to the modern centre.

[27] Provincia di Milano, <https://www.istat.it/it/files/2013/06/Urbes_2013_Milano_V_7.4.pdf> [accessed 3 October 2018], using ISTAT figures.

[28] Before the 1939–45 war the population of Lombardy was 5,836,342 (1936–37 resident population, Naval Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook Series: Italy*, p. 494). At the same period the populations of the towns which figure significantly in this book were as follows: Milan, 1,068,079; Bergamo, 73,534; Monza, 55,471 (currently 120,651); Como, 42,484; Pavia, 40,208; Varese, 23,348; Lecco, 19,784 (Naval Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook Series: Italy*, p. 499).

[29] Pinto, 'Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del XVI secolo', p. 36. This figure is controversial because it depends upon calculations made from Bonvesin de la Riva's 'On the Marvels of Milan', a laudatory but detailed description of the city in 1288 (*De magnalibus mediolani*, ed. by Corti).

was the largest in Italy at that point.[30] Although the city and its region passed through the Black Death relatively unscathed, the population declined in the early modern period due to other plagues and famines.[31] The city expanded rapidly once again in the later sixteenth century, and the resultant land reclamation, drainage, and canalization brought more and more land under arable cultivation including the new crops of rice and maize, now so characteristic of the local landscape.[32] The density of population across the region was high even then.[33] Even further back in the early Middle Ages Milan's relative size stands out. Pinto estimates that *c.* 950 it had around twenty thousand inhabitants: within Europe only Byzantium and almost certainly Rome were larger.[34] In the late Roman period the city had certainly been very much larger than this: Rome had around five hundred thousand people in AD 450; Milan certainly had far fewer by then but could well have been as large as that in the late fourth century.[35] Needless to say an urban population of that scale would have had a transformative impact on the local environment and landscape, which can be seen, for instance, in the extensive centuriation around the city, notably immediately west and east of Milan, directly west of Monza, north of Pavia, and around Lodi Vecchio.[36]

Surviving medieval visual representations of the city tend to confirm these demographic impressions, although none are authentically early medieval images. There is a well-known representation of 'Milan' (the word 'Mediolanum' identifies it) within the large apse mosaic in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio.[37] This is, however, merely an image of the Milanese Basilica of San Lorenzo in which Ambrose is celebrating Mass and may (or may not) date

Russell, *Late Ancient and Medieval Population*, p. 69, arrived at a figure of 80,000 from the same evidence. Cf. Racine, 'Milan à la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle'.

[30] Gamberini, *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan*, p. 20.

[31] Pinto, 'Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del XVI secolo', p. 51 and table 2 (p. 53).

[32] Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, I, 72–75, and Sella, *Crisis and Continuity*, pp. 1–23.

[33] Delano-Smith, *Western Mediterranean Europe*, p. 13.

[34] Pinto, 'Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del XVI secolo', p. 23. Recent estimates for Rome have ranged from 35,000 (Krautheimer) to 5,000 (Hodges) with Wickham settling on 25,000 (Wickham, '*The Romans According to their Malign Custom*', pp. 162–64).

[35] Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, p. 109.

[36] Talbert, *The Barrington Atlas*, Map 39; Pearce and Tozzi, 'Map 39 *Mediolanum*'.

[37] Capponi, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 13–14.

to the ninth century. Early modern maps and drawings plot more effectively the city's remarkable growth since the medieval period.[38] The earliest-known drawings of the city — symbolic rather than literal in character — accompany a medieval manuscript of a work by the prolific fourteenth-century Milanese writer Galvano Fiamma (1283–1344).[39] The earliest map survives in another mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Chronica maius* of Fiamma (written *c.* 1330).[40] Like most maps of this period it is highly schematic to modern eyes but importantly highlights the walls as the crucial point of both physical and symbolic definition. A splendid plan of the city made in 1573 shows how the city maintained its basic street plan between the fourth century and the sixteenth despite the various 'sackings' of the medieval period. This image demonstrates very clearly how successive medieval enlargements of the city followed the Roman street axis. A fantastical view of 1735 characteristically emphasizes the contrast between the intramural monumental city and the extramural suburbs and countryside. These early modern images show just how great was the urban sprawl of Milan even before modern industrialization. However, a significant amount of the intramural area was deliberately devoted to cultivation, as in other Italian 'countrified cities'.[41]

Continued population pressure across the centuries as documented by these types of evidence has had the result that direct observation of the current landscape is not really helpful at all in studying the ancient and medieval landscape of the modern province except perhaps in the still wooded, less densely populated northern hills of Brianza and beyond. Past landscapes have largely disappeared under concrete and monoculture crops.[42] Rivers — the most important from east to west are the Olona, Lambro, and Adda — have in some sections been canalized, sent underground, and their courses significantly modified, notably in Milan itself. Innovative work in the field of historical ecology which has helped to recover some early medieval landscapes across the Mediterranean from the Ligurian Apennines to the island society of Crete will never be possi-

---

[38] Carozzi, 'Milano' reproduces some of the most important.

[39] Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 1438.

[40] Bibl. Ambr., MS A. 275 inf., fol. 93ᵛ. The plan is reproduced in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, p. 126 (fig. 122), and by David, 'La "Cronica extravagans de antiquitatibus civitiatis Mediolani" di Galvano Fiamma', p. 99. Cf. Carozzi, 'Milano', p. 245.

[41] The phrase is used by Delano-Smith, *Western Mediterranean Europe*, pp. 131–35.

[42] Pearce, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro*, p. 19; Pearce, Calandra, and Diani, 'Riso amaro'.
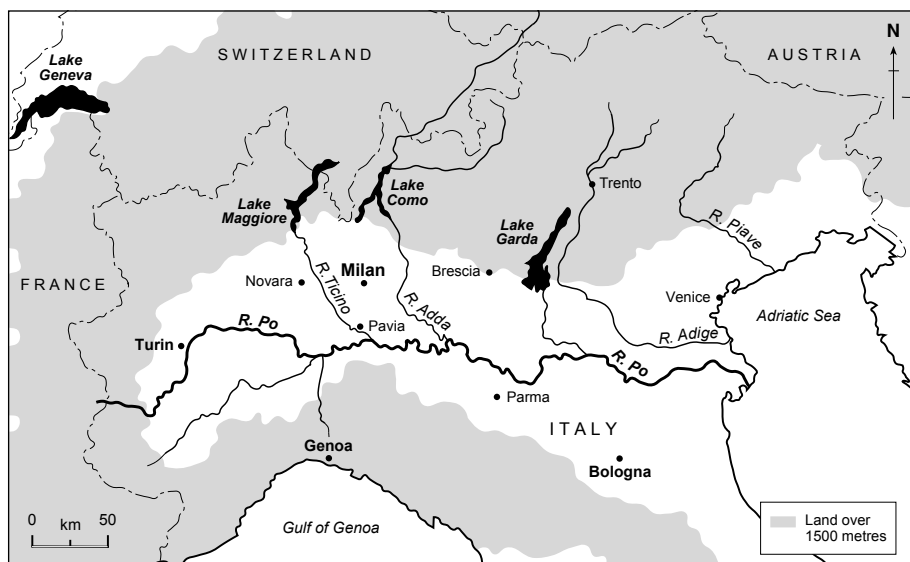
Map 1. The Po Valley, river system, relief, and main towns. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

ble in this part of the Po Plain (Map 1).[43] Although charters recording property transfer do provide relevant information (which is used in later chapters),[44] and there is some bioarchaeology,[45] it is insufficient to reconstruct thoroughly the landscape and ecology of early medieval Milan and its region.[46] Milan's real success as an urban society has simply obliterated it, and this is a fundamental fact about its dynamic historical development. Since direct observation is so problematic for this region the only relevant evidence for past landscapes remains

[43] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 13–34 (with references). A useful sketch of the discipline of historical ecology is Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 45–49. The classic geography of this region is Delano-Smith, *Western Mediterranean Europe*.

[44] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*; Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 66–72; and Squatriti, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 179–80.

[45] Brogiolo and Castelletti, *Archeologia a Monte Barro*; Baker, 'Society and Economy', pp. 408–72 especially; Rottoli, 'Reflections on Early Medieval Resources in Northern Italy' and 'Crop Diversity between Central Europe and the Mediterranean'.

[46] Gabba, 'Condizioni fisico-geografiche della fortuna di Milano'; Pearce, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro*, pp. 19–23.

written texts and the materiality recovered by archaeological work: neither is ideal as will become clear.

Milan has been much visited by foreigners during its long history, by some for its remarkable archives, libraries, and other collections. The city was much frequented in the eighteenth century, especially by British 'Grand Tourists'. Most of those who wrote down something of their experiences in the city recorded platitudinous 'insights' about the 'important' buildings and peppered their accounts with casual racist comments about 'dirty Italians' and such like, characteristic of the newly forming culturally imperialist attitudes of northern Europeans towards southerners.[47] Even so, the eccentricities of some British visitors led them every so often to express an interest in the early medieval Milan of their imaginations. The agronomist Arthur Young (1741–1820), certainly among the most eccentric of these travellers but also among the more sympathetic towards Italians, visited Milan in the autumn of 1789 on his third tour of continental Europe: 'I went to Milan, where through the kind attentions of the Abate Ammorette, a true lover of agriculture and a friend of its professors, I was introduced to a variety of persons who afforded me much intelligence'.[48] In the published account of his tours, the famous *Travels in France and Italy* issued in 1794, he reported the following:

> At the Abbey of St Ambrose, built in the ninth century, and which has round arches, anterior to gothic ones, they showed us a MS. of Luitprandus [*sic*], dated 721, and another of Lothaire, before Charlemagne. If they contained the register of their ploughs they would have been interesting; but what to me are the records of gifts to convents for saving souls that wanted probably too much cleaning for all the scrubbing-brushes of the monks to brighten?[49]

This seems to be the first reference in English to a specific charter (discussed in Chapter 1) from the collection of property deeds ('charters') kept by the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio. In answer to Young's point it will be shown in what follows that this important collection in effect does constitute 'the register of their ploughs' and that those very same 'records of gifts' so despised by Young permit a deep reading of the agricultural world of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries in ways in which he would have found hard to conceive.

---

[47] Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia*, pp. 371–92; De Seta, *L'Italia del Grand Tour*, pp. 61–105.

[48] Betham-Edwards, *The Autobiography of Arthur Young*, p. 176.

[49] Young, *Travels in France and Italy*, I, 217. Cf. Fowks Tobin, 'Arthur Young, Agriculture, and the Construction of the New Economic Man'.

Reference to previous British visitors is one way of apologizing for being yet another outsider studying this remarkable city. Such a position has pros and cons. Peter Burke, in his thoughtful book *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, alludes to the 'outsiders and insiders' within historical evidence drawing on the testimony of travel writing and personal (or 'ego') documents.[50] Historians themselves have also been categorized as insiders and outsiders.[51] Most of us are probably insiders who study the past life of our own societies. Some historians are outsiders who explore a culture which is not their own. Those like myself whose backgrounds straddle different cultures (in my case Anglo-Italian) perhaps tend towards instinctive comparison in their research practice,[52] and additionally my knowledge of Ligurian evidence has helped by comparison to understand what is distinctive about Milanese history (and vice versa).[53] This history, of course, has been mostly studied by Italian historians, many of them Milanese scholars who benefit from familiarity with the customs and traditions of Milanese life, as well as easy access to its many wonderful archives and libraries. Perhaps, however, they sometimes find it difficult to distance themselves from these traditions? Those of us who are outsiders can suffer from the opposite problem — a tendency to iconoclasm which can be too severe, coupled with less frequent access to local evidence. Nonetheless, there are advantages in seeing with the eye of the outsider, despite all that has been written on the problematic nature of the ethnographic approach to human culture which that 'eye' (or gaze) represents.[54]

This book is a regional monograph that may seem, in this post-postmodern world, a rather old-fashioned work of an empirical kind. No apology is necessary because this is the first book in English (or any other language) about early medieval Milan to survey the full range of surviving evidence. The late Cinzio Violante covered some of the same material in his *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* published in 1953. A very influential book within Italian scholarship, it was never translated into English despite being warmly welcomed by its English-language reviewers.[55] Violante proved very selective in his choice

---

[50] Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*, pp. 15–24.

[51] Ginzburg, 'Microhistory'.

[52] Wickham, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', p. 1.

[53] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria* and Balzaretti, 'Chestnuts in Charters'.

[54] Comaroff and Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*; Geertz, *Work and Lives*.

[55] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1953 edn); Bullough, 'Review of Violante' and Lopez, 'Review of Violante'. Subsequent editions were issued in 1974 and 1981.

of charters and barely mentioned the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio which had preserved them, although he to a degree rectified that in later work.[56] Importantly he located the city's history firmly within key wider debates of his time, notably the economic interaction of city and countryside (including a 'revival' from the mid-eighth century), the nature of agricultural estates (the manorial system or *sistema curtense*), and the feudalization of urban society between *c.* 950 and *c.* 1020.[57] His pupil Gabriella Rossetti produced a remarkable volume on the village of Cologno Monzese,[58] but since then there has been little in Italian which has used the charters of Sant'Ambrogio extensively.[59] Sixty years on there are still relatively few monographs in English about any of the Italian regions in the early medieval period, and this book is intended to join those of Brown (1984), Wickham (1988), Skinner (1995, 2013), and others in helping to modify the Franco-centric bias of Anglo-American work in the early medieval field.[60]

For the period after *c.* AD 800 the archives of Milan are rich and the amount of interpretation which has been devoted to them by insiders is prodigious (as explained in Chapter 2). It is argued in that chapter that knowledge of these earlier traditions is essential as a means to understand how modern interpretations originated, particularly how the figure of St Ambrose fascinated generations of historians which is self-evidently important for the history of the monastery dedicated to him as of Milan as a whole.[61] In the light of these traditions it has

---

[56] Notably, Violante, 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese' and 'Bénéfices vassaliques e "livelli" dans le cours de l'évolution féodale'.

[57] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 3–88, 89–122, 123–210 respectively.

[58] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo* and 'Ancora sui "loca sanctorum"'. Professor Violante, who died in 2001, and Professor Rossetti were both extremely helpful to me at an early stage of my research.

[59] A partial exception is Anna Maria Rapetti, *Campagne Milanesi* and 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*'. Most recent is the unpublished work of Michele Baitieri: 'Gli arcivescovi di Milano in età carolingia' and 'Il Milanese tra Longobardi e Carolingi'. He is now researching a PhD on the nature of pastoral care in the archdiocese of Milan under my supervision.

[60] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*; Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*; Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*; Skinner, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora*; Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*; Arthur, *Naples from Roman Town to City-State*; Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*.

[61] Cf. Wood, *The Modern Origins of Early Medieval Europe*, ch. 7, on the Risorgimento and the Lombards which in passing discusses Lodovico Muratori, who discussed some Sant'Ambrogio charters in his work.

been a challenge to say anything new: but that is, nonetheless, what has been attempted. Partly this is because every historian is a product of the preoccupations of their own time, so new questions emerge in every generation. Since the 1980s — when the research for this book began — History as a discipline has been substantially changed by the insights of gender theory, narrative, and microhistory among much else. Early medievalists have both responded to these issues but also led the way, especially in the field of gender history.[62] Although this book is anchored firmly in the early medieval evidence (and so is in that sense empirical) it does not treat this evidence in an unproblematic (or empiricist) fashion. A single theory through which to explain this particular corner of the early medieval past has not been employed because no theory, including Marxism which has produced many convincing studies of this period,[63] can cope with the fragmentary nature of early medieval evidence. Instead a range of theories has helped to shape the interpretation of sources offered. This is the case not simply for the written sources which are the main focus of the book but also for the archaeological evidence which has greatly increased during the period of research and writing, and Archaeology is of course itself a highly theorized discipline (more so than History). Archaeological research in this region has effectively rendered obsolete many earlier books and articles about Milan in this period.[64] However, unlike my book about *Dark Age Liguria*, I have not here taken my interpretative lead from Archaeology because the research results achieved for Lombardy remain patchy because of the very specific patterns of regional and local development outlined above.[65] It will always be hard to construct convincing historical narratives from archeological material of this fragmented nature, and so instead the human stories which the charter evidence reveals have been emphasized in what follows. These issues of evidence are addressed in Chapter 1 which surveys the available material for Milan in the early medieval period, with a focus on the charters but set within the context of other genres.

[62] See the works of Jinty Nelson, Cristina La Rocca, Régine Le Jan, and Trish Skinner in the Bibliography. My connection with the journal *Gender & History* since 1993 has been especially formative.

[63] Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*; Wickham, 'The Other Transition'; Rigby, 'Historical Materialism'; Banaji, *Theory as History*; Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*.

[64] See especially the numerous studies by Silvia Lusuardi Siena and Marco Sannazaro cited in the Bibliography.

[65] Milan barely figures in Augenti, 'Identità urbane in Italia tra IX e XI secolo', a thoughtful overview of the state of play.

Charters can be regarded as one of the most characteristic genres of early medieval evidence, especially useful for writing social history, as has been recognized since the eighteenth century.[66] Modern approaches were being established when my doctoral research, on which this book draws, began late in 1985. Recognition of their importance within the English-speaking community of early medievalists is in great measure due to the work of Wendy Davies and Chris Wickham, and reading the Milanese charters in the light of their work on early medieval Wales, eastern Brittany, Tuscany, Rome, and northern Spain has helped me to approach my material with the 'innocent eye' of the outsider.[67] Anyone who uses charters has to work out how each surviving text was composed, written down, and subsequently preserved. This work often involves delving deeply into previous research document by document. The meaning of different forms of charters and the importance of reading these in context has been the object of much fascinating research by French scholars.[68] Some of their work has dealt directly with charters discussed in this book.[69] In the specific example of the Milanese charters, there is a great deal of research from the sixteenth century on which is examined in some detail in this book because its main assumption — that Milan was important simply because of its connection with St Ambrose — has become something of a master or grand narrative in the history of this period, which needs to be dealt with before any new reading of these charters can take place. The Milanese example is also very instructive about the power of tradition within historical research. Until relatively recently, for example, charters tended to be viewed as single artefacts or texts simply to be mined for 'facts', a custom which robbed them of almost all their meaning.[70] Early medieval 'private' charters should not be read singly but

[66] Davies and Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes* in Early Medieval Europe, *Property and Power* in the Early Middle Ages, and *The Languages of Gift* in the Early Middle Ages; Davies, *Small Worlds*; Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*; Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*; Brown, *Unjust Seizure*; Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*; Brown and others, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*; Jarrett and McKinley, *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*.

[67] Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm*; Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*; Davies, *Small Worlds*; Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*; Davies, *Acts of Giving*; Wickham, *Medieval Rome*; Davies, *Windows on Justice*.

[68] Bougard, 'Actes privés et transferts patrimoniaux', 'Écrire le procès', and 'Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio'; Feller, 'Précaires et livelli'.

[69] Bougard, 'Le Credit dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge'; Feller, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'VIII secolo' and 'Dette, strategies matrimoniales et institution d'heritier'.

[70] Although Sarah Foot has done sterling work in this field, by clarifying how charters are

as sequences of texts which relate to particular families and/or places (often appropriately termed 'dossiers').[71] Even in cases where only single texts survive for a particular place or person it should probably be presumed that these were once part of a dossier. The Sant'Ambrogio monks preserved a series of such dossiers (kept together in their archive), and these make up the main evidence used here. Inevitably, historians have to cope with the gaps which abound in such sequences, and in the Milanese case, there is a very large gap for the whole of the period *c.* AD 400–*c.* 700. As this is a period for which charters do survive elsewhere in Europe (not many but enough),[72] the fact that they have not survived at all at Milan is probably significant in some way, particularly given the survival of an important collection of early charters from Ravenna and its region covering this period.[73] Ravenna, like Milan, was a former imperial capital. Certainly it does mean that in this book the period before 721 (the date of the earliest authentic Milanese charter) appears as a (lengthy) preface to what came after. Despite this pattern of documentation it was decided that late antique Milan could not be left out of an analysis of these charters because the slow transformation of the deep legacies of Rome which culminated in the distinctive 'early medieval' civilization of the ninth and tenth centuries which they represent can be argued in many respects to have happened by *c.* 800.[74] More specifically, the saint (Ambrose) and basilica which housed his relics (Sant'Ambrogio) had acquired so much meaning within early medieval Milanese society *before* the foundation of the Benedictine community of Sant'Ambrogio in the 780s that the earlier history of the site ought not to be ignored: its monks and before them the clerics who serviced the basilica were responsible for preserving memories of Ambrose and probably had some part in controlling access to his shrine. Therefore Chapter 3 is intended to provide necessary context for what follows rather than to be comprehensive of itself, which would be impossible given the amount of research into that period.

---

always narratives and should be read as such: Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters', esp. p. 45.

[71] Feller, Gramain, and Weber, *La Fortune de Karol* and the essays cited above in notes 68 and 69 are model studies in this regard.

[72] Ganz and Goffart, 'Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections'; Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church'. Edited in the numerous volumes of *ChLA*.

[73] Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*; Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 190–204; Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 207–09.

[74] As argued in very different ways by Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages* and Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*.

The period *c.* 800–*c.* 980 lies at the heart of this study, and this is a time from which charters have survived in impressive numbers from across Europe, including Milan. The latter form the basis for Chapters 4–9. Chapter 4 examines the foundation of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in the eighth century and its political history thereafter. Chapter 5 deals with the urban nature of Milan itself in these three centuries. Following on from Part I, Chapters 6–9 (Part II) deal with village societies, respectively Campione, Gnignano and Cologno, the Valtellina, and Limonta and Inzago. The concluding Part III (Chapter 10) makes the case that the monks of Sant'Ambrogio had a major role in developing and maintaining a hinterland around Milan but also sounds a note of caution about overplaying the local dominance of this monastery and its famous saint. After all some charters within its collection document the activities of other churches and of laypeople who had no dealings with Milan, most especially the intriguing collection relating to Isola Comacina, the small island in Lake Como with a big history.[75] They reveal a complex world which seems to have been largely closed to Sant'Ambrogio as many other undocumented parts of the region must also have been. Indeed it is likely that lack of documents really does indicate lack of monastic involvement.

Charters documenting property exchange are the main evidence used throughout this book. They provide a wonderful insight into this distant past. However, not everyone would agree, and the strongly expressed concerns of some scholars about the worth of 'documents' need to be addressed head on. The late Jacques Le Goff and Armando Petrucci, for example, demonstrated much more than unhappiness with traditional *methods* in their critique of documentary evidence as for them documents were *innately* untruthful in and of themselves.[76] Some historians working with more recent evidence under the influence of Derrida (and his attack on 'Archive Fever') have also questioned the role of archives in historical research reacting against what they see as the fetishization of documents by most historians, in particular those preserved by the state in its own archives (such as the Italian Archivi di Stato).[77] This view in some ways harks back to the eighteenth-century criticism of antiquarians such as Count Giorgio Giulini (who published a multivolume work about early

---

[75] Carminati and Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense' have recently advanced an interesting argument that 'Isola comacina' in many documents of this period signified not this island but a small territory around Lecco. This will be dealt with below, in Chapter 10.

[76] Le Goff, 'Documento/Monumento' and Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*.

[77] Steedman, *Dust*, pp. 1–12.

medieval Milan in the 1760s) by self-styled historians such as Pietro Verri, a debate which took place precisely in a context of newly forming state interest in archives and libraries and in the case of Milan in the reorganization and rehousing of its state archive at the outset of the nineteenth century.[78] In the most extreme challenges to traditional historical methods — mostly made by philosophers of history sympathetic to postmodernist ideas — it can seem that the whole notion of historical *evidence* as traditionally 'found' in archives is done away with. However, here there is often confusion between the evidence as such and the way in which it is used by historians when they write History. The complex views of Hayden White and Frank Ankersmit on historical narrative, for example, are often misrepresented and caricatured and are best approached via reading the leading exponents themselves rather than second-hand attempts to explain them.[79] These approaches to narrative are thought-provoking, as some other early medievalists working with charters have found.[80] As few historical philosophers actually deny that evidence exists and given that a lot of recent historical theory is not practically useful to historians when they come to write history, in the end postmodern attacks on 'the archive' are neither useful nor particularly inspiring. More worthwhile are other developments in the practice of history especially women's and gender history, microhistory, and historical ecology. Although these three may seem a rather eclectic grouping of approaches which sit rather awkwardly together, each has proved useful in coming to grips with certain aspects of the charter evidence, perhaps because each approach provides a powerful challenge to traditional empirical historical methods.

   Perhaps the most important challenge to traditionally researched and written historical narratives has been women's and gender history, which is sometimes seen as part of a wider general shift towards identity history.[81] The analy-

---

[78] See <http://www.archiviodistatomilano.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/144/storia-del-larchivio-di-stato-di-milano> [accessed 17 July 2017]. For the history of Italian archives and their current management, see Bertini, 'Les Archives en Italie'.

[79] Mitchell, *On Narrative*; White, 'The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory'.

[80] Balzaretti and Tyler, *Narrative and History*, pp. 1–9; Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form' and 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters'; Jarrett, 'Introduction', pp. 4–7.

[81] The field is huge. Classics in their very different ways are Bennett, 'Feminism and History'; Bennett, *History Matters*, especially pp. 6–29; Smith, *The Gender of History*; Scott, 'Gender'; Scott, 'Women's History'; Scott, *Genere, politica, storia*; Shepard and Walker, *Gender and Change*. See further the editorials in *G&H*, 1.1 (1989), pp. 1–6; 6.1 (1994), pp. 1–6; 11.3 (1999), pp. 415–18.

sis of 'Anstruda's charter' undertaken in the opening chapter suggests that this approach can be traced back at least in certain respects to the interpretations of Muratori and Fumagalli in the latter half of the eighteenth century, although there is no evidence whatever of feminist impulses on the part of either of these men. The history of Anstruda opens Chapter 1 to demonstrate at the outset how significant gender can be as a tool with which to read charters,[82] especially as gender in particular has been rather slowly taken up by Italian historians.[83] Particularly inspiring is the work of those early medievalists who have used gender as a way to reread well-known evidence, most particularly Janet Nelson, Pauline Stafford, and Régine Le Jan,[84] and by some more recent work.[85] As an example of the potential impact of gendered analysis on this region's early history it need only be noted that women were hardly ever mentioned in Violante's *La società Milanese* or by other local historians. Women have been routinely left out of major works on early medieval Italian history including some of the most influential, and although that situation has now significantly changed,[86] the analysis of men remains largely ungendered.[87]

Another critique of traditional historical methods and approaches has come from Italian microhistory and related fields such as *altagsgeschichte* and 'history from below'.[88] Although it is not really possible to write early medieval

---

[82] Nelson, 'The Wary Widow'; La Rocca, 'Angilberga, Louis II's Wife and her Will'; Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan'.

[83] Sarti, 'Oltre il *gender*?'. There is currently much excellent work by Italians in this field, on which see Di Cori, 'Postfazione'.

[84] Nelson, *Courts, Elites, and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages*; Stafford, *Queens, Dowagers and Concubines*; Stafford, *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power*; Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société*.

[85] Airlie, 'Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II'; Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*; Nelson, Reynolds, and Johns, *Gender and Historiography*; Joye, *La Femme ravie*.

[86] Wickham, *The Mountains and the City* and 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy'. There is much excellent recent work on women in early medieval Italy including La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', 'I testamenti del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione', *Agire da Donna*, and 'Angilberga, Louis II's Wife and her Will'; Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*; MacLean, 'Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood'.

[87] Balzaretti, 'Masculine Authority and State Identity in Liutprandic Italy', 'Sexuality in Late Lombard Italy', and 'Lombard Fathers' for Lombards; Stone, '"Bound from Either Side"' and 'In Search of the Carolingian "Dear Lord"' for Carolingians.

[88] Again a huge field with much variation in approach: Grendi, 'Micro-analisi e storia sociale'; Ginzburg, 'Clues'; Ginzburg, 'Microhistory'; Grendi, 'Ripensare la microstoria?'; Levi,

microhistory in the cultural sense practiced by Carlo Ginzburg because the early medieval evidence is neither sufficiently detailed nor of the right sorts,[89] a great deal can nonetheless be gained from reading such microhistories. The overall thrust of this practice — that the study of the 'normal exception', to use Edoardo Grendi's formulation, can lead to the complete revision of conventional political narratives and understandings of social interaction — is highly relevant to charter evidence, especially when it survives in the forms of 'dossiers' in which it is possible to trace in some detail the activities of individuals and their families. When these are read closely in a microhistorical way conventional interpretations can be completely revised.[90] This entails paying careful attention to how the 'small' can illuminate the 'big', and how the 'clue' (*spia* in Italian) can undermine the 'master narrative'. The use which later medievalists and early modernists have made of inquisitorial records can provide a guide to reading the proto-inquisitorial records found in the Sant'Ambrogio collection.[91] The *inquisitio* — a record of a process in which state representatives questioned locals — may have generated similar problems in understanding as the processes employed by the medieval Inquisition. Might Carolingian questioners too have received answers from peasants that they did not expect or understand?[92]

My own understanding of the theories and practices which underpin successful historical research has therefore been most influenced by the works cited in the last few paragraphs and by the sometimes conflicting approaches they take, although more traditional approaches still have value.[93] The other significant influence has been the work of scholars whose primary evidence base is not written text but material culture including historical ecologists,[94]

'On Microhistory'; Raggio, 'Microhistorical Approaches to the History of Liguria'; Revel, *Giochi di scala*.

[89] Ginzburg's famous study of Menocchio in *The Cheese and the Worms* is impossible to replicate with early medieval evidence, although West, 'Visions in a Ninth-Century Village' is a stimulating attempt in that direction.

[90] For example, the rereading of Berengar's charters in Rosenwein, 'The Family Politics of Berengar I' and Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 137–55.

[91] Collected in Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 17–25.

[92] Taylor, *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy*. I am grateful to my colleague Claire Taylor and our research student Tim McManus for insights on this issue.

[93] Hobsbawm, *On History*; Southern, 'The Truth about the Past'.

[94] Moreno, *Dal documento al terreno*; Grove and Rackham, *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe*; Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*; Balzaretti, Pearce, and Watkins, *Ligurian*

landscape historians, and archaeologists.[95] However, as historical ecology research is difficult to do successfully in Milan and its hinterland because of the complete physical transformation (one might say 'destruction') of much of the area in modern times and work which has barely begun where it is more feasible — around the northern lakes for example — it has not been possible to apply historical ecological principles or methods to the analysis of the corpus of evidence with any rigour.[96] However, in general terms I have been very much influenced by the field work which I have undertaken in the Val di Vara (Eastern Liguria) since 1995 under the guidance of Charles Watkins, Diego Moreno, Don Sandro Lagomarsini, and Roberta Cevasco.[97] Understanding how to 'read landscapes' (although landscape is, of course, a contentious term in this context) has helped me to envisage what sorts of Milanese landscape *might* lie behind the seemingly impenetrable charter formulae and within the great mass of archaeological reports I have tackled. In particular, I have found Diego Moreno's concept of *decifrazione realistica* (or the 'realistic decoding' of written documents) extremely useful even though he originally applied it to documents of a much later period (Ancien Regime or 'early modern') than those studied in this book. This approach is directly at odds with that described by Petrucci: for Moreno every document is not a lie as documents do relate directly to the real world, but they have to be decoded realistically in the light of what is known from all available sources of information (not just written sources as palaeographers and traditional historians tend to do) for this

---

Landscapes; Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*; Cevasco, *Memoria verde*; Watkins, *Trees, Woods and Forests*.

[95] Barker, 'The Italian Landscape in the First Millennium AD' and *A Mediterranean Valley*; Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins*, *Light in the Dark Ages*, and *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*; Moreland, 'Wilderness, Wasteland, Depopulation' and *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*.

[96] Scazzosi, 'Lombardy' describes very well work which has been done in several areas where historic rural landscapes have survived, notably the Banina hill (pp. 225–27), near San Colombano al Lambro and my father's village of Inverno, and the *marcite* (pp. 232–35), a distinctive water meadow landscape irrigated year-round, found in several places (e.g. Morimondo and Vigevano, south-east of Milan) and certainly developed by Cistercian houses later in the medieval period. In neither of these areas is Sant'Ambrogio recorded with property in our period, although it did have land in Carpiano, for example, where *marcite* landscapes have also been recorded. As the *marcite* fields partially align with Roman centuriation, some continuity is possible across the early medieval centuries.

[97] Cevasco, *La natura della montagna*.

to become clear.[98] The emphasis on realism is of course something repeatedly stressed by those microhistorians with whom Moreno has worked for many years.[99]

As far as archaeology is concerned it is a necessity for the period before charters have survived,[100] and useful for later periods where it exists. I have tried to understand how archaeological research is undertaken, what its limitations are, and where points of disagreement lie among archaeologists.[101] The amount of serious archaeological theory is such that it is impossible for an outsider to keep up with it, let alone really understand it without the relevant technical training and field experience, although the occasional lucid work does help.[102] Nonetheless, because the evidence of material culture is impossible to ignore even in a book largely about written evidence, I have attempted to gather together the results of as wide a range of archaeological investigations as possible, so that parts of this book reflect fairly current archaeological views of Milan and its hinterland over a long period.[103] Only rarely, of course, does Archaeology shed direct light on particular charters. The most important case is the remarkable recent discovery of Lombard-period graves in the ex-church of San Zeno in Campione d'Italia on Lake Lugano.[104] A good case has been made that some of these remains are those of individuals mentioned in the surviving eighth-century charters (see below, Chapter 6). This exciting example shows how great the potential is for further collaborative work between historians and archaeologists specifically on the charter evidence of this period. Excavations of known sites of Sant'Ambrogio's estates are unfortunately very

[98] Moreno, *Dal documento al terreno*, p. 38; Moreno, 'Domestico *vs* selvatico'; Moreno, 'Activation Practices'.

[99] Torre, 'Un "tournant spatial" en histoire?', p. 1140.

[100] Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne* is the best synthesis. Wickham, 'Early Medieval Archaeology in Italy' is essential, as are the many articles of Gian-Pietro Brogiolo.

[101] Moreland, 'Method and Theory in Medieval Archaeology in the 1990s', *Archaeology and Text*, and *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*. For the archaeology of early medieval Milan and its region the work of Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Gisella Cantino Wataghin, and Silvia Lusuardi Siena, largely in article form, stands out.

[102] E.g. Yoffee and Sherratt, *Archaeological Theory*; Bintliff and Pearce, *The Death of Archaeological Theory?*.

[103] Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re' is a really good survey of an understudied period.

[104] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia'.

few.[105] The single example of Capiate di Olginate,[106] although hardly conclusive, demonstrates the potential importance of such work in the future.[107]

As will become all too clear in what follows, none of these approaches to the study of the past is slavishly adhered to in this book which may be a bad case of fence-sitting. However, the latter is not my intention as it is abundantly clear both that no one theory will successfully explain the complex evidence of the Sant'Ambrogio charter corpus and that no single method of analysis can be applied to it without resulting in one-dimensional conclusions. This does not mean that challenging theories are dismissed out of hand; far from it as will be seen in later chapters.[108] But it does mean that neither Le Goff's view that 'every document is a lie' nor Petrucci's that documents represent the 'illusion of authentic history' is accepted here.

Charters, although often regarded as 'dry' legal documents, have captured my imagination above all because they shed light on the histories of 'ordinary' people in ways in which few other sorts of evidence do for this period.[109] These 'people without history' have until recent decades been routinely ignored by professional historians.[110] They presumably had dreams and desires like we do, and although few early medieval documents reveal those explicitly, the agency of *all* people must be part of any historical analysis, not just the self-evident agency of members of elites. In what follows a voice has been given to those that academic history rarely listens to by following their life histories as far as the documentation allows. If this approach has been at all successful it is because the charters studied in this book are records of land transfer, and therefore they frequently document actual events which really did take place: they are not simply narratives which have no meaning outside their own internal logic, although they are certainly narratives too with complex rules, and some-

---

[105] Balzaretti, 'The Curtis', published in 1994, argues for the importance of such research.

[106] Borghi and Zastrow, 'La corte di Sant'Ambrogio a Capiate di Olginate'. Recently more research is being undertaken by local archaeologists: <http://www.capiate.org> [accessed 29 September 2016]; Mariani and Carminati, *La curtis di Capiate fra tardo antico e medioevo*; and Corti and Castelli, 'OLGINATE (LC) Località Capiate, corte di S. Ambrogio'.

[107] As demonstrated for Tuscan sites by Francovich and Hodges, *Villa to Village* and Valenti, 'I villaggi altomedievali in Italia'.

[108] My own work has been within some of the fields outlined in the last few paragraphs (see Bibliography).

[109] Cf. Power, *Medieval People*, pp. 11–33, on the Carolingian peasant Bodo.

[110] Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*; Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*; Taylor, 'The Year 1000 and Those Who Labored'.

times what they 'document' certainly did not take place.[111] For me, their real-
ism has made their study worthwhile and deserving of respect, as is explained
in Chapter 1. Like Ginzburg's early modern inquisition records, early medieval
charters are not easy documents to use; indeed it is perfectly possible to see
them as only ever reflecting the opinions and ambitions of the elites who usu-
ally commissioned them (one of the major criticisms made of Ginzburg's *The
Cheese and the Worms*). Methodologically speaking, the full tool-kit available
to the historian has been employed: not just the required technical skills of
language, translation, palaeography, and diplomatic but the equally vital tools
of empathy, imagination, and creativity, without which all History is doomed
to be lifeless. Fortunately, excellent work by others since the eighteenth century
has established reliable texts of most of the charters used, and more recently the
meanings behind the forms which those texts took have been studied in radi-
cally new ways which have centred on coming to grips with the significance of
property within specific early medieval societies.[112]

   How property was transferred, what 'rules' were involved, how custom inter-
acted with innovation, and how the forms of documents relate to their content
is a fascinating and complex field of research in this as in other periods. Rosa
Congost, in a brilliant survey which argued against more traditional legalistic
approaches (common among an earlier generation of Italian historians), stated
convincingly that 'property rights reflect social relations in constant interac-
tion and transformation',[113] a perspective which draws on anthropological
approaches,[114] which have in turn influenced French scholars in their analyses
of early medieval charters.[115] The interaction of community, family, and indi-
vidual — especially when viewed through the lens of gender — has been espe-
cially important, with many arguing that a notion of 'individual property' is
not at all helpful in the analysis of premodern society.[116] The Milanese docu-
ments provide an important case study of the myriad ways in which property
was transferred to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio during the eighth, ninth,
and tenth centuries (and well beyond). Such a case study is an important way of

[111] Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form' and 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters'.

[112] See note 61 above, and Wickham, 'Compulsory Gift Exchange in Lombard Italy'.

[113] Congost, 'Property Rights and Historical Analysis?', p. 106.

[114] Hann, *Property Relations*, especially Hann's introduction (pp. 1–47).

[115] See notes 68 and 69, above.

[116] Linklater, *Owning the Earth*, p. 5. Ganz, 'The Ideology of Sharing' demonstrates that
monks especially thought they were sharing property as the Apostles had.

documenting at the local and regional level generalizations made in recent years about the importance of the transfer of substantial amounts of land by laypeople to the Christian church. Church acquisition of land was a distinctive characteristic of the early Middle Ages in western Europe, perhaps even *the* distinctive characteristic.[117] The church of Milan, as one of the most powerful and important regional churches in Europe, provides an excellent example of this highly complex process in action across the three centuries studied in detail here. In particular, it is possible to observe at the micro level daily interactions between monks and society which added up to change at the macro level. Tracing the ins and outs of these interactions is one of the key themes of this book. However, it is important to remember that charters preserved by a monastic community as an institution pretty much inevitably present a view of history in which 'the church' had the leading role. But churches, although they owned lots of land, certainly did not own most of it in or around Milan. Lay society is represented in almost every charter, meaning that it is possible to gain some insight into the behaviour of some laypeople towards the increasing importance of 'the church' in their lives. It is also possible to trace the landholding of the lay elite, at least in some cases and in some areas within Milan's hinterland.[118]

The several hundred charters examined here can for all these reasons be used to write social history by tracing relationships between people of different social status, sex, and occupation across time. How some people maintained vertical relationships of power over others can be explained as can why they did so. How the realities of such power relationships changed over time and space can be investigated. Horizontal relationships can also be addressed to observe how people collaborated within families (husbands and wives, siblings) and within institutions. What effect they had on their environment can also be assessed. These are issues of perennial debate relevant to all human societies and, despite all the criticisms hurled at historians by postmodernist literary critics and philosophers (some of which have considerable force), there is no doubt that historians are still very well placed to think about how power is constituted and reproduced in a given society, and by inference their own.[119]

---

[117] Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church'; Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*; Innes, 'Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire'; Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*.

[118] E.g. the tenth-century count of Lecco, Atto: Martinelli, 'Note sui beni fondiari di un grande proprietario del x secolo', pp. 3–10 (estates alongside the River Adda). For other lay owners, see below, Chapter 10.

[119] Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* is a remarkable dissection of these issues which

The historian's main task should be to reconstruct how power relationships worked at given points in time and to explain the continuities and the changes *between* these points in time, in so far as these can be observed given the flawed evidence. In the Milanese case the development of a 'successful economy' came at a considerable cost, namely the continued oppression of the poor by the rich, including rich institutions like the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio which ironically espoused a religion where poverty was a moral good. That finding has continued relevance in our own day. Other readers would, and have, read these charters differently, and I am fully aware that alternative interpretations are possible at many points in what follows. The story begins at the beginning with the first complete surviving document, the very charter drawn up on 12 May 721 which Arthur Young saw in 1789.

is relevant to all historians. Particularly useful is pp. 9–31 which covers terms for rulers, qualities of rulership, power over people, clientship, dependence of menials and 'being a subject', all qualities essential to any understanding of early medieval social organization.

Evidence

12 May 721: Anstruda's Charter

The parchment which Arthur Young saw in 1789 is the earliest surviving complete charter in the collection maintained by the monks of Sant'Ambrogio throughout the medieval period. The text still survives in its original form, as a single sheet, in the State Archive in Milan (AdSM, Museo Diplomatico, sec. VIII 3) and is, in fact, the oldest original parchment document kept by the Italian state. It was exhibited as such to the general public in 2001. Here it is called Anstruda's charter, after the woman who is its main object,[1] but the monks who preserved it at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio from the early ninth century until 1799 classified it differently in their dorsal notes (made in the eleventh century): *De campellione* ('Concerning Campione') and *In hac cartula continetur quod Arechis pater Totonis emit ancilam unam* ('This charter records that Arechis the father of Toto bought a servant woman'). Anstruda was pointedly *not* named.[2] It was issued in Piacenza rather than Milan on 12 May

---

[1] Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia* deals at length with this document (at pp. 223–36) and others from Campione. These are also discussed in my doctoral thesis: Balzaretti, 'The Lands of St Ambrose', pp. 205–19.

[2] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 844 (p. 13) is the best edition. The charter, which measures 478 × 241 mm, arrived in the collection along with about twenty other charters as the result of a bequest made to the Archbishop of Milan and some of the churches under his control by a certain Toto of Campione. The bequest was made in 777 but did not become valid until after Toto's death (date unknown but after 810).

721. The English translation which follows is deliberately literal, reflecting the obscurity of the original grammar and syntax.

> While our master Liutprand most excellent man was reigning as king in Italy, in his ninth pious year, on the twelfth day of the month of May, in the fourth indiction. I Vitalis, *vir religiosus*, subdeacon, *exceptor* (notary) of the city of Piacenza,[3] wrote (this), having been requested and petitioned by the woman Anstruda while she was present she dictated to me and in the presence of witnesses made the sign of the holy cross by her own hand so that it occurs to me to accept and at the present moment I do accept from you Sigirad and Arochis devout men brothers, inhabitants of the district of Seprio in the place called Campione the sum of three gold solidi for my *mundium*, so that I should take your slave (*servus*) in marriage. Therefore, she for this reason should remain from this day under the guardianship (*mundium*) of the above-mentioned Sigirad and Arochis and with the other women under their protection (*alias mundiatas ipsorum*).[4] Nor should anyone at any time be able to withdraw the said Anstruda from their guardianship but we say that [it] should be as above from this day: [she stated] 'for the days of my life always I should always be under the *mundium* of Sigirat and Arochis or their heirs'. And if from that marriage sons or daughters were born the males should always be under your *mundium* but the females so born when they should go to their husbands let it be said that each should be under his *mundium* just as she was given to them by the above-mentioned father. And if perhaps the above-mentioned Anserada wishes to be removed from their *mundium* she shall not have the right (*licentia*): but from this day should she wish to leave the [arrangement] with the afore-mentioned Sigirat and Arochis or their heirs at some time you or your heirs must pay ten gold solidi. And this charter should remain in force. Done in August Piacenza.
>
> † The sign † of the hand of Anstruda herself who asked that this charter of *mundium* regarding her status be made.[5]
>
> † The sign † of the hand of Autharenus *vir honestus* her father consenting.
>
> † The sign † of the hand of Benedict *vir religiosus* cleric witness.
>
> † The sign † of the hand of Gaifrit *vir devotus* son of a certain Lopunus of Marinasco witness.[6]

[3] *Exceptor*: Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy', p. 53. There are only two other occurrences of *exceptor* in genuine Lombard charters. This document is oddly not discussed in Galetti, *Una campagna e la sua città*.

[4] *Mundiata* is a word unique to this document (Niermeyer, p. 708).

[5] These are autograph crosses not those of the scribe.

[6] Possibly Vicomarino, Fr. di Ziano (PC): *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 844, p. 16 n. 6.

† I Godefrit *clericus* subscribe as witness to this charter of acceptance of *mundium* asked by Anstruda and Autharene her father.

† I Faustinus humble priest subscribe as witness to this charter of acceptance of *mundium* asked by Anstruda and Autharene her father.

† I Heldo humble priest subscribe as witness to this charter of acceptance of *mundium* asked by Anstruda and Autharene her father.

† I the above Vitalis *vir venerabilis* subdeacon and writer of this charter completed [it] and handed [it] over this after the transfer.[7]

For such a short text this charter has been edited many times and much discussed by historians of the period. It tells the history of Anstruda but also has its own history as a text in the nearly 1300 years which have passed since it was written. The most accurate editions are those of Alfio Rosario Natale published in 1970,[8] and recently that in the *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores*, but older editions contain some of the most interesting commentaries as from them shifts in interpretation can be plotted over a long time period. There was no edition of the charter in print before the late eighteenth century, but nevertheless it was quite frequently referred to before then by historians such as Sigonio, Puricelli, Mabillon, and Muratori, demonstrating scholarly knowledge of Sant'Ambrogio manuscripts before these were printed.[9] The first complete edition was made by Angelo Fumagalli (1728–1804) in 1792, as the subject of his Seventh Dissertation on Lombard History.[10] In 1805 it was printed again, in an amended more accurate form, in Fumagalli's posthumous collection of the charters of Sant'Ambrogio.[11] The history of editing is not one of continuous progress, and less accurate editions appeared in the 1850s in Carlo Troya's collection of all the Lombard charters at that time known, and in 1873 in Giulio Porro-Lambertenghi's *Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae*, a collection of the eighth-, ninth-, and tenth-century charters of Lombardy (volume XIII in the

---

[7] For an Italian translation, see Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 308–09.

[8] *MD* 5.

[9] Sigonio, *Caroli Signoii historiarum de regno Italiae libri quindecim*; Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii hodie Cisterciensis monumenta*; Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*; Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*. Handwritten transcriptions made of this charter in the 1720s are kept in the Archivio di Stato. The most significant early work based on the Sant'Ambrogio charters is Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*.

[10] Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 259.

[11] *CDA*, doc. 1, pp. 1–2 with notes at pp. 2–11.

consciously nationalistic collection *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*).[12] Luigi Schiaparelli published it again in 1933 as part of his collection of all the private Lombard charters.[13] For a modest text this is a considerable editorial history.

The text was written in an expert cursive hand (*corsiva nuova italiana*, 'new Italian cursive' in palaeographical terminology), but as parts of it are rather faint there are significant variations between the early editions. The text is quite brief. There is no formal invocation, as was normal in contemporary Tuscan charters — *In nomine domini Dei nostris Iesum Christi* — and elsewhere in Europe.[14] Instead the scribe launched in with the dating clause, which is similar in form (but not quite identical) to that of a *charta venditionis* written in Milan itself in 725.[15] Dating is by regnal year, day, and indiction, as is normal in Italian charters of this period.[16] In this document, unusually, Liutprand is termed king *in Italia*. The text then begins with *Scripsi ego*, characteristic of some Lombard charters (but not later ones), and here the scribe Vitalis sets out the guts of the transaction.[17] He wrote that the document was requested by Anstruda herself but somewhat unusually he stated that Anstruda had dictated the text to him — 'ipsa tamen praesentem mihique dictantem' — which perhaps reinforces the impression given that she did this of her own free will. The disposition then proceeds in a mix of first and third person, with some minor grammatical confusion. So that Anstruda could marry a slave (*servus*) she was given three gold solidi by Sigerad and Arochis by which they acquired her *mundium* (right of guardianship). The guardianship of any children born to the couple was also provided for: the boys remained under the power of Sigirad and Arochis, but

[12] *CDL* 3 (wrongly dated to 716). This edition is full of mistakes.

[13] *CDL*, i, doc. 29, an excellent edition.

[14] 'In the name of the lord our God Jesus Christ'. *CDL*, i, docs 23 (720 Pisa), 31 (723 Lucca), 34 and 35 (724 Lucca).

[15] *CDL*, i, doc. 36, 6 June 725, Milan, an original: 'Regnante domno nostro viro excellentissimo Liutprand rege, anno tertio decimo, sub diae octabo idus iunii, indictione octaba'.

[16] 'Regnante domno nostro Liutprand viro excellentissimo rege in Italia, anno piaetatis eius nono, duodecima diae mensis madiarum, indictione quarta'. In the past the dating clause posed a particular problem, and the charter was variously assigned to 712, 716, 721, and 725. Angelo Fumagalli, its first serious editor and an important early palaeographer who worked extensively on the Sant'Ambrogio charters, correctly gave 721 in his 1805 edition: *CDA*, p. 1.

[17] Vitalis termed himself *exceptor*, a title which has given rise to much discussion about continuity of notarial practice from the Roman period. Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy', p. 53, and Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 205–08. Bartoli Langeli, 'I documenti', pp. 247–64, is now the best discussion of the diplomatic of the Campione documents, including that of Anstruda.

the girls under that of their future (presumably servile) husbands. There was no penalty clause for breaking the agreement, but if Anstruda wished to leave the arrangement she or her heirs had to pay ten gold solidi, a sizeable amount. The witnesses included Anstruda's father Autharenus who consented to the deal as required in law.[18]

The literal sense of the text as extracted by the analysis of its formulae and diplomatic is relatively clear. Interpreting what it means remains problematic.[19] The first problem is why it was made at all for, as Everett has pointed out, there was no legal requirement in Lombard law to record the purchase of a woman's *mundium* in writing.[20] Everett suggested that a clue is provided by a law issued in 717 (*Liut.* 10) which required that a charter should be written for a newly manumitted slave if that freed slave's *mundium* was retained by the former master, confirming the value of the *mundium* as either one, two, three, or six solidi.[21] The previous law is also relevant, as this confirmed that the servility of children followed that of their mother — a free (or freed) woman had free children — and also that a woman's *mundium* could not be worth more than three solidi.[22] Charters were therefore produced to confirm the freed rather than the servile status of individuals. In this scenario Anstruda — in the document at least — would have remained free with the maximum value of her *mundium* guaranteed, and it would have made sense for her to have commissioned the charter. Having said this, the contemporary legal context within which the events of May 721 played out remains problematic: as recorded the arrangement was actually illegal. It can hardly be coincidence that this charter relates in some way to a law issued by King Liutprand only two months before in March 721:

> If a free woman takes a slave (as husband), and her relatives neglect to take vengeance on her within a year, as is provided in an earlier edict, then whenever she is found after the expiration of a year she shall become a palace slave. And the slave

---

[18] *Liut.* 22 (issued in 721).

[19] Besides *Carte di famiglia*, see Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali'; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica'; Balzaretti, 'Monasteries, Towns and the Countryside', pp. 244–48; Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, pp. 202–03, 212–13.

[20] Everett, 'Literacy and the Law in Lombard Government', p. 116.

[21] 'Si quis servum suum aut ancillam liberum dimiserit, et posuerit ei mundium, aut unum solidum aut duo aut tres aut sex, tantum habeat mundium, quantum ei in cartola adfixerit'. Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 148.

[22] *Liut.* 9: 'ut masculi qui de ipsa libera nati fuerent, absque mundium sint, femine autem habeat mundium, sicut et mater earum, et ipse mundius non sit amplius quam solidos tres'.

(her husband) shall be turned over to a public official and the children who were born from them shall serve the king's court in all things. But if the relatives of that woman, or the slave's lord, have carried out within a period of one year that which the earlier edict commands, it shall remain permanently in effect. (*Liut.* 24, issued March 721)[23]

This text refers back to *Roth*. 221 (issued 643):

The slave who dares to marry a free woman or girl shall lose his life. With regard to the woman who consented to a slave, her relatives have the right to kill her or to sell her outside the country and to do what they wish with her property. And if her relatives delay in doing this, then the king's *gastald* or *schultheis* shall lead her to the king's court and place her there in the women's apartments among the female slaves.[24]

Liutprand's law suggests that in these circumstances — in which a free woman married a slave — killing the 'errant' wife was still an option open to her relatives. It is, of course, no surprise that a society such as this one in which slavery existed tried hard, like the slave societies more thoroughly documented in modern times, to maintain very clear boundaries between free and unfree, especially sexual boundaries (arguably for fear of 'pollution'). As Skinner has argued, these laws demonstrate the disgrace with which marriages between free women and slave males were viewed, which is an attitude also found earlier in Roman legal texts.[25] The draconian punishment is not surprising because Lombard

[23] My translation modifies slightly Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 155. 'Si mulier libera servum tolerit, et parentes eius intra anni spatium in ea vindicta dare neglexerit, sicut in anteriore edicto contenit, tunc quandocumque post ipsum anni spatium inventa fuerit, sit ancilla palatii; et ipse servus ad puplicum replecetur, et filii, qui ex eis nati fuerunt, curtis regiae omnino deserviant. Nam si parentis ipsius mulieris, vel dominus servi conpleverent intra suprascriptum anni spatium quod anterior edictus contenit, sic permaneat' (Bluhme and Boretius, *Leges Langobardorum*, p. 96, and Azzara and Gasparri, *Le leggi dei Longobardi*, pp. 142–43).

[24] Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 95. 'Si servus liberam mulierem aut puellam ausus fuerit sibi in coniugium sociare, animae suae incurrat periculum, et illa, qui servum fuerit consentiens, habeant parentes potestatem eam occidendi aut foris provincia transvidendi et de res ipsius muleris faciendi quod voluerit. Et si parentes eius hoc facere distulerint, tunc liciat gastaldium regis aut sculdhais ipsam in curte regis ducere et in pisele inter ancillas statuere' (Bluhme and Boretius, *Leges Langobardorum*, p. 45, and Azzara and Gasparri, *Le leggi dei Longobardi*, pp. 62–63). Niermeyer, p. 798, equates *pisele* with *pensilis* (p. 784), defined as a room with a fireplace for weaving. Cf. *Roth*. 192, 211, and 212 in which husbands could legitimately kill their wives and lovers by way of vengeance.

[25] Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, pp. 39–40, and Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, pp. 220–24, for free women and slave marriages. Cf. Sheehan, 'Sexuality,

social organization was underpinned by male violence against women, as I have suggested elsewhere.[26] This violence surfaces explicitly in the charter of 725 in which Ermetruda (*honesta femina*) sold a male Frankish slave Satrelanus to Toto of Campione, probably the brother of Sigirad and Arochis, for twelve gold solidi. Violence must have been near the surface when Ermetruda's relative Theopert stated in his subscription that he had not as part of this process subjected her to any violence: 'in cuius presentia se nullas violentias patire clamavit'.[27] The threat of violence was clearly present, and indeed is explicit in many of Liutprand's laws.[28] In the light of this and the attitudes expressed in contemporary law, it seems unlikely that Anstruda would have entered lightly or even voluntarily into marriage with a *servus*.

There has been much discussion of Anstruda's own legal status. She was clearly of legal age as she was termed *mulier* ('woman') and presumably unmarried.[29] Nonetheless, she was not a free agent in the way a man in that position would have been. Three of the witnesses to the charter reveal as much when they subscribed to a document drawn up at the request of Anstruda *and* her father ('cartole de accepto mundio rogatus ad Anstruda et Autharene genitore ipseius') not merely with his consent as the body of the text and Autharene's own subscription imply. Legally, her male relatives or her husband if she was married had the power of guardianship (*mundium*) over her.[30] This power is the real subject of the transaction, and it was passed from her father Autharene to the brothers Sigirad and Arochis, masters of her new (significantly unnamed) husband.[31] The price of the transfer was three gold solidi, apparently paid to

Marriage, Celibacy, and the Family' and Karras, 'The History of Marriage and the Myth of Friedelehe'.

[26] Balzaretti, '"These are things that men do, not women"' and restated in 'Women and Weapons in Early Medieval Europe'.

[27] *MD* 6.

[28] *Liut*. 120 (AD 731) allows 'honest discipline' ('pro honesta disciplina') to a man who may hit a woman whose *mundium* he holds to 'show her a woman's work' ('ostendendum muliebre opera') or 'correct her evil ways just as he would with his own daughter' ('ad vicium malum emendandum, sicut de propriam filiam suam'). Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 197.

[29] However, the semantic range of *mulier* does include 'wife'.

[30] *Mundium* was the legal power of guardianship. In Lombard society a woman's *mundium* was normally held by her father (or brother if he was dead) until she married when her husband took it over. The *mundium* is frequently referred to in the Lombard law codes, most importantly in Chapter 204 of King Rothari's edict (issued in 643). This power of guardianship also applied to male children before they came of age: Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, pp. 35–37.

[31] Feller, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'VIII secolo', pp. 202–03; Azzara, 'Le nozze di Anstruda'.

Anstruda herself,[32] which seems to have been the going rate for a woman's *mundium* as the same sum occurs in charters of 724/729 and 771, and two solidi and one *tremissis* appear in 735.[33] In comparison in 725 the Frankish slave boy cost twelve solidi: four times as much and perhaps four times more valued.

As it stands the text is rather perplexing, for it is hard for us to grasp why a free woman would effectively sell her freedom for a mere three gold coins. Some scholars, notably Gabriella Rossetti and Laurent Feller, have suggested that this must mean that Anstruda was not completely free to begin with.[34] They argue that Anstruda was an *aldia* ('half-free'), and in ceding her *mundium* to her slave husband's lords was not giving up her remaining freedom as her heirs remained free (something not possible if her personal status had become that of a completely unfree slave). They cite *Roth*. 217 which in AD 643 made provision for an *aldia* marrying a slave:

> If an *aldia* or freedwoman should enter another man's house in order to marry and marries a slave, shall lose her liberty. But if the husband's lord neglects to reduce her to servitude, then when her husband dies she may leave together with her children and all the property which she brought with her when she came to her husband. But she shall have no more than this *as an indication of her mistake in marrying a slave*. (my emphasis)[35]

Our charter seems in part to draw on this chapter, as Anstruda's female children were not to become slaves. It and other early eighth-century charters raise interesting questions about the relationship of 'ideal' (as represented by law) and 'reality' (as represented by 'practical' charters).[36] If intermarriages of this sort

---

[32] Rovelli, 'Economia monetaria e monete nel dossier di Campione', p. 117 (English translation in Rovelli, *Coinage and Coin Use in Medieval Italy*).

[33] Respectively *MD* 12, 20, and 8.

[34] Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 183–89, followed by Feller, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'VIII secolo', pp. 203–04 ('È evidente, anche se non è detto in maniera esplicita, che Anstruda è un'aldia che ha sposato uno schiavo'). Curiously, Rossetti (p. 184) suggested that Anstruda genuinely had free will in this transaction.

[35] My translation modifying Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 217. 'Si aldia aut liberta in casa aliena ad maritum intraverit et servum tulerit, libertatem suam amittat. Et si dominus neclexerit eam replecare ad servitium, mortuo tamen marito, vadat sibi una cum filiis suis et cum omnis res suas quantas in tempore, quando ad maritum intravit, secum adduxit. Nam ampilus nulla consequatur: vitium suum repuiti, qua servum consensit'.

[36] La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica' and Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 560 (discussing this case, 'an even more anomalous transaction'). Wickham, pp. 559–66, is very useful on the distinctions between free and unfree. He prefers to translate *servus* as 'tenant' rather than 'slave'.

were banned, how come they still happened in Piacenza which was not so far from Pavia, from where the laws were issued? It seems to suggest that personal status was quite fluid and that such boundaries were, as Wickham puts it, negotiable: but not perhaps for the women themselves acting 'freely'?

As evidence for women's history in Italy this is an important document, early evidence for the custom of the *mundium* which lasted for many centuries in Italy, well into the Renaissance, especially at Florence.[37] It wasn't new as there had, of course, been similar restrictions on women in all ancient societies, including Rome,[38] but documents such as Anstruda's charter were one of the ways in which such constraints were *transmitted* across the centuries as they repeatedly institutionalized and enforced men's power over women. Patricia Skinner, who has looked at Anstruda in the context of a study of Lombard women's lives which is based on all the surviving charters and much other evidence besides, sees the charter as 'an extraordinary document' and asks various questions of it, above all 'what was persuading these women to marry slaves?'.[39] She concludes that we cannot know the answer but that it seems likely that Anstruda and women like her, albeit under male pressure, were consciously disinheriting themselves in return for guaranteed protection: by marrying a slave at least one was assured of food and shelter, the argument goes. In this sense these were marriages of convenience, in which women were the protagonists. Cristina La Rocca, by contrast, sees Sighirad and Arochis as protagonists as they were deliberately acquiring servants.[40] This is clear from the fact that Anstruda was to join the other servile women they already 'owned' (or 'guarded', 'protected'), uniquely expressed here by the Latin noun *mundiata*, meaning a group of women over whom one holds *mundium* (see above). La Rocca, like Skinner, thinks that these women were giving up their freedom because *they* were in economic difficulties and in search of protection.[41]

---

[37] Kuehn, 'Person and Gender in the Laws', pp. 97–98; Cohn, *Creating the Florentine State*, p. 32.

[38] Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity*, pp. 112–18, discusses Roman *tutela mulierum*, which was surrounded with ambiguity in late Roman law codes. Free women and slave marriages are considered at pp. 220–24.

[39] Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, pp. 34–67, Anstruda at p. 46. She is mistaken that Sigirad and Arochis were Anstruda's brothers.

[40] La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 60–61. For Sigirad and Arochis, see Le Jan, 'Il gruppo familiare di Totone', pp. 15–19.

[41] La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 61.

Rossetti, Skinner, and La Rocca imply that Anstruda had a choice in this matter, despite the evident economic constraints they allude to. A rather less sanguine view can be taken because Anstruda's enslavement appears involuntary even though the text presents it as voluntary as she supposedly commissioned the document, dictated it, and gave up her rights in the first person. As argued in a related context, charter formulae should not necessarily be believed when they present women as 'consenting' to actions which disadvantage them.[42] We need to ask why women should have needed 'protecting' in Lombard society in the first place. There is plenty of evidence that women were treated violently then and had great social and familial pressures to contend with, greater than the pressures placed on men of equivalent social position. This was a society, like most others, based on double standards and hypocrisy.[43] It was also one in which killing women as punishment for sexual 'crime' was legalized by the state.[44] Indeed, as a context for Anstruda's actions we could do worse than remember the law issued by Liutprand in March 721 discussed above because it suggests that she may well have been terrified for her life if she did not consent to the agreement between her father and Sigirad and Arochis, members of the military retinue of Liutprand (what *viri devoti* means). One possible explanation — that Anstruda had run off with the unnamed male slave of Sigirad and Arochis and had to get married, perhaps because she was pregnant — seems unlikely because in this situation they surely would both have been killed. Rather it is more likely that Sigirad and Arochis were taking the initiative, for in another charter written in 735 it was they who purchased the *mundium* of another female servant (*mancipium*) — surprisingly named Scolastica — who married one of their slaves, Ursus.[45] In 725 Toto, a relative of theirs (possibly their brother), bought a Frankish boy. In 771 another Toto, son of Arochis, bought the *mundium* of Ermetruda and married her to one of his slaves.

One strong possibility is that this family was trying to build up an expert servile workforce for their estate at Campione, which produced olive oil, a

[42] Balzaretti, '"These are things that men do, not women"', p. 186.

[43] Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, p. 40; Vollono, 'Constructing Identity in Lombard Italy'.

[44] Famously *Roth*. 212. 'He who finds another freeman or slave having intercourse (*fornicantem invenerit*) with his wife shall have the right to kill them both. And if he kills them, nothing shall be required of him' (trans. Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 93). The death penalty was reiterated in *Liut*. 130 (AD 733), referring to a complex scenario in which a husband set up his wife to have sex with another man.

[45] Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, p. 46; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 60–61.

rare and liturgically valuable commodity in these northerly parts.[46] It is probably no coincidence that all these transactions took place where they did, for how local power is expressed in space is one of the most important lessons of microhistory.[47] The location of Campione on the shore of Lake Como at the furthest northerly extent of Lombard political power could mean that these people were being traded across borders as slaves. Lombard law certainly recognized the concept of the 'border'.[48] Combine the facts that Vitalis who wrote Anstruda's charter alluded to Liutprand's rule 'in Italy' and that Satrelanus, the boy Toto bought in 725, was Gallic (*natzonem Gallia*) with the apparent ease with which Sigirad, Arochis, and Toto had access to ready cash, and a case could be made that this family were trading in slaves.[49] Whatever the case the 'Da Campione' are studied at greater length in Chapter 6 because the family came to have an important position in late eighth-century Milanese society and their lands eventually passed to the monks of Sant'Ambrogio. That transfer made in the early ninth century is the reason we know anything about Anstruda at all.

Eighteenth-Century Charter Scholarship

Anstruda's story comes at the end of the long period in which, to quote Ian Wood, the western church was 'entrusted' with property. He argued that his process was a crucial part of the transformation of the Roman world into an early medieval one. In another context he demonstrated how important modern scholarship has been in shaping that period in its own image.[50] This is certainly true in the example of the Sant'Ambrogio material for which the micro-example of Anstruda's charter can stand as typical. Current views of this document owe more to Enlightenment scholarship than often realized. In this section it will be shown how eighteenth-century analysis of this charter has shaped modern debates about eighth-century Lombard society, the world into

---

[46] Brugnoli and Varanini, *Olivi e olio nel medioevo italiano*, pp. 103–19.

[47] Splendidly investigated at the level of elites in Rollason, *The Power of Place*, e.g. pp. 4–5 on bureaucratic, personal, and ideological types of power as expressible in place.

[48] *Rach*. 13 (issued in 746), trans. Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, pp. 223–24.

[49] McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 733–77, for slavery and slave trading in the later eighth/early ninth centuries, much of it in northern Italy. Cf. McCormick, 'New Light on the "Dark Ages"'; McCormick, 'Origins of the European Economy: A Debate'; and Henning, 'Slavery or Freedom?'.

[50] Wood, *The Modern Origins of Medieval Europe*.

which the Benedictine community of Sant'Ambrogio emerged. The charter's first editor, Angelo Fumagalli, was a young man in Habsburg Milan, then one of the key centres of the Italian Enlightenment, as it remained in 1789 when Arthur Young visited the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and was shown this very charter. In the 1760s social reform had become a fashionable topic for some Milanese writers and administrators. Pietro Verri's *Discorso sulla felicità* ('Discourse on Well Being', 1763) took a relatively egalitarian view of social welfare, and Cesare Beccaria in his famous *Dei delitti e delle pene* ('On Crimes and Punishment', 1781) attacked capital punishment. Like many other parts of Europe at this time, Milanese society was also fully engaged by debates about the public status of women.[51] *Il Caffè* (1764–66), the well-known reformist periodical edited by Beccaria and the Verri brothers, published an interesting anonymous essay on the 'Defence of Women', in fact written by Sebastiano Franci.[52] Reforms did come, many of them designed to weaken the power of the Catholic Church of which Fumagalli was a part: in 1767 donating property to churches was forbidden; between 1769 and 1774 the Milanese trade guilds were abolished; in 1773, the pope abolished the Jesuit order.[53] In 1784, as part of a further series of measures to attack Catholicism, Emperor Joseph II abolished male and female monasteries in Milan, although this law was suspended after the emperor died in 1790 (and may not have been enforced earlier).[54] Fifteen hundred years of sustained transfer of property from the laity to the church was about to come to an end, and it is probably not coincidental that many scholars at the time felt the need to reflect on the early history of church property, which included people such as Anstruda as well as land.

Before arriving in Milan in 1789 Arthur Young, adopting his normal custom when about to travel, had been in touch with the local agricultural academy, the Società patriottica (founded 1776).[55] On arrival in the city he was shown around by Carlo Amoretti (1741–1816), a remarkable man who had been the society's secretary since 1783. Having become an Augustinian monk at the age of fifteen, Amoretti was secularized in 1769, whereupon he became a leading social reformer ending up as librarian of the Ambrosiana (1797) and member of the National Institute in 1803. He wrote treatises on bee-keeping, on pota-

---

[51] Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*; Messbarger, *The Century of Women*.

[52] Messbarger, *The Century of Women*, pp. 87–103.

[53] Black, *Early Modern Italy*, pp. 212–14, and for context Rao, 'Enlightenment and Reform'.

[54] Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy*, pp. 355–60.

[55] Rao, 'Enlightenment and Reform', p. 246.

toes, and on coal as a fuel, travel books,[56] a Guide to Milan, and two books about Leonardo da Vinci, and he helped to translate Wincklemann's famous *History of Ancient Art* from German (1764) into Italian (1779). In 1805 he also published the *Codice Diplomatico Sant'Ambrosiano delle carte dell'ottavo e nono secolo* ('Eighth- and Ninth-Century Charters of Sant'Ambrogio') written by his friend Angelo Fumagalli who had died the year before.[57] Fumagalli, keen to publicize the monastery's charter collection, had thrown open the monastic library to the public on 13 March 1783 and taught palaeography and diplomatic at the monastic school there.[58] It is likely that he as incumbent Abbot of Sant'Ambrogio showed Anstruda's charter to Arthur Young in 1789. Certainly, his editing of the charter collection was formative, and his copious notes and annotations produced interpretations which were arguably even more significant as will become clear.

Amoretti, Fumagalli, and Young were learned gentlemen who took themselves all too seriously, and their interpretations of all sorts of things, including early medieval history, have perhaps for that reason remained influential. An alternative view of Milanese monasticism in the late eighteenth century was provided by Hester Piozzi (1741–1821) sometime Mrs Thrale, friend of Samuel Johnson, exact contemporary of Amoretti and Young, and like the latter also a visitor to Milan in the 1780s. On her honeymoon Mrs Piozzi arrived in Milan (via Switzerland 'the Derbyshire of Europe') on a dismal November day in 1784. After her return to Britain two years later, she soon published *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany* (1789), itself a serious (and innovative) work of travel writing.[59] Her chapter on Milan is known only to specialists today, although it is a brilliant evocation of the late eighteenth-century city very consciously aimed at a female audience. Of the monks of San Vittore she wrote:

> By the indulgence of private friendship, I have now enjoyed the uncommon amusement of seeing a theatrical exhibition performed by friars in a convent for their own diversion and that of some select friends. The monks of St Victor had, it seems, obtained permission this carnival to represent a little odd sort of play, writ-

---

[56] Amoretti, *Viaggio da Milano ai tre laghi*.

[57] De Felice, 'Carlo Amoretti', pp. 9–10.

[58] Fagioli Vercellone, 'Angelo Fumagalli', pp. 717–19, and Anon., 'Angelo Fumagalli'. Fumagalli's life was honoured in *Serie di vite e ritratti de' famosi personaggi degli ultimi tempi*, unpaginated.

[59] Agorni, *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 111–41.

ten by one of their community chiefly in the Milanese dialect, though the upper
characters spoke Tuscan. The subject of this drama was taken, naturally enough,
from some events, real or fictitious, which were supposed to have happened in
the environs of Milan about a hundred years ago, when the Torriani and Visconti
families disputed for superiority. Its construction was compounded of comic and
distressful scenes, of which the last gave me most delight; and much was I amazed,
indeed, to feel my cheeks wet with tears at a friar's play, *founded on ideas of paternal
tenderness*. (my emphasis)[60]

The contrast between this scintillating impression of Milanese society and
Arthur's Young's worthy pontificating in his *Travels* is great. Mrs Piozzi seems
unlikely to have spent much time looking at eighth-century charters, but the
'grave ecclesiastics' who 'applauded with rapturous delight' at this performance
could well have included none other than Abbot Angelo Fumagalli: the mon-
astery of Sant'Ambrogio is only five minutes' walk from San Vittore, and rela-
tions between the two institutions were probably close. Such plays were part of
the salon culture of Milan which intersected with that of the academies such
as the Società patriottica, and which Piozzi herself plunged into with gusto
on her return home.[61] It is likely that Piozzi met both Fumagalli and Amoretti
as in her *Memoirs* she relates a story about a dinner she had with 'our Italian
ecclesiastics' the 'old abbates'.[62] Monastic life and culture in eighteenth-century
Milan seems therefore to have been rich and diverse rather than ascetic and
one-dimensional.[63] The communities of San Vittore and Sant'Ambrogio were
certainly single-sex institutions, but in the light of Hester Piozzi's account this
does not seem to have precluded some social contact with women and perhaps
therefore some understanding of women's roles in society, present and past.

The monk Fumagalli certainly wrote about the lives of early medieval
women. Like his friend Amoretti he published a great deal even before the
posthumous appearance of his edition of the monastery's charter collection.
His *Delle istituzioni diplomatiche* (1802) was a practical manual of diplomatic
which adopted Jean Mabillon's ideas and was designed to erase his dim view
of Italian scholarship.[64] Fumagalli's main work of interpretation was *Delle
antichità longobardico-milanesi illustrate con dissertazioni dai monaci della con-*

---

[60] Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, pp. 41–42.

[61] Dooley, 'The Public Sphere and the Organization of Knowledge', p. 225.

[62] Lobban, *Dr Johnson's Mrs Thrale*, p. 58.

[63] Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder*.

[64] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum* is typical of his views. Cf. Momigliano, 'Mabillon's Italian
Disciples'.

gregazione cisterciense di Lombardia (1792–93), which totalled 1602 quarto pages. It was in the course of this lengthy work that Fumagalli briefly dealt with women's history.

Fumagalli's method was to print a text, nearly always a charter from Sant'-Ambrogio's collection, and then devote a dissertation to its analysis. His model was Lodovico Antonio Muratori's *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi, sive Dissertationes* published in Milan in the 1730s, although Muratori printed the texts of documents *after* his discussion in the dissertation.[65] A good example of Fumagalli's expository technique is his Seventh Dissertation, 'Sopra il *Mundio* e i *Mundualdi* ossia sopra la tutela e i tutori delle femmine longobarde' (Concerning the *mundium* and *mundoalds* or guardianship and the guardians of Lombard women). He began with the text of Anstruda's charter in a version which is faithful to the original parchment.[66] His discussion opened with this sentence:

> The condition of women at all times and in every place has been unhappy. Force and custom, as much as laws, have conspired to reduce them to this state and often all three have combined to force women from their natural state of liberty and reduce them to dependence on men, whether as companions and consorts, or as servants and slaves. However, this subjection has not been the same in all countries.[67]

Fumagalli was by no means an early feminist as he immediately developed his argument to suggest that societies based on monogamy were by definition better than polygamous ones, as the latter allowed women far too much freedom of action: 'How could a husband ever keep his wife within the proper limits, if she was allowed an indefinite amount of freedom to leave the house or to be introduced to persons of the opposite sex?'[68] This view was surely intended to be a veiled critique of a type of man prevalent in Fumagalli's own society: the *cicisbeo*, a married woman's male escort who accompanied her in society with

---

[65] Cf. Wood, *The Modern Origins of Medieval Europe*, pp. 67–68, on Muratori's positive views of the Lombards.

[66] Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 257–58.

[67] Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 259: 'La condizione delle femmine presso che in ogni tempo ed in ogni luogo è stata infelice. A ridurle a tale stato vi hanno cospirato non meno le leggi che la forza e la consuetudine, le quali concorsero spesso a spogliarle della naturale loro libertà, e a renderle dipendenti e soggette al dominio virile, talchè vennero ad essere anzi che compagne e consorti, serve e schiave degli uomini. Non è stata però eguale in tutti i paesi questa soggezione'.

[68] Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 259: 'Laddove si è mantenuta la monogamia assai meno infelice è riuscita la condizione del sesso che stata non sia in que paesi nei quali ebbe luogo poligamia o pluralità delle mogli'.

the agreement of her husband when he was unavailable or unwilling to do so.[69] Many presumed these escorts to be the women's lovers as well as companions, and Mrs Piozzi, who noted the custom with disapproval like most Protestant British visitors, discoursed at some length about the (in her view reprehensible) freedom of Milanese women: 'A woman here in every stage of life has really a degree of attention shown her that is surprising. If conjugal disputes arise in a family, so as to make them become what we call town-talk, the public voice is sure to run against the husband'.[70]

This sort of assumption lay behind Fumagalli's delight in the fact that eighth-century Lombard society valued monogamy because he thought that his own society rightly placed the husband in a position of complete legal control over his wife. He pursued the implicit comparison by quoting the famous Chapter 204 issued by King Rothari in 643:

> No free woman who lives according to the law of the Lombards within the juris-diction of our realm is permitted to live under her own legal control, that is, to be legally competent (*selpmundia*), but she ought always to remain under the control of men or of the king. Nor may a woman have the right to give away or alienate any moveable or immovable property without the consent of the man under whose *mundium* she finds herself.[71]

It is likely that Fumagalli approved of this degree of male control not simply because he was a conservative Cistercian monk but also because unfettered male control of women was under attack in his own time.[72]

He then discussed the right of *mundium* (guardianship) itself in argument with Muratori's views as expressed in a dissertation on a similar subject (*De Actibus Mulierum*) published in 1739.[73] Muratori opened his essay stating

---

[69] Bizzochi, *Cicisbei*.

[70] Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections*, p. 85. Cf. Balzaretti, 'British Women Travellers and Italian Marriages, *c*. 1789–1844', pp. 253–54.

[71] Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 92 (translation modified); 'Nulli mulieri liberae sub regni nostri ditionem legis langobardorum viventium liceat in sui potestatem arbitrium, id est selpmundia vivere, nisi semper sub potestatem virorum aut certe regis debeat permanere; nec aliquid de res mobiles aut inmobiles sine voluntate illius, in cuius mundium fuerit, habeat potes-tatem donandi aut alienandi' (Bluhme and Boretius, *Leges Langobardorum*, p. 50).

[72] Messbarger, *The Century of Women*, p. 95.

[73] Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, Diss. 20, II, 109–42. This Italian edi-tion was published in 1751 without the Latin texts printed in the original edition. In addition to being a historian and parish priest, Muratori was a social reformer with interests in econom-

that he wanted to investigate 'women's lives in the barbarian centuries'.[74] He commenced with women's hairstyles and dress, and then moved on to marital relationships. Reading further into Muratori's essay it becomes clear that his interpretations of eighth-century customs were, like Fumagalli's, influenced by the habits of his own society. In his discussion of the *mundium* Muratori points out that the fact that a woman's husband had to buy the right of guardianship over her from her father or brothers should not surprise his readers because: 'also *today* the gift *propter nuptias* which men give to women is familiar in many places'.[75] He referred here to the custom of the *meffio* or counter-dowry given by the husband and his family to his wife and the wife's family.[76]

Muratori's discussion of the *mundium* was exclusively based on the Lombard law codes.[77] He concluded his discussion pointing out that King Liutprand legislated against bad *mundoaldi* which protected women from ill treatment. Fumagalli took this view further when he posed the question: 'How could Anstruda, a free woman, unite herself in marriage with a slave, and unite herself in a legal act, and with the consent of her own father?'.[78] His answer was that she needed to be protected in what was a rough society ('la ruvidezza e la ferocia dei Longobardi') and that for her protection meant giving up her personal liberty for the security of marriage to a slave. As we have seen, this line of argument is no longer convincing, although most modern scholars have in substance accepted it.

Fumagalli's analysis of Anstruda's charter did not make him a pioneer of women's history as he was writing in a period just before some women started to write women into history.[79] Although his statement about 'the unhappiness of women through the ages' does at one level demonstrate an awareness that 'woman' is a possible category of historical analysis, he failed to pursue this idea despite alluding to women's status in other parts of his text. His Ninth Dissertation was devoted to women who lived a holy, veiled life outside nun-

---

ics, politics, and religion. In 1747 he published a book *On a Well-ordered Devotion* advocating reform of 'superstitious' Catholicism (Hanlon, *Early Modern Italy*, p. 311).

[74] Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, II, 109–10.

[75] Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, II, 142.

[76] Messbarger, *The Century of Women*, pp. 99–100. Cf. Skinner and Van Houts, *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, pp. 144–46.

[77] Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, II, 113–14.

[78] Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 269.

[79] Smith, *The Gender of History*, pp. 18–36 (on De Staël).

neries and is another pioneering study in some respects. This time his starting point was a different charter from the Campione dossier, a gift by Magnerata to the church of San Zeno dated 19 November 769.[80] It too was written in response to a dissertation by Muratori on nunneries: *De Monasteriis Monialium* ('On Nunneries').[81] There Muratori had printed the texts of four Lombard charters but without any specific reference to Magnerata or 'veiled women'. Fumagalli in his First Dissertation had praised Germanic respect for women which was taken to its greatest extent by the Lombards in his view because the sweeter air and warmer climate of Italy tempered their ferocity,[82] exactly the point made ten years before by Edward Gibbon in his *Decline and Fall* (Ch. 45): 'so rapid was the influence of climate and example, that the Lombards of the fourth generation surveyed with curiosity and affright the portraits of their savage forefathers', although there does not appear to be any direct connection between these two texts.[83]

The fact that Muratori and Fumagalli showed such interest in the *mundium* was important, for between them they entrenched in the scholarly literature the idea that Lombard society had a justifiably paternalistic view of women (cf. Piozzi's 'ideas of paternal tenderness' in the monkish play at San Vittore) which was thoroughly established in law and custom, and that women's freedom of action was *rightly* constrained by such paternalism for their own good ('patriarchy' in other words).[84] Fumagalli's discussion is the more interesting as regards Sant'Ambrogio and its charters because he edited the collection and in his commentaries on it made most of the points endlessly rehearsed by scholars up to the present, sometimes without their realizing it. The idea that aristocratic Lombard men 'protected' women in their laws and charters has proved to be a notion with a particularly long afterlife.[85] Had Muratori and Fumagalli investigated women's ownership of property or charitable activities, or if they

---

[80] Fumagalli, 'Sulle ancelle di Dio ossia su quelle femmine che ne' passati tempi vivevano nel secolo con velo ed abito religioso', in *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 307–24, with Magnerata's charter examined at pp. 305–06.

[81] Muratori, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, Diss. 66, V, 493–585.

[82] Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, I, 135.

[83] Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall* (1887 edn), III, 269; Brown, 'Gibbon, Hodgkin, and the Invaders of Italy'; Wood, *The Modern Origins of Medieval Europe*, pp. 29, 113. The significant influence of climate on 'national character' was a commonplace of this period.

[84] Bennett, *History Matters*, pp. 79–81.

[85] Ennen, *The Medieval Woman*, pp. 24–37; Bitel, *Women in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 66–73; Smith, *Europe after Rome*, pp. 121–22.

had read the 721 charter from Anstruda's point of view, the subject might just have developed in a rather different way.

The pioneering interest which Italian monastic scholars like Angelo Fumagalli took in charters was not taken up by the most influential historians of the late eighteenth century, most of them French, German, or British, and this is one of the reasons why modern scholars have had to reinvent Lombard history by using charter evidence.[86] The Enlightenment historians still widely read today are not the 'antiquarians' like Fumagalli who knew the manuscripts first hand, but the 'historians' such as Gibbon who worked exclusively from printed editions. In Hayden White's chapter about the Enlightenment in *Metahistory* it is Voltaire, Hume, Gibbon, and Vico who are discussed, not the monastic scholars.[87] Historical writing of the late eighteenth century was conceptualized at the time by the participants themselves as a battleground between antiquarians and historians,[88] a pattern observable in Milan as much as anywhere else. Pietro Verri was quite explicit about this in the preface of his *Storia di Milano* (1783) in which he launched an attack on the approach taken by Count Giulini to the history of Milan in the Dark Ages:

> The tireless Count Giulini has had to beg the ancient parchments, the princely Diplomas, the judicial sentences, the testaments and contracts, which are still kept in the archives, for isolated notices about those times, which relate more or less to private persons, to the chronicling of some monastic order, to erudite research of the boundaries of some jurisdiction or district, to the dowry or to the construction of some church; but these cannot be of service to history.[89]

According to Verri antiquarians recorded all facts in a 'vast store cupboard of memory' but only historians removed the important facts from the cupboard and left the rest behind. Verri practised what he preached: in his pages on

---

[86] Nineteenth-century historians were more interested in what the Lombards may have contributed to the formation of Italian national identity (Wood, *The Modern Origins of Medieval Europe*, pp. 113–16).

[87] White, *Metahistory*, pp. 45–69.

[88] Grafton, *The Footnote*, pp. 148–89.

[89] Verri, *Storia di Milano*, I, 57: 'L'instancabile Conte Giulini ha dovuto mendicare dalle antiche pergamene, dai Diplomi de' Principi, dalle sentenze dei giudici, dai testamenti, e dai contratti, che tuttora conservansi negli archivi, le notizie isolate di questi tempi, le quali appartengono per lo più a private persone, alla cronaca di qualche ordine monastico, alla erudita ricerca su i confini di qualche giurisdizione, o distretto, alla dotazione, o erezione di qualche Chiesa; ma non possono servire alla storia'. His target was Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia* (1760–65 edn).

Lombard Milan he relied solely on the evidence of Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*; he never cited charters.[90] In his reading of Paul, Verri conjured up fleeting glimpses of Queens Rosamond and Theodelinda (soon to become the favourites of nineteenth-century romantic Lombard history in the books of Manzoni, Bethmann, and Charles Lamb), but he never investigated the status of women seriously. Gibbon's much better-known chapter on the Lombards in *Decline and Fall* is, like Verri's, based on Paul the Deacon with a smattering of legal evidence, but again not a single charter.[91] This is unsurprising as in his *Memoirs* Gibbon candidly confessed that

> [I read] two great Benedictine works, the *Diplomatica* of Mabillon, and the *Palaeographica* of Montfaucon. I studied the theory, without attaining the practice of the art: nor should I complain of the intricacy of Greek abbreviations and Gothic alphabets since every day in a familiar language, I am at a loss to decypher the hieroglyphics of a female note.[92]

This makes crystal clear why Gibbon was not interested in charters recording the activities of women and why when he visited Milan in May 1764, although he saw most of the city's famous sights — the cathedral, the castle, the Ambrosiana library and San Lorenzo — he did not visit Sant'Ambrogio and its collection of ancient parchments which could have told him much about 'decline and fall'.[93]

By contrast Fumagalli in the preface to his *Dissertations* argued that the technical analysis of the structure of documents known as diplomatic was important not only of itself but also because once done it allowed charters to become part of *storia patria* or 'the history of the nation'.[94] In the Italian case this specific use for charters never really came about: Lombard history, for example, has long been conceived within the political narrative Paul the Deacon proposed in his 'History of the Lombards' at the end of the eighth century, padded out with 'social' information culled from the Lombard *leges*. The evidence of charters has never been successfully integrated with this metanarrative. Fumagalli argued in a way well ahead of its time that charter evidence would permit new arguments to be made about the history of this 'dark' period, not simply for Milan but for Lombard Italy as a whole. Most scholars read Fumagalli now — if at all — for

---

[90] Verri, *Storia di Milano*, I, 37–40.

[91] Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall* (1887 edn), ch. 45.

[92] Bonnard, *Edward Gibbon: Memoirs*, p. 131, which was first published in March 1796, two years after Gibbon's death.

[93] Bonnard, *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome*, pp. 45–53.

[94] See Chapter 2, below.

his editorial skills, but his interpretations of charters are still very well worth reading because, unlike the leading historians of his own day, he appreciated that History is not just about 'great events' and 'great men' as recorded in histories and laws; it is as much about 'ordinary women' like Anstruda.

Angelo Fumagalli's view of charters did not prevail because it was the German scholars, authors of the voluminous series of *MGH* editions in the next century, who came to dominate the field of early medieval studies. They did not edit a single charter in their volume of Lombard sources.[95] For them as for most nineteenth-century gentlemen-scholars, History was about important events and the great men (not women) involved in them.[96] The concerns of these German men, especially their obsession with the history of their race and its national identity, still condition the work of early medievalists at the present time.[97] The focus on the micro-level which charters make possible helps to dismantle this nationalistic appropriation of history while at the same time rehabilitating the lives of long-forgotten and quite deliberately overlooked 'people without history' such as Anstruda. The intertextual reading of Anstruda's charter advanced above has quite deliberately interleaved that brief notice of property transfer with the work of an entire generation of eighteenth-century writers both Italian and British to clarify how later scholarly accretions can easily block any putatively 'innocent' reading of such a document with twenty-first-century eyes. The problems which historians face in interpreting early medieval material remain daunting and are made more not less daunting by centuries of previous comment. Understanding the outdated views of early medieval cultures inherited from previous generations of scholars and stripping them away to reveal the pristine core underneath is also important. The realization that sometimes these scholars got things right as well as wrong is a vital part of formulating new interpretations of old evidence.

St Ambrose's Charters

Surprisingly, the exceptional worth of the Sant'Ambrogio charter corpus as historical evidence has often been dismissed by scholars whose interests lie with events mostly 'evidenced' by forged and fabricated documents, and although much can be learnt from local scholarly traditions which have adopted this approach as evidenced in the next chapter, my own reading of the Sant'Ambrogio

---

[95] Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*.

[96] Smith, *The Gender of History*.

[97] Gillett, *On Barbarian Identity*; Wood, *The Modern Origins of Early Medieval Europe*.

charters as a whole suggests that the genuine early medieval documents are easily as interesting as what purports to be early evidence preserved in later times (cf. the Datheus charter discussed in Chapter 2). The main reason for their value is their survival in groups (or dossiers), a process which did not happen by chance and which is therefore of itself something worth tracing in some detail. Other local charter collections which have survived independently of the Milanese documents provide highly relevant comparison and context and help to demonstrate the authenticity of the Ambrosian collection.

As is well known, Italy has preserved large numbers of 'private' charters from the early medieval period.[98] This was perhaps inevitable given the strength and depth of Roman recording practices with regard to property transfer.[99] In the estimates of François Bougard, there are around 10,000 such charters for the period between *c.* 750 and *c.* 1050, approximately 500 for the second half of the eighth century, 2300 for the ninth century, 3000 for the tenth century, and 4200 for the period 1000–1050.[100] This is a lot, but not particularly exceptional within a European context. For example, before the year 1000, the monasteries of Cluny (2532 texts),[101] St Gallen (818),[102] St Denis,[103] Echternacht,[104] Fulda,[105] Lorsch (over 3000),[106] and Corbie (many royal *diplomata*)[107] have all preserved considerable collections. The cartulary of the Breton monastery of Redon has some 283 ninth- and early tenth-century texts (with another 62 in early modern transcripts).[108] Tenth-century northern Spain has preserved

---

[98] Numbers of 'private' charters for the eighth century until 1050 are given by Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, pp. 79–108, in a series of tables.

[99] Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 9–16; Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy'; Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 75; Rio, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 28–33; Brown and others, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 5–8.

[100] Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, p. 76.

[101] Rosenwien, *To be the Neighbor of St Peter*, p. 16.

[102] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 77–126.

[103] Online at <http://saint-denis.enc.sorbonne.fr/index.html> (accessed 12 December 2016). There are 167 charters between AD 620 and 998.

[104] Costambeys, 'An Aristocratic Community on the Northern Frankish Frontier'.

[105] Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 15.

[106] Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 14.

[107] Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 14–15.

[108] Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 1–2.

hundreds of charters, including around 225 from the monastery of Celanova, around 580 from the bishopric of León, and more than 430 for the monastery of Sahagún.[109] Similar numbers survive for Catalonia, for example around 150 from Sant Joan de les Abadesses between 885 and 1030.[110] For England there are relatively fewer: some 1875 for Anglo-Saxon England as a whole.[111]

Predictably, in a major late Roman centre such as Milan charter survival has been relatively strong, although nothing of late Roman date still exists, unlike the famous case of Ravenna with its fifth- to seventh-century property deeds recorded on papyrus.[112] Even though the Sant'Ambrogio charters (at around three hundred documents between AD 720 and 1000) make up the largest single early medieval collection to have survived from Lombardy, they are not unique in the area for there are significant neighbouring collections, particularly those of Brescia,[113] Bergamo[114] and Monza.[115] These collections represent incompletely what must have once existed as shown both by references within original charters to other documents now lost and by the existence of fabricated texts which seem to be based on earlier genuine material.[116] For example, the considerable surviving archive of Monza probably once contained a larger number of earlier documents because of the town's ancient status as the favoured residence of some earlier Lombard kings and queens.[117] Interesting eighth-century material has nonetheless survived and together with ninth- and

---

[109] Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 22–23.

[110] Jarrett, *Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia*, p. 23.

[111] Campbell, 'The Sale of Land and the Economics of Power in Early England', p. 229 (the number of texts reported by Sawyer, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/browse/sawyercat.html>, accessed 29 May 2013).

[112] Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700* and Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 207–09.

[113] The best edition of 'Le carte del monastero di S. Giulia di Brescia I (759–1170)' is now at <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/bs/brescia-sgiulia1/>, edited by Ezio Barbieri, Irene Rapisarda, and Gianmarco Cossandi.

[114] Cortesi, and Cortesi, *Bergamo e il suo territorio nei documenti altomedievali. ChLA*, XXIX, docs 864–69 (5 originals).

[115] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*.

[116] The best survey of the medieval charters of Lombardy is the *Codice diplomatico della Lombardia medievale (secoli VIII–XII)* website: <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/>. This is a work in progress, but many excellent editions are now online here.

[117] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*; Balzaretti, 'Theodelinda, "most glorious queen"'; Magnani and Godoy, *Teodolinda*.

tenth-century texts provides a meaningful comparison with the Sant'Ambrogio texts, particularly in the village of Cologno Monzese, now a northern suburb of Milan.[118] The sizeable number of charters produced in Brescia and Bergamo also help to set the Milanese material in context and, on occasion, cross-reference directly with Milan or other places where Sant'Ambrogio had property interests. In this sense these smaller collections validate the authenticity of the larger corpus.

Other survivals from Lombardy are patchier. It is unfortunate that authentic early material from other monasteries in the provinces of Milan, Pavia, and Como has not survived. This is even the case for major northern churches in the foothills of the Alps which have preserved large later medieval charter collections such as Sant'Abbondio in Como and Santa Maria in Velate.[119] A single early charter (a sale in Bobbiate, May 899) has survived for San Vittore di Varese.[120] South of Milan in the marshy *bassa pianura* the situation is even worse as both Pavia and Lodi have only very fragmentary early medieval archives which are definitely authentic (many fakes in the case of Pavia).[121] In this area the charters of Santa Cristina di Corteolona are perhaps the most interesting owing to that community's royal connections.[122] Outside of the major settlements, the rural monasteries of San Vittore di Meda,[123] Santa Maria di Cairate,[124] San Calcero, and San

---

[118] *CDL*, I, doc. 82, II, docs 218 and 231. *CDL* 128 (Locate), 289 (Monza), 297 (Monza), 307 (Monza), 340 (Monza), 350 (Incino), 376 (Monza), 864 (Sesto San Giovanni), 870 and 995 (Cologno). For Cologno, see below, Chapter 7.

[119] Perelli Cippo, *I registri del monastero di Sant'Abbondio di Como*; *Sant' Abbondio – lo spazio e il tempo*; and Martinelli and Perelli-Cippo, 'Sant'Abbondio 1010–2010'. Manaresi, *Regestro di S. Maria di Monte Velate sino all'anno 1200* and the new edition by Merati, *Le carte della Chiesa di S. Maria del Monte*. Perelli Cippo, 'Ricerche sul borgo di Velate', pp. 642–74. There are eleven texts between 922 and 1000.

[120] 'Carta venditionis, 899 maggio, Bobbiate', <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali. it/cdlm/edizioni/mi/varese-svittore/>, ed. by Luisa Zagni.

[121] For Lodi, see <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/lo/lodi-vescovo> [accessed 3 October 2018]. There are nine documents for the bishopric of Lodi before AD 1000. For Pavia, see <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/pv/> [accessed 3 October 2018].

[122] Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 29–40.

[123] *MD* 95 (June 856), Abbess Tagiberta exchanged with Abbot Peter of Sant'Ambrogio. There are a handful of tenth-century texts: Albuzzi, 'Pergamene inedite dei secoli X e XI nel'archivio privato Antonia Traversi di Meda' and Orsini, 'Il monastero di San Vittore di Meda nell'altomedioevo'. Meda is just north of Seveso on the Milan–Como road.

[124] Cairate is south of Castelseprio on the River Olona. The early history of this community

Pietro di Civate,[125] which are likely to have had small but significant communities of monastics in this period, have preserved little of any genuine worth. One highly interesting late tenth-century collection from the church of Sant'Eufemia on Isola Comacina contains thirty charters, almost entirely sales between lay people which *appear* to evidence a flourishing land market on this island and the surrounding district without much direct church involvement.[126]

The surviving archives are largely those of urban or suburban monastic foundations, a pattern which undoubtedly reflects and indeed in part constitutes the cultural dominance of the city over the countryside, in terms of literacy levels and use of legal documentation. It also makes plain that the monks of these institutions had especially long memories. The archives of non-monastic churches are much less well preserved both in Milan and elsewhere, with episcopal archives especially thinly represented in this region. In north-western Italy only the diocese of Piacenza comes close to the huge number of charters preserved in Tuscany by the bishops of early medieval Lucca.[127] The suffragan bishops of Milan, including Como, Lodi, Bergamo, and Pavia (for a brief time), must have collected and indeed produced records independently of the urban monasteries, but the survivals are unlikely to be genuine.[128]

is examined by Deiana, 'Cairate e il suo territorio nell'alto medioevo'; De Angelis, 'Il monastero di Santa Maria di Cairate'; and Mariotti, *Un monastero nei secoli*. The earliest 'document' — the testament of a nun called Manigunda — is in fact a forgery (Deiana, pp. 105, 109–10; Mariotti, p. 216). The nunnery is first certainly documented in a diploma of Hugh and Lothar dated *c*. 943: 'unum monasterium in Cariade' (Deiana, p. 113), a possession of the Bishop of Pavia (although recent research suggests that the Milanese church had the real control here, Mariotti, pp. 217–18).

[125] De Jong, 'Growing up in a Carolingian Monastery' and *In Samuel's Image*; Spinelli, 'L'origine desideriana dei monasteri di S. Vincenzo in Prato e di S. Pietro in Civate'.

[126] *CDL* 465, 478, 557, 560, 665, 707, 727, 773, 787, 789, 790, 799, 810, 813, 814, 817, 819, 858, 861, 862, 866, 869, 873, 881, 883, 895, 899, 949, 966, 976. Some of these are discussed in Part III. I have been unable to use the new edition, Merati, *Le carte della chiesa di Sant'Eufemia dell'Isola Comacina (901–1200)*.

[127] Eighth-century Lucca: *ChLA*, xxx–xl, docs 894–1185 (291 original charters); eighth-century Piacenza: *ChLA*, xxvii, docs 816–33 (27 original charters); ninth-century Lucca: Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*, pp. 8, 15–16; ninth-century Piacenza: Galetti, *Una campagna e la sua città*, pp. 17–32, and *ChLA*, 2nd ser., lxiv–lxxi.

[128] The Como documents (*CDL* 94, 101, 1104, 189, 205, and 281) were discussed and largely dismissed by Besta, 'I diplomi regi ed imperali per la chiesa di Como'. Of the nine surviving Lodi charters (<http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/lo/lodi-vescovo/carte/>) only two exchange charters of 985/86 have been preserved as originals.

When it comes to the archiepiscopal archives of Milan, pre-thirteenth-century documents are few: a handful of *precepta* and other charter types were kept at Sant'Ambrogio.[129] Much of the collection was probably destroyed in local battles against Frederick Barbarossa in the twelfth century and also in later medieval 'sackings' of the city.[130] François Bougard has argued recently that there was more to it than that: Milanese bishops deliberately did not request royal charters as a ploy to emphasize their independent power.[131] He may be right. Whatever the case, the absence of documents means that the finer details of archiepiscopal property dealings throughout the early medieval period in this region can no longer be known,[132] although the representatives (*missi*) of successive bishops were involved in a significant number of transactions involving Milanese churches other than Sant'Ambrogio.[133] Comparison with the rest of Europe suggests that Milanese landed property was likely to have been extensive and thoroughly managed, a fact which is also implied by the distinctive spatial distribution of the properties of Sant'Ambrogio as documented by that monastery's charters. Milanese churches staffed by the archbishop's clergy preserved some ninth-century charters which again found their way into the Sant'Ambrogio archives, including a few relating to the community of canons that held services at and maintained the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, and the churches of San Simpliciano, San Vincenzo in Prato, and Santa Maria Wigilinda.[134] Tenth-century texts exist from Sant'Apollinare, Santa Margherita, and San Giorgio al Palazzo. Cinzio Violante argued that these documented a

---

[129] The best summaries are Ambrosioni, 'Per una storia del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio' and Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano'.

[130] Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 45–48.

[131] Bougard, 'Du centre à la périphérie', pp. 19–20.

[132] It is probable that the late antique Milanese church had property outside of its diocese in Sicily (Pasini, 'Chiesa di Milano e Sicilia') and possibly in coastal Liguria (Pavoni, *Liguria Medievale*, p. 108), although the latter claim is based on dubious documents (Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 92–95).

[133] Although there is evidence that agents of the archbishop intervened in some transactions before the tenth century (e.g. *MD* 25 (777) his *prepositus* was responsible for ensuring the provisions of Toto's *testamentum* were carried out; the activities of Gunzo *vicedominus* of the Milan church in Gnignano discussed in Chapter 7, below), the formal intervention of archiepiscopal *missi* in exchange transactions is reported only from 912 onwards (*CDL* 447 involving the Abbess of S. Maria Gisonis).

[134] Forty-nine canonical texts of this period preserved in the Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio were listed by Pandolfi. San Simpliciano and San Vincenzo: *MD* 85 and *CDL* 867. Santa Maria: *CDL* 402 and 649.

Table 1. Eighth-century Milanese charters
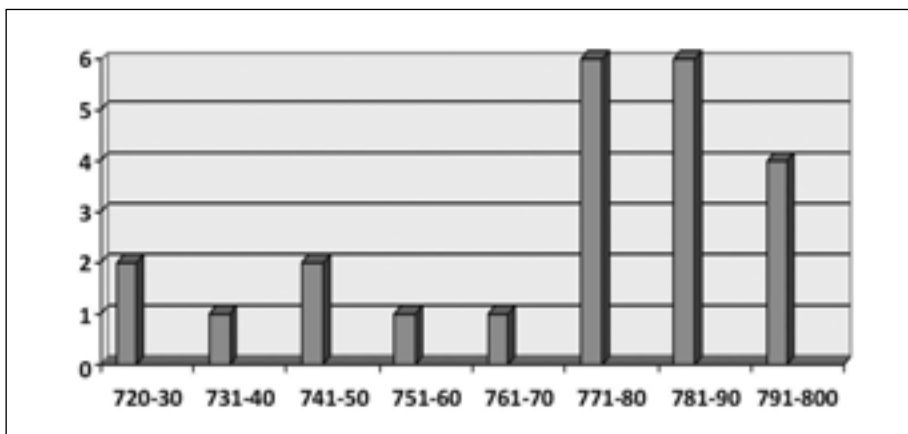
significant movement of people from the countryside into the city where they
then bought up property and formed a 'new society' dominated by merchants
and other professionals.[135] Certainly, he exaggerated the significance of these
relatively few texts because he neglected the far larger number of charters pro-
duced by the Sant'Ambrogio monks at the same time.

   With the exception of the magnificent collections at Piacenza,[136] the corpus
of charters preserved by the monks of Sant'Ambrogio therefore constitutes by
far the largest early medieval archive to have survived from north-western Italy.
It contains about four-fifths of the total charters from north-west Lombardy
for that period. The earliest charter associated with the monastery dates from
721.[137] Another ten Lombard-period charters have survived, all but one as
original parchments, and nearly thirty eighth-century documents exist in total,
with a significant rise in number after the Carolingian conquest (Table 1). Yet
only four of these actually concern the monastic community: from 781–90, the
decade of its foundation.

   [135] Sant'Apollinare: *CDL* 531. Santa Margherita: *CDL* 556, 564, 674, 704. San Giorgio:
CDL 715, 842, 926, 936. See Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn),
pp. 123–67.

   [136] Galetti, *Una campagna e la sua città*, pp. 11, 17–32. The tenth-century texts are still
unedited.

   [137] *MD* 5, analysed earlier in this chapter.

Like Anstruda's charter of 721, most of the other twenty-nine eighth-century charters concern the Alpine village of Campione, few of which relate directly to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio because its estate there was only acquired in 835. To put this small collection in context, there are 295 charters surviving for the Lombard kingdom (Northern Italy and Tuscany, but not the Duchies of Spoleto and Benevento) in the period,[138] which means that the Campione documents make up 10 per cent of the total, making the dossier significant in terms of Lombard history as a whole, not just for Milanese history.

The numbers of charters increase significantly during the ninth century, and the rate of survival continues to be substantial from then until 1799. For the period 800–1000 most texts do relate directly to the monastic community and its dealings with other churches and lay society more generally, although there is also an important group of texts concerning the clerics (later canons) who serviced the basilica church.

Charter Forms

The Sant'Ambrogio charters take many forms broadly similar to those written elsewhere in early medieval Europe, especially after the Frankish conquest of 773–74 when Milan and its region rapidly became integral to the Carolingian Empire.[139] Charters were drawn up on similar basic principles throughout the Carolingian world, although with significant regional variations which in part represented variant legal traditions, 'Roman law', 'Lombard law', and 'Salic law' being most common in this collection.[140] In northern Italy local custom preserved charters mostly as single-sheet parchments whose date is contemporaneous with the text recorded ('originals' in normal parlance but also copies on single sheets),[141] rather than in later cartulary compilations of texts, selected, copied, and recopied into volumes over the centuries.[142] In central and southern Italy cartularies were rather more common, as in the examples of Farfa and

---

[138] Figure from Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 198–99. *ChLA* has a total of 1468 pre-ninth-century documents, but encompasses charters in Cairo within this total.

[139] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 47–55.

[140] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 77–134; Bartoli Langeli, 'Private Charters', pp. 218–19.

[141] Mantegna, 'Il documento privato di area longobarda in età carolingia' is the best survey.

[142] Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy'; Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies'; Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp. 81–114; Kosto and Winroth, *Charters, Cartularies and Archives*.

San Vincenzo al Volturno. Criticism and use of the Sant'Ambrogio charters has, however, focused (perhaps too much) on a few interesting groups of texts preserved only in copies of later date — also made on single sheets — meaning that some of the problems associated with using cartulary copies are relevant in the Milanese example.

The overall pattern of preservation — many originals, few copies — is typical of how developed north Italian urban societies produced and kept charters. Individual lay notaries who worked in Milan itself wrote most texts rather than monks as was normally the case in the Carolingian world north of the Alps. Any copies they may have kept in registers appear not to have survived: we have only those kept by people or institutions that had commissioned or in other ways acquired them. Italian scholarship since the early modern period has valued this 'notarial tradition' highly for its supposedly continuous professional activity from late Roman times until the present day.[143] One problem with conceptualizing the history of charters as in large part the history of a profession has been a serious underestimation of the 'unofficial' links between supposedly professional notaries and other document writers which many charter collections including this one evidence. Not all professionals are, after all, honest, and early medieval notaries could and did make alterations to documents they had copied out as authenticated copies of originals. 'Authentication' was a formal process of copying by notaries whereby the final text was approved by a panel of witnesses as a genuine document. The process is clarified in a capitulary issued on 1 May 891 in the name of King Guy: 'Concerning charters and any other type of record which are declared false by certain persons, we establish that, if the notary and the witnesses are still alive, the same notary together with twelve legitimate oath-helpers and the same witnesses whose names are written in the charter, shall authenticate that document'.[144] They also had the opportunity to fake documents, although this was surely uncommon given the serious penalties imposed by the law upon men who did this.[145]

---

[143] Classically, Costamagna and Amelotti, *Alle origini del notariato italiano* to be compared with Meyer, *Felix et inclitus notarius*. The Milanese material as studied by Liva, *Notariato e documento notarile a Milano* should be treated with caution as the sections on the early Middle Ages are highly coloured by the use of late evidence. The best treatment in English of the place of notaries within the judicial system is Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence*, pp. 37–67. The best accounts of early Italian scribal practices are Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, pp. 77–102, and Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*, pp. 17–58.

[144] Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 240–41.

[145] The rules were set out in *Roth*. 243, *Liut*. 62 (issued in 724), *Liut*. 115 (issued 729).

The richness of the Sant'Ambrogio material for this subject is such that a sizeable study could be written on local scribal practices. Only a few key points can be made here. Usually, charter texts record the name of the scribe, his status (they were always male) as *notarius*, *scriptor*, *iudex*, or *clericus*, and the place and date of redaction. Who asked the charter to be drawn up is usually implicit in the text and is sometimes explicit, as in the example of a *placitum* made sometime between 823 and 840 when the count presiding over the case actually dictated the text to the scribe ('ego Sigempertus notarius ex dictato predicti Leonis comitis scripsi').[146] Of course, this particular document — like other records of dispute settlement — was framed within the specifically literate context of the courtroom, a performance space whose importance has been thoroughly appreciated by microhistorians working with early modern inquisitorial evidence, and more recently by early medievalists.[147] The close relationship reported here between the 'author' of this particular record and the scribe who wrote it up may not be typical of less formal notices of disagreements or disputes such as *notitiae* and *brevi*; but it might be. Even so, it is certainly possible to trace the social links which some notaries had with the community of Sant'Ambrogio which may well have influenced the ways in which they produced charters for the monks.

Scribes termed themselves *notarius*, *notarius domni regis/imperatoris*, and *iudex* (in the tenth century), as marks of their status.[148] Most of them were laymen. By the late tenth century such men often had a high social position in Milanese society, seemingly based on wealth as well as on skill.[149] It would be quite wrong to imagine that the relationship between notary and monk operated impartially. Often a single man wrote many charters for the monastery, a pattern which, rather than revealing a lack of suitable notaries, instead suggests that the monks preferred to use men they knew. The two clearest cases are Ambrosius, who wrote six charters between 836 and July 850,[150] and Heberardus, who wrote five charters between June 955 and April

---

[146] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, i, no. 45, p. 151. Counts had their own notaries: Capitulary of Mantua, 781, ch. 3 (Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 54–55). For the local history of Carolingian script, see Valsecchi, 'La scrittura carolina nei documenti notarili milanesi'.

[147] Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas*, pp. 52–62, deals with *diplomata* as 'performative acts'. This genre of texts was often used as evidence in court rooms.

[148] Liva, *Notariato e documento notarile a Milano*, pp. 7–38; Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*.

[149] Liva, *Notariato e documento notarile a Milano*, pp. 30–38.

[150] *MD* 62, 65, 80, 82, 83, and 85.

974.[151] This view is supported by the fact that some notaries witnessed charters drawn up by other notaries for the monastery, some travelled with the abbot or prior when documents were drawn up outside the city, and above all, some had property dealings with the abbots. However, although during the ninth and tenth centuries most notaries lived and worked in Milan and wrote their charters in the city, a significant number operated in the countryside, including, for example, Agioald at Trevano, Mendriso and Arogno in the Val d'Intelvi,[152] Johannes at Cologno Monzese and Cernusco,[153] Garibald at Gorgonzola and Inzago,[154] Grasebert at Cannobio and Scaria,[155] and Gervasius at Cavenago.[156] Some clerics indentified as either *clerici*, *presbiteri*, or *subdiaconi* did write charters.[157] Many notaries of course witnessed charters, as might be expected given their role as scribes.[158] Some owned land.[159] Others heard court cases.[160] One was the executor for a will.[161]

The extent of their professional competence varied a great deal, which suggests they may not have been 'professionals' in our understanding at all.[162] It is usually assumed that Italian charters have special claims to reliability, as there had been severe legal sanctions since the late Roman period against notaries who deliberately drew up false records.[163] *Post factum* alterations, fabrications, and blatant forgeries are also assumed to be rare in surviving collections. This

---

[151] *CDL* 609, 611, 621, 719, and 752.

[152] *MD* 29, 33, and 43.

[153] *MD* 69, 89, 108, and 104.

[154] *MD* 93, 99, and 103.

[155] *MD* 111 and 112.

[156] *MD* 124 and 132.

[157] *Clerici*: *MD* 50 (Ingoald), 58 (Ambrosius), 73 (Andreas), 81 (Dominicus), 111 (Grasebert), 112 (Grasebert), 127 (Dominicus); *presbiteri*: *MD* 48 (Podo); *subdiaconi*: *CDL* 61 (Anspert), *MD* 30 (Anspert), 38 (Benedictus).

[158] *MD* 34, 40, 48, 49, 50, 63, 67, 68, 84, 102, 108, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 122, 126, 133, 134, 146a, 147, 149, 152, 155, 161; *CDL* 252, 312.

[159] *MD* 49, 56.

[160] *MD* 74, 101.

[161] *MD* 134 (Dominator).

[162] Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*, p. 12, does not see Lombard notaries as incompetent, a point he explores in detail in his chapter on Gaidipalu writing in Chuisi in 746 or 747 (pp. 17–35). Cf. Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy'.

[163] *Roth*. 243 and *Liut*. 63 (a. 724) and 115 (a. 729) legislate against forged charters.

collection nevertheless displays considerable variety in scribal practice, not sim-
ply in handwriting styles but also in use of language and control of diplomatic
form. These variations are worth brief comment. A fair number of charters
were written by scribes in archaic scripts which reveal ignorance of standard
minuscules and the basic rules of Latin grammar.[164] On occasion these men
used what seem to have been local dialect words, although this issue is complex
given the creativity with which Latin was written (and one presumes spoken)
at this time in these places.[165] Charters like this were invariably written outside
Milan in the village where the events recorded took place, often at the local
church by the village priest,[166] and their inexperienced style may well reflect a
genuine lack of experience in writing such texts and allow us to posit a degree
of cultural isolation for these villages in this respect at least. In contrast, most
Sant'Ambrogio charters were written in practised and fluent hands which accu-
rately reproduced the appropriate legal formulae (as evidenced later by the
Cartularium Longobardicum).[167]

Most of the charters discussed in this book are now kept in the Museo
Diplomatico (sec. VI-1100) of the Archivio di Stato di Milano and have been
there since its creation in the early nineteenth century.[168] A small number of
texts produced for the canons are still at Sant'Ambrogio in the present monas-
tery's Archivio Capitolare.[169] In general, their good state of preservation indi-

---

[164] Examples are *MD* 45 ('Wattingo'), 48 (Carpiano), 93 (Gorgonzola), 111 ('Cannobio'),
113 (Mantello), 124 (Cavenago), and 127 (Lugano).

[165] Bosshard, *Saggio di un glossario dell'antico lombardo*, although an old study of Lombard
dialects, is still useable despite its nationalistic agenda.

[166] *MD* 111 written by Grasebert, *clericus de Scaria, notarius*.

[167] Bluhme and Boretius, Leges Langobardorum, pp. 595–660. The compilation in its cur-
rent form has been redated by Radding to the later medieval period (Radding, *The Origins of
Medieval Jurisprudence*, pp. 59–61), but as other formularies have survived from ninth-century
Europe we can reasonably suppose that Milanese scribes had access to something similar which
has perished. Cf. Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf*, pp. 25–28, and Rio, *Legal Practice
and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 27–40. Valsecchi, 'La scrittura carolina nei
documenti notarili milanesi' is a good study of local handwriting which deals with many of the
charters discussed in this book.

[168] Pandolfi, 'L'archivio di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano' is a serviceable history of the archive,
and the *Guida generale degli archive di Stato italiani*, vol. II, *F–M*, lists the contents of the archive.
See <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/archivi/complessi-archivistici/MIBA002AAC/>
[accessed 03 July 2017].

[169] A manuscript catalogue by Pandolfi, *Pergamene Registro dal VII al XI secolo*, is to be
found at the Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio in Milan.

cates that the medieval monastic library was carefully managed, and evidence of dorsal annotations implies that charters were kept in some ordered fashion at the monastery (Table 2).[170]

Table 2. The ninth-century dorsal annotations

MD	Text
36	*In Sertole*
40	*Chartola de vinditionis de rebus Haltcherio filio quondam Autcherii in finibus sebrienses* (notary's autograph)
44	*Commutatio de Brunicione*
47	*Liber da Rotperto [...] de vico magoni* (notary's autograph)
53	*Libelo de Rachifrit et Melfrit de pratas in Nonanio* (contemporary with text)
55	*Cartola de Nuniano* (contemporary with text)
55	*Donatio de Noniano* (different hand, but still ninth-century)
63	*Promissione de Dublini et Grosenioni* (notary's autograph)
69	*Cartola commutationi de Colonea*
83	*Conventia de Guntzone [...] de Glaxiate* (notary's autograph)
84	*Cartola vinditionis [...] de Teuderici de Solomno*
89	*Roperga partibus*
95	*Comutatio inter Petrum abbatem et Tagipergam abbatissam*
99	*De venditioni*
104	*Cartola donationis [...] Hodone et Agionis [...] frati de Vineate*
105	*Commutatione de Benedictus de Colonia*
106	*Breve divisionis inter Sesebertium in Colonia* (contemporary with text)
107	*Commutatio inter Teopertus et Petrone preposito* (contemporary with text)
108	*Cartola commutatione de Anselme* (contemporary with text)
109	*Convenientia de Petrone de vico Tiolo* (notary's autograph)
110	*Convenientia de Angelberto presbiter de Cannobio* (contemporary with text)
128	*Promissione de Andreas de Colonia* (contemporary with text)
129	*Cartola venditione de Rachiberga de Colonia* (notary's autograph)
130	*Breve vestitura de Gisemperto ferrario de Colonia* (notary's autograph (?))
132	*Cartola vestiture [...] de Cavennaco* (different hand, but still ninth-century)
139	*Cartula securitatis et firmitatis de curte Lemunta* (notary's autograph)

[170] Bellù, 'Un prezioso contribuito archivistico'.

MD	Text
150	*Commutatio facta cum parte sancte Landrius ecclesiae de rebus de Rossiate* (notary's autograph)
151	*Commutatio de Teutpertus archpresbiter ecclesiae S. Julia* (contemporary with text)
152	*Iudicatum de Ambrosio* (different hand, but still ninth-century)

Two hundred years of collaborative editorial effort has ironed out individual scholarly prejudices and quirks to produce the authentic texts we have today. Puricelli, Muratori, and others printed selected documents in transcriptions of variable quality which generally improved over time as the new discipline of palaeography developed. By *c.* 1800 the value of charters for historians was more firmly established. Many texts spurious and genuine were transcribed by Felice Monti in the 1770s into the *Codex Diplomaticus Mediolanensis ab anno 658–1408* which remained unpublished.[171] At a time when it was unclear what would happen to the parchments, Angelo Fumagalli's much more critical *Codice Diplomatico Sant'Ambrosiano* (*CDA*) appeared (discussed above).[172]

In Italian scholarship an original charter is one where form and content are consistent. It will normally be a single sheet of parchment, the dating clause and other diplomatic features will be correct for the period, the text written in a hand contemporary with that date witnessed with autograph subscriptions. A typical example is AdSM sec. IX 55 which records an exchange of property between Abbot Peter I and Tagiberta, Abbess of San Vittore di Meda.[173] It is dated accurately: 'Hludowicus magno imperator divina ordinante providentia, anni imperii euis septimo, mense junio, indictione quarta' (June 856)

[171] Bibl. Ambr., MS I 1–31 suss (in 31 volumes) examined by Airoldi, 'Il "Codice Della Croce" e il suo vero autore'. A microfilm exists at the Università Cattolica. I remain extremely grateful to Prof. Elisa Occhipinti for initial advice concerning this collection in 1986.

[172] Improvements to his versions can be found in editions by Schiaparelli, Natale (*MD*), and the recent *ChLA*. Unfortunately I have not had sufficient access to the recently published ninth-century volumes of the *ChLA* to be able to use them in this book. Specific amendments to the dates of some charters were suggested by Santoro, 'Dell'indizione e dell'era volgare nei documenti privati medioevali della Lombardia' and 'Rettifiche alla datazione di alcune documenti di *CDL*', Natale (*MD*), and Luisa Zagni in two authoritative articles on the dating of archiepiscopal charters: Zagni, 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–IX' and 'Note sulla documentazione arcivescovile milanese nel secolo X'.

[173] *MD* 95, the authenticity of which is strengthened by the dorsal annotation *commutatio inter Petrum abbatem et Tagipergam abbatissam* written in a hand contemporary with that of the main text. There are no later additions of any type to this text.

Table 3. Forms of charter texts in the Sant'Ambrogio collection, 721–899*

Breve de terra (1)
Breve divisionis (2)
Breve firmitatis ad memoriam retinenda (5)
Breve firmitatis vestiture ad memorandum retinenda (4)
Breve inquisitionis (3)
Breve investitura (1)
Breve memoratorium (1)
Breve memoratio de mundio (1)
Breve receptorium (2)
Breve securitatis (1)
Cartola (4)
Cartola commutationis/Commutatione (19)
Cartola concessionis (1)
Cartola de accepto mundio (1)
Cartola dispositionis (2)
Cartola donationis (10)
Cartola iudicati (3)
Cartola offersionis (2)
Cartola ordinationis (7)
Cartola ordinationis, iudicatii et dispositionis (1)
Cartola promissionis (2)
Cartola vinditionis (22)
Cautio (1[2])
Cautio vel oblicationis (1)
Convenientie (5)
Diploma (8)
Dispositione sed ordinationis vel absolutione (1)
Dogomentum vinditionis (1)
Iudicatum (2)
Livellum (3)
Manifestationem (1)
Notitia (13)
Notitia breve pro futuris tempore ad memoranda (3)
Notitia memorationes (2)
Placitum (1)
Preceptum (8)
Privilegium (1)
Promissione (1)
Tradiccione (1)

* This is an alphabetically ordered list of the phrases used by notaries themselves active between 721 and 899 to describe the charters they wrote. Numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of such forms in the collection. Local spellings have been retained.

is written in a straightforward Caroline minuscule, by Flambertus *notarius* at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio where it was witnessed by seven people, two of whom (Tagiberta and Autelmo) signed their own names. The Latin is grammatically accurate and has no garbled passages. About 75 per cent of the Sant'Ambrogio corpus comprises originals, mostly charters of gift or sale. These originals are dispersed relatively evenly, and all the charters are originals between 792 and 834, between 855 and 865, and for most of the tenth century. Some places are evidenced almost entirely by originals including Campione (Chapter 6), Cologno Monzese and Gnignano (Chapter 7), and Inzago (Chapter 9). These facts all suggest that this archive is authentic by any reasonable criteria.

For these sorts of reasons, diplomatic practice has been of much less interest to Italian historians than to historians working on collections north of the Alps. Nevertheless, in the light of much recent work about the complex meanings of types of charter which once seemed straightforward,[174] it is necessary to investigate documentary forms encompassed by the loose term 'charter'. The corpus contains many standard north Italian types usually discussed under three headings: 'private charters' (*atti privati*), royal and episcopal documents (*diplomata* and *precepta*), and formal records of court proceedings (*placita*). So-called *atti privati* form the bulk of this collection and generally record dealings in property between two parties without obvious external (i.e. 'state') involvement.[175] From the monks' perspective such charters provided them with legal title to land, movables, and people, and for this reason they preserved them. Many different types of charter documented their legal title as set out in Table 3.

Combining the evidence of actual charters with information from law codes about charters reveals which charter forms were in use where and when. Only five distinct forms are found in the Sant'Ambrogio collection for the Lombard period (Table 3): the sale (*dogomentum vinditionis*),[176] the 'charter of guardianship' (*cartola de accepto mundio*),[177] the gift (*cartola donationis*),[178] the 'judge-

---

[174] See the numerous studies of François Bougard, Wendy Davies, Laurent Feller, Paul Fouracre, Chris Wickham, and others included in the Bibliography.

[175] The classic discussion is Violante, *Atti Privati*.

[176] The earliest example dates from 725 (*MD* 6). Sales are noticed by Rothari (*Roth*. 227) in 643, by Liutprand in 721 (*Liut*. 22), 724 (*Liut*. 54), and 729 (*Liut*. 116), and by Ratchis is 746 (*Rach*. 8).

[177] The earliest example dates from 735 (*MD* 8), although *MD* 5 (721) is a similar form.

[178] The earliest example dates from 742 (*MD* 11). Gifts are noticed by Liutprand in 724 (*Liut*. 54).

ment' (*iudicatum*),[179] and the 'caution' or 'security/surety' (*cautio*).[180] These forms were reported in Lombard legislation which suggests that scribes had access to formularies sanctioned by the kings and their agents or some other means by which they could learn what genuine charter forms should be like in terms of structure, syntax, and language. Besides these five forms successive Lombard kings dealt with charters of manumission,[181] charters 'of agreement' (the *cartola convenientiae*),[182] charters of exchange,[183] and charters of bequest.[184] Charters with similar descriptors occurred across eighth-century Europe, as perusal of the *ChLA* demonstrates.[185] By the earlier Carolingian period some of these charter forms were found in the Milanese region: the *dispositio* and *commutatio* in 776, and the *convenientia* in 823.[186] During the ninth century there is evidence that new forms of document appeared here, especially less formal *notitiae* and the *libellus*. We find the *cartola concessionis* in 784,[187] the episcopal *praeceptum* in 789,[188] the *notitia* in 822,[189] the *libellus* in 832,[190] the *inquisitium* around 835,[191] the *traditio* in 836,[192] the *promissio* in 837,[193] and so on. Although it is uncertain whether these charter forms were actually new here, the use of a wide range of charter forms like this seems to indicate that a relatively sophisticated range of contractual arrangements was possible and that both those commissioning the texts and those executing them understood how agreements should be correctly drafted.

---

[179] The earliest dates to 712–44 (*MD* 12).

[180] The earliest dates from 748 (*MD* 15). Liutprand had noticed this form in 725 (*Liut.* 67).

[181] *Roth*. 224; *Liut*. 140 (a. 734); *Aist*. 11 (a. 755) and 22 (a. 755).

[182] *Liut*. 107 (a. 729).

[183] *Liut*. 116 (a. 729).

[184] *Aist*. 12 (a. 755).

[185] Ganz and Goffart, 'Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections' and the First Series of *ChLA*, vols i–xlix.

[186] Respectively *MD* 23, 24, and *CDL* 102.

[187] *MD* 28.

[188] *MD* 30.

[189] *MD* 47.

[190] *MD* 53.

[191] *MD* 61.

[192] *MD* 62.

[193] *MD* 63.

It must be stressed that the technical analysis of charter forms is to some degree a separate issue from the social developments they evidence. It is crucial to the argument of this book that diplomatic *formulae* can sometimes obscure the real intent of a charter.[194] A formal *donatio* ('gift') may in fact record a *venditio* ('sale') or *permutatio* ('exchange'). A *testamentum* ('will') may not be its author's last word on the subject. An apparently bland *promissio* ('promise') may conceal nasty undercurrents of gendered violence.[195] Other types of document are slightly less problematic, including inventories which dealt with property management rather than transfer, although dating these precisely is difficult and inventories could also be texts with an agenda as recent work on those from Bobbio has implied.[196] Alongside private charters and monastic lists, there is a fair representation within the Sant'Ambrogio corpus of the most formal documentary types: royal *diplomata* and episcopal *praecepta*. These are discussed in Chapter 4 which deals with the activities of the monastery's patrons.

Copied Charters

It cannot necessarily be presumed that original charters pose fewer analytical problems than texts preserved only in later copies, for credibility is the paramount consideration in any historical analysis, and this is always subjective. It is possible for a charter 'original' in the technical sense to present a one-sided version of a more nuanced transaction. Narrative forms such as charters have the characteristics shared by narrative as a type of linguistic expression, especially the tendency to tell 'the' story about something.[197] It is nonetheless still

---

[194] Important studies of early medieval charter forms from this perspective are Davies and Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes* in Early Medieval Europe, *Property and Power* in the Early Middle Ages, and *The Languages of Gift* in the Early Middle Ages; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*; Bougard, 'Actes privés et transferts patrimoniaux'; Bougard, 'Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio'; Bougard, La Rocca, and Le Jan, *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer*; Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving'; Costambeys, 'The Laity, the Clergy, the Scribes and their Archives'.

[195] Balzaretti, '"These are things men do, not women"', pp. 180–81.

[196] Like many Italian monasteries, Sant'Ambrogio's inventories are few and short compared to Carolingian polyptychs. Most are usefully collected in Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 19–25. Laurent, 'Organisation de l'espace et mobilisation des resources autour de Bobbio'. The 'Carolingian Polyptyques' website hosted by the University of Leicester has much useful material: <https://www.le.ac.uk/hi/polyptyques/> [accessed 24 July 2015].

[197] Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form'.

analytically useful for the alteration and even outright forgery of a given text to be demonstrated when that is possible. Early medieval attitudes to fabricating and forging charters have recently come to be regarded as historical processes in their own right,[198] and the Limonta charters demonstrate this especially well for this collection.[199]

Charter texts preserved in non-contemporary copies are a small proportion of the Sant'Ambrogio collection overall and predictably tend to cluster around important political events in monastic history or upon certain places of especial value to the community. Not all copies were nefarious as some were copied simply because originals were damaged. Deliberate alteration may have been intended especially when the form in question could confer substantial rights and prestige on the monastery: *diplomata*, *precepta*, *placita*, and *testamenta*. Notaries often copied out such texts and usually formally 'authenticated' their work by stating where they had copied the text from and adding a new list of witnesses.[200] Unauthenticated copies are more suspicious, and often it seems that monks were responsible for such unofficial redactions (Table 4).

Table 4. Sant'Ambrogio charters not preserved as originals.
A = authenticated, cc = contemporary copy

MD	*CDL*	Archive no.	Date and Type	Date of Copy (Century)
31	65	AdSM sec. VIII 28	790 diploma	10
60	125	AdSM sec. IX 24a	835 diploma	10–11
60a	-	AdSM sec. IX 24a/24b	835 diploma	10–11
61	126	AdSM sec. IX 27	pre-835 inquisition	late 9/early 10
61a	126	AdSM sec. IX 27	pre-835 inventory	late 9/early 10
61b	126	AdSM sec. IX 27	post-835 inventory	late 9/early 10
62	-	AdSM sec. IX 25	836 testament	9 cc, A
66	136	AdSM sec. IX 29	840 gift	9 cc, A
90	183	AdSM sec. IX 50	853 *ordinatio*	9 cc
116	236	AdSM sec. IX 76	865 *placitum*	10

[198] See *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*.

[199] Balzaretti, 'The Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement', substantially revised in Chapter 9, below.

[200] Petrucci, 'Alfabetismo ed educazione degli scribi altomedievali'; Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*, p. 13.

MD	CDL	Archive no.	Date and Type	Date of Copy (Century)
122	249	AdSM sec. IX 82	870 *notitia*	late 9/early 10
123	255	AdSM sec. IX 83	873 diploma	9–10
125	257	AdSM sec. IX 85	874 *investitura*	9 cc
137	287	AdSM sec. IX 96	879 testament	late 9/early 10
138	290	AdSM sec. IX 97	879 testament	9 cc, A
146a	314	AdSM sec. IX 104	882 *placitum*	9–10
158/158a	360	AdSM sec. IX 117	894 diploma	10 [2 copies]
-	371	Pandolfi IX, 11	896/898 *breve*	9–10
163	396	AdSM sec. X 122	901 *placitum*	10
-	402	AdSM sec. X 147	903 testament	10 cc
-	417	AdSM sec. X 157	905 *placitum*	late 10/early 11
-	517	AdSM sec. X 169	926 sale	10 cc, A
-	649	AdSM sec. X 214	961 testament	10 cc, A
-	709	Pandolfi X, 11	968 sale	10 cc, A
-	845	Pandolfi X, 22	988 exchange	10 cc
-	871	Pandolfi X, 25	993 precept	10 cc
-	937	Pandolfi X, 32	997 testament	10 cc, A

Of the twenty-seven charters in this category only eighteen involve Sant'-Ambrogio.[201] Five exist in more than one version: Lothar I's grant of May 835;[202] Hunger of Milan's bequest to the monks and the canons dated 836;[203] a court case of November 882;[204] King Arnulf's diploma dated 11 March 894;[205] and another court case of July 905.[206] The original of Hunger's *testamentum* was preserved in the canonical archive, and the monastic version is an accurate copy of it, authenticated by five notaries but without the original witness

---

[201] These are *MD* 31, 60/60a, 61/61a/61b, 62, 90, 116, 122, 123, 125, 137, 138, 146a, 158, 163; *CDL* 417, 871. The other charters (*MD* 66; *CDL* 371, 402, 517, 649, 709, 845, and 937) relate to other Milanese churches and appear to me to shed no direct light on what was happening at Sant'Ambrogio itself.

[202] AdSM sec. IX 24a/24b; *MD* 60a.

[203] AdSM sec. IX 25; *MD* 62.

[204] AdSM sec. IX 104; *MD* 146/146a.

[205] AdSM sec. IX 117; *MD* 158/158a.

[206] AdSM sec. X 150/157; *CDL* 416/417.

list.[207] Textually the two versions are very similar, aside from minor variants in spelling. Importantly, this charter and its contemporary copied version prove that ninth-century notarial 'authentication' could produce accurate copies. Equally importantly, the court case record of July 905 (AdSM sec. X 150) demonstrates clearly that unauthenticated copies could be fabricated, for the copy (AdSM sec. X 157) has a faulty dating clause and some phrases which recall rather suspiciously those of a diploma of Otto III produced in 998.[208] The 882 *placitum* (AdSM sec. IX 104) is a complex case where a damaged original makes assessment difficult.[209] As the scribe Aupald may also have written a charter of 885, Natale dated this copy (AdSM sec. IX 104) to the late ninth/early tenth century.[210] The remaining charters are dealt with as the need arises in context.

Other Evidence

The charters need to be investigated alongside all the other evidence to have survived from early medieval Milan and its hinterland, notably manuscript books, inscriptions, and the results of archaeological research. Milan has only a few surviving examples of the remarkable 'manuscript culture' of early medieval Europe,[211] although some significant manuscript books were written there throughout the early Middle Ages. Attribution to Milan is often not certain.[212] Cavallo has argued that several surviving Lombard manuscripts may have been written at Milan.[213] Others have demonstrated that, although the ninth cen-

---

[207] Pandolfi IX, 2; *CDL* 127.

[208] Manaresi, 'Un placito falso per il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano'; Balzaretti, 'The Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement', pp. 11–12. Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 265.

[209] Balzaretti, 'The Lands of St Ambrose', p. 39.

[210] Aupald's charter, *MD* 152; AdSM sec. IX 110.

[211] A vast subject to which the following provide accessible introductions: McKitterick, 'Eighth-Century Foundations'; Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance'; Ganz, 'Book Production in the Carolingian Empire'; Leonardi, 'Intellectual Life'. All except Leonardi undervalue the Italian evidence, which can be accessed in Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy* and the numerous articles of Mirella Ferrari. Perhaps the most important recent work on written culture in Carolingian Italy and its modern reception is La Rocca, *Pacifico di Verona* summarized in La Rocca, 'A Man for All Seasons'.

[212] Pani, 'Manuscript Production in Urban Centres' offers a new approach to this old problem (using library catalogues) but can say little about Milan.

[213] Cavallo, 'Libri e cultura nelle due Italie longobarde', pp. 90–92. Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 285 (sceptical).

tury saw the production of several unusual manuscripts,[214] no major Carolingian author emerged from the city. Mirella Ferrari has reconstructed the manuscript culture of the early medieval city in a set of brilliant articles which suggest that the relatively few surviving manuscripts do not reflect the vibrant written culture which must once have existed.[215] A significant number of books produced in and around Milan were written at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio probably by educated monks from north of the Alps associated with the Irishman Dungal.[216] In May 825 Lothar I in a capitulary issued from Olona had required that local clerics should study with Dungal at Pavia.[217] It seems that the earliest volumes to have survived from Sant'Ambrogio may have resulted from this connection. A miscellany was produced in the first quarter of the ninth century (Milan, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, M 15) of texts on astronomy, computus, faith, and the Trinity, and Bede's martyrology with additions about feast days celebrating the monastery's own 'confessor' Ambrose.[218] A much more unusual work was the copy of Celsus, *De medicina* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Plut. 73.1), attributed to the third quarter of the ninth century.[219] This rare book circulated in north Italy only and was also known at Nonantola, perhaps demonstrating a direct scholarly connection between the two monastic communities.[220] Another medical collection — which seems to have originated in Byzantine Ravenna — of Hippocratic material, commentaries on Galen and some medical recipes was produced here *c.* 851–900 (Bibl. Ambr., MS G 108 inf), and this raises the interesting question of the extent of knowledge of Greek at this community *c.* 850.[221] Ferrari has looked to the decade

---

[214] Ferrari, 'Manoscritti e cultura' and 'La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio'; Gavinelli, 'Per un'enciclopedia carolingia' and 'Irlandesi, libri biblici greco-latini e il monastero di S. Ambrogio in età carolingia'.

[215] Ferrari, 'Centri di trasmissione'; Ferrari, 'Recensiones milanesi tardo-antiche'; Ferrari, 'Manoscritti e testi fra Lombardia e Germania nel secolo x'; and Ferrari, 'Il nome di Mansueto arcivescovo di Milano'. Cf. Villa, 'A Brescia e a Milano'.

[216] Ferrari, 'Dungal' and Ganz, 'Dúngal'.

[217] Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 126–27. Discussed by Stofferahn, '*Renovatio* Abroad', pp. 151–57.

[218] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 420.

[219] Online at <http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOML9cXI1A4r7GxMQv-&c=Cornelius%20Celsus#/book> [accessed 12 December 2016].

[220] Pilsworth, 'Medicine and Hagiography in Italy', p. 256; Pilsworth, 'Beyond the Medical Text', p. 27; Pilsworth, *Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy*, pp. 13–15.

[221] Hagen, *Codex Bernensis 363 phototypice editus*. Herren, 'Sedulius Scottus and the

840–50 as the point when Carolingian influences really began to be felt locally. A very substantial and complex miscellany was produced in the third quarter of the ninth century (the famous Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 363), a collection of classical texts, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and Carolingian poetry among much else.[222] Ferrari and Gavinelli have attributed it to Sant'Ambrogio, and Paul Kershaw has shown how monks of Irish origin were involved in its production and use.[223] Alongside these rather esoteric books, monks at Sant'Ambrogio produced liturgical works more typical of monastic scriptoria. However, an unusual Graeco-Latin psalter was produced for Abbot Peter II (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Hamilton 552), copied out by a monk called Magnus, and corrected by his colleague Simeon in the second half of the ninth century. It was a newly emended version of the Latin text which drew directly on Greek originals, as a preface to three other Milanese psalters explains: 'A certain Scot with knowledge of Greek, residing in the territory of Milan, treats of the translation of the Psalter into Latin and of its emendation'.[224] The anonymous Irish author seems likely to have been a pupil of Sedulius Scottus (*fl.* 848–60), one of the most influential Irish scholars of the period. If these manuscripts demonstrate the availability of Greek texts in Milan at this time, finding the more famous local liturgical customs of the Milanese church in manuscripts of this period is more difficult. Neither Milan's adherence to a particular baptismal rite nor a special form of singing known as 'Ambrosian chant' can definitely be located in ninth-century examples, despite scholarly efforts to do so.[225]

Local traditions were alive and well in manuscripts dealing directly with the life of Ambrose himself, of which the most significant is a later ninth-century rewritten *vita* of Ambrose copied at a scriptorium in Milan, *c.* 860–80.[226] It

Knowledge of Greek' for the wider context.

[222] Gavinelli, 'Per un'enciclopedia carolingia' and 'Irlandesi, libri biblici greco-latini e il monastero di S. Ambrogio in età carolingia'.

[223] Kershaw, 'English History and Irish Readers in the Frankish World'.

[224] McNamara, *The Psalms of the Early Irish Church*, pp. 64–66. These Milanese manuscripts are Munich, Staatsbibliothek, MS 343, fols 1ᵛ–9ᵛ (ninth-century); BAV, MS Lat. 82, fols 2ᵛ–12ᵛ (ninth-/tenth-century); and BAV, MS Lat. 83, fols 1ʳ–9ᵛ (ninth-century). Discussed in context by Paredi, 'Nota storica sui Salteri milanesi del IX secolo', pp. 163–76.

[225] Navoni, 'Dai longobardi ai Carolingi', pp. 109–13; Alzati, *Ambrosiana Ecclesia*; and the numerous essays of Enrico Cattaneo collected in *Terra di Sant'Ambrogio*.

[226] St Gallen, Stiftsbibliotek, Cod. Sang. 569, mid- to late ninth century, ed. by Paredi, *Vita e Meriti di Sant'Ambrogio* and Courcelle, *Recherches sur Saint Ambroise*. Digitized at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0569/>.

opens with a 'portrait' of Ambrose on the first page (Figure 2). Very probably
it was composed at Milan, for the author had detailed knowledge of Paulinus's
Vita Ambrosii, Ambrose's own writings, and the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*
of Epiphanius-Cassiodorus as well as deep concern for the contemporary repu-
tation of the saint. It may have been commissioned by Archbishop Anspert as
part of a propaganda war with Pope John VIII, who eventually excommuni-
cated him for disobedience.[227] Or it may be attributable to the pontificate of
the Frankish Archbishop Angilbert II.[228] Given its subject matter, a case can
be made that it originated at Sant'Ambrogio,[229] yet this seemingly self-evident
connection has in fact proved impossible to demonstrate from surviving manu-
scripts (and the text is not especially 'monastic' in its interests). Paulinus's life
(*VA* composed *c*. 412–22) was popular in the ninth century, which Angelo
Paredi attributed to the foundation of a monastery at Sant'Ambrogio. Lines
from the *VA* appear on the famous golden *paliotto* which stands above the
saint's relics (and those of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius) in the most
prominent place in the basilica. The rear ninth-century panels of this altar
cover depict scenes from the life of Ambrose which directly illustrate the
text of Paulinus. The origin of supposedly Milanese manuscripts of the *vita*
remains in dispute.[230] The recomposed life, a late ninth-/early tenth-century
vita of Marcellina (Ambrose's sister), and the dedication of a chapel to Satyrus
(Ambrose's brother) by Anspert in his will of 879 evidence continuing politi-
cization of the cult of Ambrose.[231] A collection of *vitae* of Ambrose's episcopal
predecessors is prefaced by the so-called *De situ civitatis Mediolani*, an idealized
description of the city recently dated to 998–1018 by Tomea.[232] The *Versum de*

---

[227] Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the Resources of the Past', pp. 137–38.

[228] Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli' makes a strong case for this attribution, but it is effec-
tively challenged by Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio', pp. 12–14, who plumps for Anspert's
episcopate, the most plausible choice once comparison with the contemporary scenes in the
Sant'Ambrogio apse mosaic are taken into consideration.

[229] Pilsworth, 'Medicine and Hagiography in Italy', p. 260; Pilsworth, *Healthcare in Early
Medieval Northern Italy*, pp. 132–38.

[230] Paredi, 'Paulinus of Milan' (in favour); Cracco Ruggini, 'Su la fortuna della *vita
Ambrosii*' (against).

[231] Marcellina (*BHL* 5223): Bibl. Ambr., MS E 22 inf., fols 121ʳ–124ᵛ (a substantial tenth-
century book of *vitae* and *passiones*, mostly of local saints including Lawrence at 191ᵛ). For the
date, see Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', p. 207. For the cult of Satyrus, see Ambrosioni,
Milano, papato e impero in età medievale, pp. 57–83, and Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli',
pp. 210–15.

[232] Colombo and Colombo, *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus*. The dating problems were

Figure 2. Recomposed Life of Ambrose, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 569, fol. 3ʳ.
Later ninth century. © St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, reproduced with permission.

Mediolano Civitate, most probably written *c.* 739 in the time of King Liutprand but preserved in a later ninth-century manuscript,[233] in a sense pulls together the two themes of the cult of local saints with pride in the urban townscape of Milan. This hagiographical material constituted a specific sort of historical consciousness in the minds of the monks of the Sant'Ambrogio community as those who commissioned and wrote these manuscripts saw themselves as part of a long line of sacred history.[234] The ninth-century *Vita Ambrosii* which drew on a wide range of sources for its sophisticated allegory of contemporary politics wished (in the words of Clare Pilsworth) 'to present Ambrose above all as a powerful and aristocratic figure in late Roman politics — a model for ambitious ninth-century Milanese archbishops, or perhaps Carolingian secular rulers'.[235] This version of Ambrose's life history very effectively served as contemporary history.

As is well known, early medieval Italians, especially northerners, did not write in the formal genres of 'history' anything like as often as their Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon contemporaries.[236] This difference in practice is hard to explain, but it does make the lack of a native author of Milanese history before the year 1000 unsurprising.[237] In the 780s, when the monastery at Sant'Ambrogio was being instituted, Paul the Deacon was finishing his *History of the Lombards*, but he had little to say about Milan.[238] The existence of more local traditions of historical memory around the *HL* is evidenced by several later manuscripts of it which were written either in Milan or nearby.[239] One of these 'memories' is represented by Andrew of Bergamo's continuation of Paul's history.[240] A priest

resolved by Tomea, 'Le suggestioni dell'antico' and especially *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 19–33, 418–40.

[233] Pighi, *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate*.

[234] Lifshitz, 'Beyond Positivism and Genre' and Everett, 'The Hagiography of Lombard Italy'. Everett, *Patron Saints of Early Medieval Italy*, brings to light much new evidence for this subject (e.g. pp. 18–22 on Ambrose).

[235] Pilsworth, 'Medicine and Hagiography in Italy', p. 261.

[236] Wickham, '"Lawyers' Time"'.

[237] Busch, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Arnulf und Galvaneus Flamma*; Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. by Zey; and Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. and trans. by Scaravelli. Sennis, 'Monasteries and Cities', pp. 197–99, is currently the most interesting explanation.

[238] Heath, *The Narratives Worlds of Paul the Deacon*, pp. 93–94, 168, 179–80.

[239] Pani, 'Aspetti della tradizione manoscritta', pp. 401–03.

[240] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*, ed. by Waitz, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum, pp. 220–30, and Berto, *Testi storici*, pp. 22–65.

in the retinue of Bishop Garibald of Bergamo,[241] he probably wrote his *hysto-riola* ('little history book') for Garibald around 880. His story that Archbishop Angilbert of Milan acted as mediator in the dispute between Lothar and Louis the Pious, a tale in no other source, provides a good instance of local feeling about the political importance of the Milanese church, as does his eyewitness report of the burial in August 875 of the body of Louis II in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio at the behest of Archbishop Anspert of Milan after a strug-gle over the body with Bishop Antonius of Brescia.[242] The major Carolingian annals also noticed the burial of Louis II and earlier had reported King Bernard's rebellion and the subsequent disgrace of the Milanese Archbishop Anselm I.[243] Otherwise Milanese affairs were generally off their radar.

Milanese annals proper only survive from the later medieval period, nota-bly the so-called *Annales Mediolaneses minores*, but these do not report early medieval events reliably.[244] Milan's civic chronicle tradition commenced with Arnulf's *Gesta archiepiscoporum mediolanensium* (*c*. 1077) who began his text with valuable material about Milan in the previous century but appears to have had no interest in earlier periods.[245] This source was particularly important to Violante's vision of early medieval Milanese society as he used it to fill out his picture of late tenth-century Milan as a 'precommunal' society. This was a hugely problematic method because, although Violante was aware that because Arnulf wrote amid the violence of the Patarine debates that begged many meth-odological questions, he nevertheless proceeded with his teleological view of early medieval Milan. Even so, because Arnulf represented a point of view dis-tant from those voiced within the cloister at Sant'Ambrogio his work acts as a reminder not to over-value the importance of the surviving eighth- and ninth-century monastic charters. Other voices could make themselves heard locally.

One of the loudest 'voices' in this region was what we might term the 'legal voice'. Northern Italy, as is well known, had well-developed legal structures at this period which produced substantial collections of written law throughout

---

[241] Bougard, 'Garibaldo'.

[242] Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records', pp. 20–23.

[243] *ARF*, pp. 36, 300, 301; Pertz, *Annales Laureshamenses*, p. 160; *AF s.a.* 863, 875, 894, 896; *AB s.a.* 875.

[244] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*; Chiesa, *Le cro-nache medievali di Milano*. Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques* uses these texts rather cavalierly in his discussion of, for example, the burial sites of Milanese archbishops.

[245] Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. by Zey; ed. (with Italian translation) by Scaravelli; and English trans. by North.

Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Continuously evolving and complex legal frameworks which used 'canon' as well as so-called secular law gave charters much of their meaning as usable and trustworthy records of transactions involving individuals, families, and institutions. Church law developed through papal pronouncements, conciliar decisions, and local synodal decrees including those of meetings held in Milan itself.[246] Manuscript books of secular law must have been used by officials involved in the regular courts held in Milan, yet it has not been possible to attribute any such ninth-century book to Milan.[247] An important canon law collection known as the *Collectio Anselmi dedicata* (currently undergoing renewed study) was apparently produced in late ninth-century Milan for Archbishop Anselm II, an otherwise ill-documented man.[248]

Publicly displayed inscriptions formed an important part of Roman townscapes: maps, records of building work, laws, prices, and post-mortem tributes could all be posted on buildings for others to read. The large corpus of inscriptions from Roman Milan has been much studied.[249] Roman inscribed stones are perhaps easier to appreciate than early medieval ones as often they have portraits of the departed on them. There is still no complete edition of immediately post-Roman and early medieval stones.[250] In Italy the Roman epigraphic tradition of display seems to have continued throughout the early medieval period mostly in the form of funerary stones which almost exclusively commemorated dead male members of the elite.[251] A good example is the funeral stone and epitaph of Benedict, the founding abbot of Sant'Ambrogio.[252] The text and appearance of his stone were known from the eighteenth-century account of Giulini with

---

[246] Padoa Schioppa, 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese nell'età Carolingia' and his *Studi sul diritto canonico medievale*, esp. pp. 79–172.

[247] Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*. Pani, 'Manuscript Production in Urban Centres', p. 283, shows clearly what types of book were found in north Italian libraries.

[248] Scaravelli, 'La collezione canonica Anselmo dedicata'.

[249] Sartori, *Gente di sasso*, pp. 9–10.

[250] Cassanelli, 'Materiali lapidei a Milano in età longobarda', p. 238; De Rubeis, 'Le scrittura epigrafica in età longobarda', 'Epigraphs', and 'Silloge epigrafiche: le vie della pietra in età carolingia'; Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 235–76; Sannazaro, 'Osservazioni sull'epigrafia della prima età longobarda in Italia settentrionale' and 'Epigrafia e città'.

[251] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 239–42.

[252] Cassanelli, 'Un contributo all'epigrafia altomedievale Milanese'; the stone is illustrated on p. 510.

Figure 3. Funerary stone of
Abbot Benedict. Engraved in Giulini,
Memorie spettanti all storia, ii,
opposite p. 75.

an accompanying engraving (Figure 3),[253] but a recent discovery recovered the object itself. The text reads as follows:

> Here lies in peace Benedict priest and unworthy abbot of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, who passed in this earthly life more or less fifty years. The cross of Christ is life for me. I believe that the Lord has not abandoned me and will not condemn me before he comes to judge me. But pity me, my Redeemer. Pious Lord, my Redeemer lives and in the final moment was reborn, and I too shall see my bones and flesh reborn ... to God the Saviour ... send me your angel my protector who [will raise] me from the dust.[254]

This modest, rather anodyne tribute is perhaps what one should expect for the pious, undemonstrative abbot Benedict seems to have been.[255] It contrasts markedly with Abbot Peter II's epitaph (dated AD 899), of which the stone is lost.[256] It reads:

> Hic sibi constructa tumulatur Petrus in urna/quem monachis patrem munus herile dedit/ fratribus hic requies cibus et solamen egenis/alter hic ut patuit nam Benedictus erat/ templa domos vites oleas pomeria struxit/auxit thesaurus conduplicavit agros/ quem meritae fratres sortiri proemia vitae/ implorent precibus annue trina salus/Obiit vero anno incar. Domini. DCCCC pridie idus Octubris, indic. III/in regimine autem prefuit ann. XLV men. I dies XV.

[253] Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, ii, 75–76.

[254] Forcella, iii, no. 264 (pp. 199–200); Cassanelli, 'Un contributo all'epigrafia altomedievale Milanese'.

[255] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 290–91.

[256] Forcella, iii, no. 270. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, i, 219, 393–94.

[Here lies buried Peter in the urn constructed for him, who as a masterly father gave service to the monks and made accessible his remains to the brothers as are food and solace to the needy, just as Benedict was. He built churches, houses, vineyards, olive groves and orchards, he increased the treasury and doubled the fields, by whose merit the brothers drew lots in the preface to life and they will implore salvation by prayers three times each year. He died in the year of the incarnation of the Lord 900 the day before the ides of October, third indiction, forty-five years, one month, and fifteen days into his rule.]

This rather boastful text similarly fits with other information about this abbot who seems to have been a much more active, indeed difficult, man than his predecessor Benedict.[257]

As these two examples make plain, inscribed stones, like charters, can be originals or copies.[258] When they survive as original objects they constitute another source of authentic evidence which melds the textual and the material, as charters and manuscript books do.[259] But stones, which rarely survive in situ at their original sites, reveal little of contemporary burial practices. Around 230 Milanese stones dated before *c*. AD 800 have survived, a significant number as original artefacts albeit in or as fragments. Some significant inscriptions have survived only as written copies and have long been enveloped in antiquarian controversy. Unsurprisingly, some of the key actors in early medieval Milanese history were memorialized with epitaphs in stone, as the commissioning and erection of a stone could evidence the power of a living person. More often a desire on the part of a family member or other associate to commemorate the dead person and their noteworthy deeds caused such stones to be made.[260] Such elite display culture could certainly be competitive particularly in a more densely populated urban environment such as Milan. A fascinating case is provided by the reuse of a Roman marble urn in the tenth century by Walpert who commissioned an inscription to be carved around the top of this sizeable object which was then removed from Milan and displayed to honour his parents in Appiano (CO) some thirty-five kilometres north-west of the city:

[257] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 294–96.

[258] Favreau, *Les Inscriptions medievale*, pp. 44–49.

[259] Favreau, *Les Inscriptions medievale*, pp. 73–101, outlines how inscriptions can constitute good evidence for the history of writing and language, culture, and social history.

[260] Comparative evidence of the purposes and meanings of stones from Brittany, Wales, and Scandinavia demonstrates the political power which the raising of stones could have: Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 186–88; Davies and others, *The Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany*; Jesch, 'Runic Inscriptions and the Vocabulary of Land'.

Walpert subdeacon ordered this to be done. This work was commissioned by Walp-
ert for the love of his parents, who prayed that God might find adequate reward
in this object which was transferred here from Milan with much effort desirous of
preserving his memory.[261]

This was clearly a work of some cost in which familial commemoration was
combined with self-publicity, a strategy that may have been successful as this
same Walpert may later have become Archbishop of Milan.[262]

Although this inscription is preserved in a very unusual form, it is other-
wise typical of Milanese inscriptions which were generally commissioned by or
for ecclesiastics.[263] Most were funerary stones with undated texts in the classic
brief 'Here lies' (*Hic iacet*) form. Where the actual stones survive, their design
and language convey something of the aesthetic sensibilities of the period in
this region.[264] There have been several attempts to give this epigraphic display
culture meaningful chronology despite difficulties dating many stones. In 1948
Nicolette Gray put forward the idea that stones could be grouped into various
'schools' as evidenced by consistent epigraphic practices, such as the way let-
ters were carved and arranged, the language used, the decorations found on the
object, and so on.[265] Fundamental though this research was, Gray's chronology
was dependent on highly speculative points about stylistic comparison. Her

---

[261] 'Walpertus subdiaconus fieri iussit. Hoc fabricavit opus Walperti amore parentum
orent ut reddat proemia digna deus quod Mediolanio multo deferre labore hic studuit cupiens
optinisse suo'. Forcella, IX, 233; Monnaret de Villard, *Catalogo delle iscrizioni cristiane*, no. 38,
pp. 72–74 with photograph; Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', no. 72, pp. 95–96.
Illustrated at <http://www.webalice.it/matteolerario/frame2%20walp.htm> [accessed 3 July
2017]. It is now in the Museo Archeologico in Milan. Interestingly there is a rare reference to a
'basin maker' active at Milan in 972 (see below, Chapter 5).

[262] Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', p. 99. See below, Chapter 4, for Walpert's
career.

[263] Editions: Forcella; Forcella & Seletti; Monnaret de Villard, *Catalogo delle iscrizioni cris-
tiane*; Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions'; Antico Gallina and Soldati Forcinella,
'Indagine sulla topografia, sulla onomastica, sulla società nelle epigrafi Milanese'. The best
edition for the fifth- and sixth-century stones is now *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae Septimo
Saeculo Antiquiores (nova series)*, vols XII, XIV, and XVI.

[264] There are parallels in the better-documented ways that aristocratic Lombards used
inscriptions at Pavia (Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 248–65) and in the monastery of
San Vincenzo al Volturno (Mitchell, 'Literacy Displayed' and 'The Display of Script and Uses of
Painting in Longobard Italy').

[265] Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions'. This work has been developed by Nick
Everett for the Lombard period.

belief that the magnificent eighth-century stones from Pavia, including the epi-
taphs of Cunincpert, Ansprand and Raginthruda, Theodota and Cunincperga,
Audoald 'duke' of Liguria, and Gisulf the deacon,[266] represented a court style
is plausible as Liutprand's reign (712–44) was a time of undoubted cultural
renaissance.[267] The epitaph of Bishop Thomas was the only Milanese stone
included, fragments of which are still in the crypt of San Calimero.[268] Thomas
baptized Gisela daughter of Charlemagne in 781, and this might be enough to
explain why he merited an epitaph of this kind.

There are other probably eighth-century stones including one yet unedited
with a Latin inscription which has been linked stylistically to that of Bishop
Cumian of Bobbio,[269] and two in Greek whose origins are as yet unclear.[270] But
by far the most significant certainly Milanese inscription of this period is the
imposing (190 cm × 54.5cm) burial stone of Aldo, probably dated to *c.* AD 700
(or perhaps significantly earlier in the seventh century).[271] The stone, which was
recovered in 1884 during excavations under the tower of the now demolished
fourth-century Basilica of San Giovanni in Conca, is damaged, but the inscrip-
tion has been plausibly reconstructed by Silvia Lusuardi Siena. The lengthy
text, well-carved letters, and figurative arrangement of the stone with a large
cross at its heart represent a very confident epigraphic production. However,
where it was produced or by whom is unclear, although stylistic comparisons
have been made between it and the famous stone of the brothers Grauso and

[266] Respectively, Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', nos 23, 24, 44, 43, 45, 46,
and 40.

[267] Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', pp. 59–78; Everett, *Literacy in Lombard
Italy*, pp. 248–65; Mitchell, 'Artistic Patronage and Cultural Strategies in Lombard Italy',
pp. 347–56 (the best discussion of this subject).

[268] Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', no. 37; Forcella, I, no. 505. The complete
text is known from antiquarian accounts. Thomas was supposed to have exhumed the relics of
Calimerus, but there is no authentic evidence in support of this.

[269] Cassanelli, 'Materiali lapidei a Milano in età longobarda', p. 246 (fig. 287). It was in the
courtyard of no. 1 via Nerino.

[270] Cassanelli, 'Materiali lapidei a Milano in età longobarda', p. 247. The first of these por-
trays Saints Nazarius and Celsus (Forcella & Seletti, no. 252) and the second has an inscription
which terms Ambrose 'papa' (Forcella and Seletti, no. 253, and Monnaret de Villard, *Catalogo*
delle iscrizioni cristiane, no. 13).

[271] Forcella, I, no. 677 (p. 466); Monnaret de Villard, *Catalogo* delle iscrizioni cristiane,
no. 29 (pp. 56–57); Cassanelli, 'Materiali lapidei a Milano in età longobarda', p. 246 and fig. 285
(p. 244); Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 264 and 266 (pl. IX); and especially Lusuardi
Siena, '*Pium super amnen iter*' which reconstructs the inscription.

Aldo, still at the church of S. Pietro di Beolco, near Como, but probably produced at Pavia or Brescia.[272] Given the relatively limited amount of material, it is impossible to deduce much about any epigraphic workshops which may have existed in eighth-century Milan itself, but clearly there was demand for high-quality funerary monuments at this time from those of high status. That demand was most probably fulfilled by craftsmen working in Pavia. Less expensive objects with writing on them, such as a comb with the letters of the alphabet, were presumably affordable by a wider range of city dwellers and may have been produced locally.[273]

Old Italian inscriptions were of considerable interest to Carolingian visitors from north of the Alps in the early ninth century as evidenced particularly by BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 833, folios 35[v]–84[r], a manuscript compiled in the first half of the ninth century partly at Lorsch and partly in north-east Lotharingia.[274] It reported thirty-six texts in total beginning with Rome and following with Milan (at fols 41[r]–43[v]). Those texts were collected from the cathedral of Santa Tecla, San Nazaro, and Sant'Ambrogio which was termed 'Ambrosianum' and had seven epitaphs of late Roman date. By the time this manuscript was made the 'Ambrosianum' had in fact probably become a mausoleum for some of the 'Italian branch' of the Carolingian family including Pippin (king of Italy 781–810), Bernard (king of Italy 810–18), and Louis II (king of Italy 844–75). Pippin's stone and Bernard's reported inscription are most probably later medieval fakes, although it seems to have been possible for near-contemporaries to believe that both men were buried here.[275] Louis II was certainly buried here, but his magnificent stone is now believed to be a fourteenth-century copy although the text is genuine.[276] Other stones were made for Abbots Benedict and Peter II as already noted, and also for Archbishop Anspert who died in

[272] Lusuardi Siena, '*Pium super amnen iter*', pp. 6–7; Banti, 'Considerazioni a proposito di alcune epigrafi dei secoli VIII–IX conservate a Brescia', p. 177 n. 19. Paul the Deacon narrated the fateful story of these two men who rebelled against King Cunincpert (*HL* V 37–39, VI 6).

[273] Fiorilla, 'Bolli e iscrizioni su laterizi altomedievali del territorio lombardo' (on tiles); Massa, 'Il vasellame fine tardoantico', p. 133; and Sannazaro, 'Epigrafia e città', p. 81 (comb).

[274] Digitized at <http://digi.vatlib.it/view/bav_pal_lat_833>.

[275] Forcella, III, no. 265 (Pippin), no. 266 (Bernard). Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', pp. 160–61.

[276] Ferrari, 'Manoscritti e cultura'. Besta, 'Milano sotto gli imperatori carolingi', p. 410 (text and Italian translation). Petoletti, '"Urbs nostra"', has recently suggested that the stone and its inscription are indeed genuine.

881. His funerary stone was also thought to be a later copy but recently has been established as a genuine ninth-century work.[277]

Charters, books, and inscriptions qualify as 'material culture' as well as text, but clearly the most important type of surviving material culture is the result of archaeological excavation and survey. Archaeology as a discipline went through a postmodern phase like history, but it was perhaps less susceptible to the influence of this sort of relativist thinking.[278] This is not, of course, to say that Archaeology is an uncontroversial study whether theoretically, in terms of practice, or interpretation. It is also a highly diverse discipline, something which non-archaeologists often do not appreciate, and even the most archaeologically aware historians come in for substantial criticism.[279] It is impossible in a book centred on written evidence to do Archaeology full justice, so the eclectic approach to the discipline recently suggested by Mark Pearce ('bricolage') has been adopted here.[280] As a non-archaeologist who sees Archaeology as essential to the study of the early medieval period, in this book I focus on what Archaeology can reveal about early medieval Milan rather than what it cannot. Perhaps the greatest advantage which Archaeology has over History is also its biggest weakness: namely its ability to deal with very long chronologies back deep into our non-literate past. How to interpret human thoughts in non-literate societies seems extremely problematic, at least from the point of view of a historian more used to reading texts (like charters) which on the face of it do reveal something of past thought processes.[281]

This point is important because in the case of Milan and its region archaeology can reach back successfully to the Mesolithic (*c.* 11,500 years BP), and settlement continuity could be very great as shown by the significant number of places discussed in this book which have both prehistoric and early medieval archaeology, among them Milan itself, Biassono, Cologno Monzese, Monza, Paderno, and Trezzo sull'Adda (Map 2).[282] The Roman archaeology of the area

---

[277] Forcella, iii, no. 268. Ambrosioni, 'Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores'; Petoletti, 'Copiare le epigrafe nel medioevo'.

[278] Moreland, *Archaeology and Text*, pp. 111–19, and *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, pp. 52–55, set out convincing arguments against postmodern archaeology.

[279] E.g. Hills, 'History and Archaeology' criticizing Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

[280] Pearce, 'Have Rumours of the "Death of Theory" Been Exaggerated?', p. 87.

[281] Cf. Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain*. Giannichedda, *Uomini e cose* is also interesting in this regard.

[282] Pearce, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro*, pp. 35–36.

Map 2. Archaeological sites around Milan. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

is considerable (and addressed further in Chapters 3 and 5), but as might be expected of a large city and its hinterland it is exceptionally complex. Modern techniques have transformed long-standing early modern antiquarianism which was obsessed with the Romans and, to a lesser extent, early Christianity. There was little serious interest in the remains of the early medieval period until the middle of the eighteenth century. Michele Cagiano de Azevedo demonstrated a deep interest in early medieval archaeology in the mid-twentieth century,[283] yet it is only in the last thirty years that the archaeology of early medieval Milan has really taken off. Now there is a huge amount of information but still only a few useful syntheses of it.[284]

The nature of early medieval 'urbanism' — of Milan in particular — continues to be controversial.[285] The extent of its early medieval 'abandonment' and 'decline' as evidenced by 'dark earth' remains unclear.[286] For the late Roman period studies exist of the city's walls,[287] cemeteries including early Christian *ad martyres* sites,[288] important above-ground sites such as the late Roman amphitheatre and its district,[289] the Monastero Maggiore,[290] Sant'Ambrogio,[291] Sant'Eustorgio, San Lorenzo,[292] Santa Maria d'Aurona,[293] San Nazaro, and San

[283] Cagiano de Azevedo, 'Milano da S. Ambrogio a Desiderius', 'Northern Italy', and 'Milano longobarda'. Lusuardi Siena, 'Città e campagna nell'altomedioevo'.

[284] Pizzi, *Milano capitale* and Sena Chiesa and Arslan, *Felix temporis reparatio* (on the third and fourth centuries); Lusuardi Siena, 'Milano'; Brogiolo, 'Milano e il suo territorio alla luce di archaeologia'; La Rocca, 'Milano longobarda'. Also useful for the period before 800 is Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne* (see 'Milan' in the index).

[285] Balzaretti, 'History, Archaeology and Early Medieval Urbanism'; Brogiolo, 'A proposto dell'organizzazione urbana nel medioevo'; La Rocca, '"Dark Ages" a Verona' and 'Città altomedievali, storia e archeologia'; Ward-Perkins, 'The Towns of Northern Italy' and 'Continuitists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy'; Wickham, 'La città altomedievale'.

[286] Macphail, Galinié, and Verhaeghe, 'A Future for Dark Earth?'.

[287] Bianchi, *La Porta Nuova della mure medievali di Milano*.

[288] Sacchi, *Ianua leti*; Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 148–56; Sannazaro, 'Considerazioni sulla topografia e le origini del cimitero Milanese *ad martyres*'.

[289] Ceresa Mori, *L'anfiteatro di Milano e il suo quartiere*.

[290] De Marchi, 'Milano e le testimonianze altomedievali del monastero Maggiore'.

[291] Bertelli, *Il Ciborio della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*; Brivio, *Guida della Basilica di S. Ambrogio*; Gatti Perer, *Dal Monastero di S. Ambrogio all'Università Cattolica* and *La Basilica di S. Ambrogio*; Capponi, *La Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*; Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*; Sannazaro, *Ricerche archeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*.

[292] Biscottini, *La basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore*.

[293] Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*; Bertelli and Ravaglia, 'Milano', pp. 253–59,

Simpliciano.[294] Major excavations in Piazza Duomo (the site of the early cathedral), the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (the Roman forum), and those sites associated with the excavation of Linea 3 of the metro system have helped to increase the amount of information about early medieval Milan of which few standing remains exist.

In the last twenty years the archaeology of the countryside has caught up with more established urban studies, and there are now significant studies of rural churches, cemeteries, and fortified centres in Milan's hinterland. There has been important work about villas,[295] fortified sites,[296] rural churches,[297] and about 'rural society' more generally.[298] Burial and cemetery archaeology across the Po Valley has expanded hugely since the 1970s.[299] Major sites include the Lombard-period burials/cemeteries at Campione d'Italia,[300] Trezzo sull'Adda,[301]

---

also has illustrations of sculptural fragments from the church and detailed catalogue descriptions of them. The recent discussion by Cassanelli, 'Il complesso monastico di S. Maria d'Aurona', reassesses the importance of this church in the later Lombard period.

[294] Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria.*

[295] Brogiolo, Chavarria Arnau, and Valenti, *Dopo la fine delle ville.*

[296] Brogiolo and Gelichi, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale.* Cf. Fronza, 'Timber and Earth'.

[297] Brogiolo, *Le chiese tra VII e VIII secolo in Italia settentrionale.*

[298] Brogiolo, 'Risultati e prospettive della ricera archeologica sulle campagne altomedievali italiani'; Borghi and Zastrow, 'La corte di Sant'Ambrogio a Capiate di Olginate'; Bougard, 'La Torre'.

[299] Settia, 'Longobardi in Italia'; Brogiolo and Cantino Wataghin, *Sepolture tra IV e VIII secolo*; La Rocca, 'Segni di distinzione'; Cantino Wataghin, 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes'. Barbiera, *Memorie sepolte* is an excellent survey of the field.

[300] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia'.

[301] Roffia, *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda.* Trezzo is situated thirty-three kilometres north-east of Milan on the banks of the Adda in a highly strategic position 187 m above sea level. An important Lombard cemetery was excavated here in 1976. A group of high-status burials was uncovered, including one (Tomb 2) of a man thirty to thirty-five years old which had a seal ring with an image of a bearded male (presumed to represent the Lombard king) naming its occupant as +RODCHIS V(IR) ILL(USTRIS). Also with the body were the typical military accoutrements of a Lombard male of the mid-seventh century. Tomb 4 (first half of the seventh century) also contained a seal ring with the name + ANSV/ALDO. Tomb 1 contained the body of a man, probably of early seventh-century date, also with elaborate metal grave goods. Tomb 1 (male): Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, p. 70 (fig. 49 burial kit illustrated) and p. 88 (Cat. no. 39); Tomb 2 (male): Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, p. 38 (fig. 5 burial kit illustrated) and p. 45 (Cat. no. 7); Tomb 4 (male): Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, p. 97 (fig. 56 seal ring) and p. 102 (Cat. no. 49a).

and Arsago Seprio.[302] The most famous archaeological site in the area is probably the complex at Castelseprio,[303] with the adjacent fortifications at Torba.[304] Recent excavations in the 'borgo' at Castelseprio have found, for example, a seventh-century bronze belt buckle.[305] Further north there has been significant work at Como, Isola Comacina,[306] S. Giulia d'Orta,[307] and Monte Barro.[308]

Important work has recently addressed the production, circulation, and consumption of ceramics in this region across our time period.[309] Wickham argued in 2005 that 'the simplicity of ceramic production [in northern Italy before the ninth century] may indeed imply that northern wealth has conversely been overestimated in the ninth century or even later'.[310] This may be unduly pessimistic given that northern Italy lacks the large-scale field survey work undertaken further south in Italy. Several more recent excellent surveys drawing on many archaeological sites have suggested that complex economies did exist in the eastern Po Plain, and there seems little reason to think that Milan and its region would have been less complex. Imported pottery was to be found in Milan, including that produced in and around Comacchio.[311] Over a long period soapstone ves-

---

[302] De Marchi, Mariotti, and Mizzo, 'La necropoli longobarda di Arsago Seprio'.

[303] Carver, 'S. Maria *foris portas* at Castelseprio'; Bertelli, 'Castelseprio e Milano'; Brogiolo, 'Per una storia religiosa di Castelseprio', esp. the summary with possible new dating to the ninth/tenth centuries at pp. 252–54; De Marchi, 'Castelseprio'; Rossi, 'Il problema Castelseprio'.

[304] Bertelli, *Gli affreschi nella torre di Torba*; Brogiolo, 'Torba'. This is part of the late antique fortifications of Castelseprio. A considerable watchtower survives here to a height of 17 m, which was used in the eighth century as a nunnery. The lower floor was used as a burial space. The upper floor was frescoed with scenes of an iconophile nature demonstrating Byzantine influence. The site is now owned by the Fondo Ambiente Italiano which provides useful information about it with good photographs at <https://www.fondoambiente.it/luoghi/monastero-di-torba> [accessed 11 October 2018].

[305] Giostra, 'Ritorno a Castelseprio', p. 5, and more generally Giostra and Leonardi, 'Il borgo'.

[306] Brambilla and Brogiolo, 'Case altomedievali dell'Isola Comacina'.

[307] Bertani, 'Il "castrum" dell'isola di S. Giulia d'Orta in età longobarda'.

[308] Brogiolo and Casteletti, *Archeologia a Monte Barro*; Brogiolo, 'Edilizia residenziale di età gota in Italia settentrionale'.

[309] For AD 400–800 the starting point is Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 728–41. For the ninth and tenth centuries, Cantini, 'Produzioni ceramiche ed economie in Italia centro-settentrionale'.

[310] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 740; Wickham, 'Overview', p. 359, describes the 'fairly restricted role for exchange' in the Lombard kingdom.

[311] Distribution maps: Negrelli, 'Produzione, circolazione e consume tra VI–IX secolo', e.g. fig. 20, p. 461; Negrelli, 'Dal VI all'VII secolo', fig. 1, p. 139. Gelichi and Negrelli, 'Ceramica e

sels (using Alpine sources) were a significant commodity here,[312] and it has been shown that Milan was a consumer of pottery produced across the Po Valley, in a period (ninth and tenth centuries) for which little previous synthetic work exists.[313] Continuing analysis of finds from the Comacchio excavations in the Po delta will undoubtedly strengthen Cantini's arguments, and indeed Gelichi has argued that the circulation of such goods was not restricted to a limited elite.[314]

One area where more work is badly needed in this region is environmental archaeology. This depends on the right conditions of preservation for success, and at the moment to the best of my knowledge relatively little is known for this area about types of crops grown and whether these changed over time, about what people ate and the health of the population at given periods, about climate change, and so on.[315] Some detailed studies have been published, such as Polydora Baker's investigation of food supply in Lombard-period Brescia and Frank Salvadori's work on animal husbandry,[316] but more would be welcome.[317] Landscape archaeology is more developed, especially field survey, although there is nothing on the scale of the South Etruria, Liri valley, Tiber valley, or Biferno valley surveys in central Italy, undertaken under the aegis of the British School at Rome over a long period of time.[318]

Conclusion

This survey of the available evidence for the history of Milan and its region in the early medieval period has proceeded from a single short eighth-century

circolazione delle merci nell'Adriatico tra VII e X secolo', fig. 5, p. 54; Gelichi, 'Societies at the Edge', fig. 3, p. 293.

[312] Alberti, 'Produzione e commercializzazione della pietra ollare in Italia settentrionale'.

[313] Cantini, 'Produzioni ceramiche ed economie in Italia centro-settentrionale', pp. 354, 356, discussed by Wickham, 'The Economy of Italy and Spain', pp. 338–39.

[314] Gelichi, 'Societies at the Edge', p. 297. Cf. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 53, 61–62, for pottery use by peasants in Tuscany and northern Europe.

[315] Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 484–87, is a useful summary.

[316] Baker, 'Socio-economic Aspects of Food Supply in Early Medieval Brescia'; Salvadori, 'Gli animali nell'economia e nell'alimentazione in Italia'.

[317] Recently, Rottoli, 'Reflections on Early Medieval Resources in Northern Italy' and 'Crop Diversity between Central Europe and the Mediterranean'.

[318] In general Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 412–28; Barker and Lloyd, *Roman Landscapes*; Barker, 'The Italian Landscape in the First Millennium AD'. Barker, *A Mediterranean Valley* is important methodologically.

charter to intensely complex archaeological investigations. It has necessarily focused on Sant'Ambrogio and its monastic community. The amount of evidence is considerable, and all of it poses technical, methodological, and interpretive problems, some of which have been touched on here. Manuscript books, inscriptions, and archaeology — fascinating though they are — are difficult to use as material from which to construct historical narrative. Charters do make this possible, and taking inspiration from microhistorical methods, the lives of groups of early medieval people can be followed over a considerable period of time using this exciting material. Since charters also contain levels of detail rare in this period which allow the lives of the weak as well as the powerful to be studied, these 'micro' narratives can disrupt the 'grand narratives' presented by 'official' sources such as annals. But, as we have seen, one problem is that the Milanese charters do not begin until the year 721. In order to get from the lifetime of Ambrose himself — the dedicatee of Sant'Ambrogio and inspiration to generations of monks there — to the documents preserved by the monastery founded four hundred years later, we must deploy non-written as much as written evidence. This means that 'micro' narratives have to be put on hold until after the 'macro' picture of the 'transformation of the Roman world' has been considered. This is done in Chapter 3. Before that, more needs to be said about interpretations of the seminal figure of Ambrose and his influence upon Milanese historical scholarship.

Interpretation

Premodern Ambrose

St Ambrose had a huge impact on Milan and the wider world during his life-time (*c.* 337/340–4 April 397), and has had ever since.[1] The natives of Milan are still known as *ambrosiani*, 'Ambrosians', as well as *Milanesi* (in Italian) and *Meneghini* (in dialect).[2] Until recently on and around Ambrose's feast day (7 December) the church in which Ambrose is buried, the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, was the site for a historic market set up in the piazza in front of the atrium, a much-loved local event known in Milanese dialect as 'O béj! O béj!' (How pretty! How pretty!).[3] Sant'Ambrogio has always been the cen-tral site of Ambrose's cult, with his bones now housed in a wonderfully vulgar

---

[1] Lazzati, *Ambrose Episcopus*; Moorhead, *Ambrose*; Ramsey, *Ambrose*; and Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* is the essential modern study of Ambrose's world, and McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 361–77, deals with his death and fifth-century reputation.

[2] The term *ambrosiani* appears to have been first written down in the later eleventh century by Arnulf of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium* 4.4. *Mediolaneses* was the more common term (e.g. used by Liudprand of Cremona in *Antapodosis* 1.24, 2.51, 2.52, 3.64, and *Relatio* 7: Gandino, *Il vocabolario politico e sociale di Liutprando*, pp. 117, 260, 282).

[3] Pagani, *Milano com'era*, pp. 198–99, reproduces several photos and engravings of the event from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This market has now moved to the Castello Sforzesco after at least five hundred years outside Sant'Ambrogio.

late nineteenth-century shrine in the crypt of a great Romanesque building.[4] Much is now known about the complex history of this iconic building.[5] It was constructed on the orders of Ambrose himself at the very end of the fourth century both as a grandiose *martyrum* and as his own burial place.[6] The bishop chose his site with care, knowing that it had been an important holy place long before he embellished it with a substantial church. In pre-Christian and early Christian times, this area was part of the *Hortus Philippi*, the most important burial place of Roman *Mediolanum*, and close to the huge imperial *mausoleum* (now the church of San Vittore al Corpo).[7] In keeping with earlier Roman tradition, the bodies of the Christian dead were marginalized outside the urban fabric and there they kept their silence, despite the fact that some early martyrs were believed to have been buried there. No cults of any substance developed around them until the contrived discovery (*inventio*) by Ambrose of the remains of the brothers Protasius and Gervasius.[8] This is reported in a letter by the saint himself to his sister Marcellina dated 20 June 386,[9] with characteristic arrogance (or 'studied acts of intransigence' in Peter Brown's evocative phrase):

[4] The shrine was finished in 1897, the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of Ambrose's death. Photograph in Capponi, *La Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*, p. 97.

[5] Gatti Perer, *La Basilica di S. Ambrogio* is the best recent synthesis, incorporating the results of recent excavations. Reggiori, *La basilica Ambrosiana* documents the painstaking restorations of the earlier twentieth century, which were largely destroyed by the Allied bombing of 1943. In English, Porter, *Lombard Architecture* can still be used with caution, but it is outdated in most respects.

[6] McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 209–12, 226–29; Colombo and Howes, 'Sant'Ambrogio'; MacKie, *Early Christian Chapels in the West*, pp. 116–43; Thacker, '*Loca Sanctorum*', pp. 5–12.

[7] Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, p. 70; Sannazaro,'Considerazioni sulla topografia e le origini del cimitero Milanese *ad martyres*'; Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 110–15 and 120–29, which describes the necropolis under the current Università Cattolica, very near the site of the later monastic buildings.

[8] Dassman, 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer' and Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 53–54, 223–24. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, pp. 143–45, makes the point that the importance of Ambrose's translation of the relics to the Basilica Ambrosiana lay in the way in which relics, by being placed under the altar, henceforth became an essential part of Christian worship, which was controlled by the bishop. Brown, 'Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity', explains how in the twenty years following Ambrose's 'discovery' the cult of martyrs became the object of lively theological dispute.

[9] Ambrose's letters are controversial documents: see Moorhead, *Ambrose*, pp. 7–8. This letter is conventionally no. 22, but has been renumbered in recent editions and translations, of which the best is Ambrose of Milan, *Epistolae et acta*, no. 77, ed. by Faller and Zelzer, I, 126–40, and English translation in Ambrose, *Political Letters and Speeches*, trans. by Liebeschuetz,

As I am wont to keep your holiness informed of all that goes on here in your absence, I would have you know that we have found the bodies of some holy martyrs. After the consecration of a Church, many began to interrupt me crying with one voice; Consecrate this as you did the Roman Basilica (i.e. San Nazaro). 'I will do so,' I replied, 'if I find any relics of Martyrs': and immediately my heart burned within me as if prophetically. In short the Lord lent us aid, though even the very clergy were alarmed. I caused the ground to be opened before the rails of the Church of SS. Felix and Nabor.[10] I found the suitable tokens; and when some persons were brought for us to lay our hands upon, the power of the holy martyrs became so manifest that before I began to speak, one of them, a woman, was seized by an evil spirit and thrown down upon the ground in the place where the martyrs lay. We found two men of stupendous size, such as belonged to ancient days. All their bones were entire, and there was much blood. The people flocked thither in crowds throughout the whole of those two days. We arranged all the bones in order, and carried them when evening set in, to the Basilica of Fausta; where we kept vigils throughout the night, and some possessed persons received imposition of hands. The following day we transferred them to the Basilica which they call Ambrosian. During their transportation a blind man was healed. My discourse to the people was as follows. When I considered in what overflowing and unprecedented numbers you were met together, and thought on the gifts of Divine Grace which shone forth in the holy Martyrs, I felt myself, I confess, unequal to this task, and thought it impossible that I could find language to express that which we can hardly conceive in mind or endure with our eyes. But when the reading of the regular Lessons of Holy Scripture began, the Holy Spirit, Who spoke by the Prophets, granted us grace to speak somewhat worthy of this great and expectant concourse, and of the merits of the holy Martyrs.[11]

pp. 204–12. A short account of the same events is given in Augustine, *Confessions* IX.7, trans. by Pine-Coffin, pp. 191–92: written in 397, this account suggests that Augustine knew Ambrose's letter, but he did of course claim to be present at the events too (Augustine, *City of God* XXII.8, trans. by Bettenson, pp. 1034–35). Paulinus, *VA* 14 also records the event. See McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 209–19.

[10] Nabor, Felix, and Victor, martyrs from nearby Lodi, were translated to Milan in the middle of the fourth century, and small shrines in their honour already existed in this area before Ambrose's 'discovery': Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 223–24, and Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 114–15.

[11] Translation from Ambrose, *The Letters*, pp. 158–59. There is another, less precise translation in Ambrose, *Letters*, trans. by Beyenka, pp. 376–84 (as letter no. 61), and recently in Ambrose, *Political Letters and Speeches*, trans. by Liebeschuetz, pp. 204–12. For discussion, see Bastiaensen, 'Paulin de Milan et le culte des martyrs chez Saint Ambrose' and Moorhead, *Ambrose*, pp. 150–54. Knowledge of this letter in early medieval Milan is unclear: although it is preserved by two ninth-century Frankish manuscripts, the earliest Milanese manuscripts are mid-eleventh-century.

These events provided the pretext for the dedication in 386 of the Basilica Ambrosiana (first called the Basilica Martyrum) as a fitting burial place for all three men. When Ambrose died on 4 April 397 he was duly buried alongside his protégés Gervasius and Protasius under the main altar.[12] Curiously the presence of three illustrious corpses did not give rise to a very developed cult either within or around the church itself for a considerable time, although caution is advised here as too little is known about the development of the basilica between the fifth and eighth centuries despite some exciting archaeological advances recently.[13] Magnificent and expensive mosaic decorations were certainly carried out, notably the huge apse mosaic representing Christ in Majesty.[14] Dating the scenes on this image which represent key events from the life of Ambrose has proved controversial, but recent restorations seem to have made earlier dates more likely than later ones.[15] The representation of Ambrose's miraculous appearance at the funeral of Martin of Tours certainly sent out a political message about the links between Milan and Tours, although the relevant scenes most probably date to the major rupture with Rome in the late 870s.[16] The adjacent chapel of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro in existence before the basilica was built was decorated in the fifth century with a wonderful golden ceiling mosaic with an image of Victor (a martyr), not Ambrose (a confessor), in the middle.[17] The walls, however, were decorated with full-length images of early Milanese bishops including Ambrose in a famous 'portrait' suppos-

[12] For a reconstruction of the earliest shrine to the three saints, see Lusuardi Siena, 'I corpi dei santi Gervasio e Protasio a la sepoltura di Ambrogio'. The relics are generally held to be genuine, although they have not been studied scientifically in modern times. An engraving made in 1864, when the tombs were opened, clearly shows that the modern altar sits directly above a porphyry sarcophagus which is itself above the two *loculi* containing the bones. The bones were united within the sarcophagus in 835 by Archbishop Angilbert II when the famous *paliotto* was made.

[13] Sannazaro, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano'; Bruno and Perencin, 'La campagna di scavo del 1997 nel cortile d'onore (UC IX)', pp. 18–19; Lusuardi Siena and Rossignani, *Ricerche archeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, ii, 139–43.

[14] An idealized representation of the archbishop with all his eighteen suffragan bishops once existed directly beneath this mosaic: Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio', p. 7.

[15] Capponi, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 62–65 (text by Roberto Cassanelli); Foletti and Quadri, 'L'immagine e la sua memoria'; Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio'.

[16] Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio', p. 11.

[17] Capponi, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 35–38 (text by Saverio Lomartire); MacKie, 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel'; Foletti, 'Il trionfo della figura'.

edly taken from life (according to local tradition).[18] It is likely, of course, that martyr cults in fifth- and sixth-century Milan were as politicized as they were in contemporary Rome, but less is known about them to be certain of this.[19]

Of course, Ambrose soon developed considerable influence in the world outside Milan. His voluminous output of treatises, letters, and poetry had established him even while he was alive as one of the most influential thinkers of the late Roman world, almost but never quite the equal of Augustine.[20] Many of his works were known elsewhere soon after he wrote them: indeed there are a fair number of fifth-century manuscripts still surviving.[21] For example, the *De officiis* was known by Ennodius of Pavia, Isidore of Seville, the ninth-century Milanese author of the second *Vita Ambrosii*, Hincmar of Reims, and Atto of Vercelli.[22] Most famous of all was Ambrose's contribution to liturgy, especially his composition and advocacy of hymns.[23] Ambrose's association with liturgical music is controversial, but recently it has become clear that 'Ambrosian chant' was less distinctive than once thought and was much influenced by Roman, Graeco-Syriac, and Frankish styles.[24]

Soon others were writing about his sanctity and referring to his works.[25] Augustine, who knew Ambrose personally, started citing his works frequently

---

[18] Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio', p. 10.

[19] Recent revival of interest in martyr cults in Rome itself with emphasis on their complex politicization: Cooper, 'The Martyr, the *Matrona* and the Bishop'; Cooper, 'The Roman Martyrs and the Politics of Memory'; and Thacker, '*Loca Sanctorum*', pp. 3–5.

[20] Moorhead, *Ambrose*, pp. 1–9 (works), 210–18 (influence), and Brown, *The Body and Society*, pp. 341–65.

[21] Ferrari, 'Recensiones milanesi tardo-antiche' and Moorhead, *Ambrose*, pp. 210–18, for details. The most popular of his works were the Commentary on Luke, the Exameron, *De officiis* and *De fide*.

[22] Testard, *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis. De officiis*, p. xvi. Cf. Bernard-Valette, '"We are between the hammer and the anvil"', p. 99: 'The greatest bishop for Hincmar in the *De fide* is definitely Ambrose of Milan'.

[23] Moorhead, *Ambrose*, pp. 212–13, pointing out Augustine's, Paulinus's, and Benedict of Nursia's enthusiasm for these.

[24] Cattin, *Music in the Middle Ages*, pp. 31–38, is a good summary. Cf. Cattaneo, 'La tradizione e il rito ambrosiani'; Cattaneo, 'La tradizione Ambrosiana'; Cattaneo, *Terra di Sant'Ambrogio*; Navoni, 'Dai longobardi ai Carolingi'; Alzati, *Ambrosiana Ecclesia*.

[25] The study of the cult of Ambrose outside of Milan is at an early stage, and I have not made a systematic study of it here. Rimoldi, 'La figura di Ambrogio nella tradizione dei secoli IV–X' is a useful starting point but Gerzaguet, 'La "Mémoire textuelle" d'Ambroise de Milan en Italie' now supersedes all previous discussions.

after 418, and the picture of Ambrose in his *Confessions* was undoubtedly important in establishing his special holiness.[26] Ambrose's 'life' was written by the deacon Paulinus around 422 (or as early as 412–13) and was certainly being read beyond Milan.[27] In the later fifth century there was a monastery dedicated to Gervasius and Protasius in Vienne which had perhaps been founded by Hesychius, predecessor of Avitus as bishop of that city.[28] Benedict of Nursia referred to a hymn as 'ambrosianum' in his *Rule*.[29] Ennodius of Pavia certainly knew his work early in the sixth century.[30] Gregory of Tours reports the story of Ambrose, Protasius, and Gervasius in his *Glory of the Martyrs* (probably written in the 580s).[31] Cassiodorus relied on him in his *Institutes*, though as Moorhead points out largely for style rather than content.[32] Gregory the Great, although he read Augustine far more than he read Ambrose, certainly showed his respect for the saint in letters addressed to the bishops of

[26] Augustine, *Confessions* IX.5–IX.7.

[27] Editions: Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino; Bastiaensen, *Vita di Ambrogio*; Paolino di Milano, *Vita di Sant'Ambrogio*, ed. by Navoni. Paredi, 'Paulinus of Milan' provides important emendations to Pellegrino's text and a discussion of the ninth-century manuscript tradition (below, note 62), but this must be read alongside the convincing critique of Cracco Ruggini, 'Su la fortuna della *vita Ambrosii*'. The dating of the life is not absolutely fixed, with Lamirande, 'La Datation de la "Vita Ambrosii" de Paulin de Milan' suggesting AD 412–13 rather than the more traditional 422. There are useful English translations in Kaniecka, *Vita sancti Ambrosii* and Hoare, 'Life of Ambrose' (using the older Benedictine edition), and Ramsey, *Ambrose*, pp. 195–218 (using Pellegrino's edition).

[28] Avitus, *Letters and Selected Prose*, trans. by Shanzer and Wood, pp. 4, 12.

[29] Venarde, *Rule of Saint Benedict*, ch. 12, 'Inde benedictiones et laudes, lectionem de Apocalypsis una ex corde, et responsorium, ambrosianum, versu, canticum de Evangelia, litania, et completum est' ('then the blessing and the praises, one lesson from the Apocalypse, said by heart, a responsory, the Ambrosian hymn, the verse and the canticle from the Gospel, the litany, and it is finished'), and again in chapter 13.

[30] Anfossi, 'Ambrogio in Ennodio', pp. 125–29.

[31] Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, ch. 46 (trans. Van Dam, pp. 69–70). Gregory also noticed St Martin's activities in Milan in his *Histories* (I.48). Martin's activities in Ambrosian Milan are examined in Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*, p. 22 (Martin's hermitage there), p. 66 (Martin's acquisition of relics of Gervasius and Protasius), p. 123 (monastic practice at Milan and Vercelli in the mid-fourth century). Stancliffe feels that Sulpicius is likely to have known Ambrose's work even if this cannot be proven (p. 66). Of course, Paulinus used Sulpicius as one of his models for his *vita Ambrosii*. Also Penco, 'La vita monastica in Italia dell'epoca di S. Martino di Tours', pp. 74–76.

[32] Moorhead, *Ambrose*, p. 215, and Weissengruber, 'Benützung des Ambrosius durch Cassiodor'.

Milan.[33] Columbanus read him, as did his biographer Jonas, and his works were copied quite early at Bobbio, including his *Liber de Issac* (BAV, MS Lat. 5759), selections from various works (BAV, MS Lat. 5760), on the psalms (Bibl. Ambr., MS A 138 sup. and D 84 inf.), *In Lucam* (Bibl. Ambr., MS C 127 inf.), *Confessio quaedam fidei* (Bibl. Ambr., MS D 268 inf.), and *Expositio evangelii* (Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS G V 15).[34] Alessandro Zironi has argued that the *De Abraham*, *De Spirito Sancto*, *In Lucam*, and *In Psalmum CXVIII* were all at Bobbio in the Lombard period.[35] Isidore of Seville referred to him (and Paulinus) in his *De viris illustribus*, ch. 4.[36] Aldhelm relied heavily on his work on virgins in his own treatise *De virginitate* (although he had more time for male virgins than Ambrose did).[37] Bede referred to Ambrose's liturgical authority in his 'Letter to Egbert' and plundered him extensively in his commentary on Luke.[38] Cuthbert's 'Letter on the Death of Bede' quoted directly from Paulinus's *Vita Ambrosii*.[39] Closer to home there were in addition to the church at Milan churches dedicated to Ambrose in Pavia (built by King Grimoald before his death in 671),[40] in Genoa (possibly built during the period of Milanese archiepiscopal exile there in the late sixth century by Bishop Laurentius),[41] and in Reggio Emilia in the mid-ninth century.[42] In the Milanese *Versum* of *c.* 739 Ambrose appears in a list of other important Milanese saints

---

[33] Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, 1.80, 3.26, 3.29–3.31, 4.1–3, 4.22, 4.33, 4.37, 5.18, 5.52, 7.14, 8.10, 9.104, 9.150, 9.156, 9.184, 9.188, 9.224, 9.235, 10.11, 11.11, 12.14. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, p. 40; Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 151, for direct reference to Ambrose in Gregory's *Homilies on Ezekiel*.

[34] Jonas, *Vita di Columbano* I.1.

[35] Zironi, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio*, p. 159.

[36] Merino, *El 'De viris illustribus' de Isidore de Sevilla*, p. 136.

[37] Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, ed. and trans. by Lapidge and Herren; Pettit, 'Holiness and Masculinity', p. 10.

[38] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. by McClure and Collins, p. 346 (quoting Ambrose, *De virginibus*, III.iv.20).

[39] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. by McClure and Collins, p. 301 (quoting Paulinus, *VA* 45).

[40] Paul the Deacon, *HL* V 33, recording the burial of King Grimoald 'in basilica beati Ambrosii confessoris, quam dudum ipse intra Ticinensem construxerat civitatem' (Waitz, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum, p. 155).

[41] Penco, 'Centri e movimenti monastici nella Liguria altomedievale', p. 6.

[42] Wanner, *Ludovici II diplomata*, no. 23, p. 110. There was not, however, any church dedicated to Ambrose in Rome until much later.

as *magnus praesul* ('the great bishop') and *defensor civitatis* ('protector of the city').[43] His church is also noticed by the late eighth-century author of the so-called *Itinerarium salisburgense* who advised a visit to it and recorded the texts of inscriptions found there.[44]

Carolingian scholars outside Italy certainly showed interest in Ambrose. Alcuin noted his role as protector of Milan in his prose *Vita Willibrordi*.[45] Hincmar of Reims and Ratramn of Corbie showed renewed interest in his theology.[46] Notker compared Louis the German with Ambrose (but to the latter's disadvantage!) in his *Gesta Karoli Magni*.[47] Indeed Notker's abbey of St Gall was from early in its history an important centre of interest in Ambrose.[48] Of all these tributes, the new Benedictine *monasterium sancti Ambrosii* founded alongside the holy bodies inside the adjacent Basilica Ambrosiana by a Frankish archbishop of Milan in the 780s was perhaps the most potent expression of Carolingian devotion to Ambrose.[49] Just how highly Ambrose was valued can be seen from the amazing shrine erected over his tomb in the basilica in middle of the ninth century.[50] The Frankish Archbishop Angilbert II (824–59) had an elaborate gilded altar cover made with panels depicting scenes from the lives of Christ and of Ambrose,[51] a remarkable object, perhaps the finest surviv-

[43] Pighi, *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate*, p. 146. It has survived in a single liturgical manuscript, Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona, XC (85), fols 25–27, probably written in the late ninth century (after 871) and containing a variety of verses as well as a copy of Bede's martyrology.

[44] BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 833. See below, Chapter 4.

[45] 'Mediolana olim civitas imperialis sancto Ambrosio gaudet defensore' (Milan once the imperial city delights in Saint Ambrose as its defender), Krusch and Levison, *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, pp. 81–141 at p. 139 line 10 (a reference I owe to the kindness of Richard Sharpe). Alcuin also corresponded with Archbishop Peter of Milan: Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 450–51.

[46] *NCMH* II, 762, 767, 780–81, 803, 804–05.

[47] Notker, *Gesta Karoli magni*, 2.10, trans. Ganz, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer*, p. 98 (Thorpe, *Two Lives*, p. 150, quoting Paulinus, *VA* 3).

[48] McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 183; Gerzaguet, 'La "Mémoire textuelle" d'Ambroise de Milan en Italie', p. 229.

[49] The exact site of the Carolingian monastery is unclear. Recent excavations have not investigated beneath the current cloisters of the Catholic University, which is the most likely location.

[50] Gagetti, '"*Cernimus ... in gemmis insignibusque lapidibus*"'; Hahn, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan'; Foletti, 'Le Tombeau d'Ambroise'.

[51] Angilbert donated the famous golden altar to the basilica in the late 830s or early 840s as recorded by *MD* 58 (March 835, a thirteenth-century authenticated copy). This is a problematic text, clearly interpolated after the event.

ing example of any ninth-century goldsmiths' work, which still draws the eye
behind its sheet of bullet-proof glass as soon as one enters the gloomy church.[52]
This cover crafted by Vuolvinus with its elegant gold and silver images of the
lives of Christ and Ambrose and its 4379 gemstones also of course made a clear
statement of the wealth of Angilbert and his church.[53] It provides evidence that
pilgrims were visiting the church to see the saint's burial place at this time.[54]
The inscription on the altar, which is only visible very close up, makes this even
plainer:

> Æmicat alma foris rutiloque decore venusta/Arca metallorum gemmis quae compta
> coruscat/thesauro tamen haec cuncto potiore metallo/Ossibus interius pollet
> donata sacratis. Ægregius quod praesul opus sub honore beati/Inclitus Ambrosii
> templo recubantis in isto/Optulit Angilbertus ovans/Dominoque dicavit/Tem-
> pore quo nitidae servabat culmina sedis. Aspice, summae pater, famulo miserere
> benigno/Te miserante Deus donum sublime reportet.

> [This precious reliquary of pleasing design shines outwardly with glow and splen-
> dour of metal, and glitters with inlaid gems, but within it contains sacred bones
> more precious than any metal. The illustrious and noble prelate Angilbert, rejoic-
> ing, offered to the Lord this work in honour of Saint Ambrose who lies buried in
> this church, and he consecrated it in the time in which he was archbishop. Holy
> Father, look upon and benignly pity thy servant. By thy mercy, O God, may he
> achieve the supreme reward.][55]

The hundreds of more mundane deeds which the monks cherished in their
archive as legal title for their property are also representative of the cult of
Ambrose. Formulae in these charters which refer to the monastic site recur-
rently emphasize the holy burials of Protasius, Gervasius, and Ambrose. In
790 Charlemagne's grant in favour of the community was issued 'pro amorem

---

[52] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio*, the outcome of recent major restorations of the
monument, supersedes all previous work including Tatum, 'The Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio at
Milan' and Elbern, *Der karolinische Goldaltar von Mailand*. Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of
Saints*, pp. 11–12, has some interesting remarks about the *paliotto*'s formative place in the later
medieval history of pictorial hagiography.

[53] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 185–207. Neither Capponi, Gagetti, nor
Hahn speculates on where the metals for the altar came from.

[54] Nelson, 'Viaggiatori, pellegrini e vie commerciali'.

[55] Hahn, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan', pp. 182–83; Puricelli,
Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii hodie Cisterciensis monumenta, I, 127–28. For
discussion, see Ferrari, 'Le iscrizioni', p. 150. More generally, Geary, *Furta Sacra* and Smith, 'Old
Saints, New Cults'.

beati confessoris Christi Ambrosii' (for love of the blessed confessor of Christ, Ambrose) and 'pro venerationem sancti Ambrosii juxta corpora sanctorum martirum Protasii et Gervasii sue ipsius beatissimi confessoris Christi' (in veneration of saint Ambrose the most blessed confessor of Christ whose body lies next to those of the martyr saints Protasius and Gervasius).[56] In 806 Archbishop Odelpert's donation was made to Abbot Arigausus and 'monasterii nostri sancti Ambrosii, ubi eius sanctum corpus requiescit' (our monastery of Saint Ambrose, where his holy body lies).[57] In 873 Louis II's grant was made to the 'monasterii beatissimi confessoris Christi Ambrosii, ubi eius sacratissimum corpus venerabiliter humatum est, non longe a muro urbis Mediolani' (monastery of the most blessed confessor of Christ, Ambrose, where his most sacred body was in ancient times buried not far from the wall of the city of Milan).[58] There are many similar instances. Clearly Ambrose's continued physical presence at his shrine and the memory of his stature as an authoritative bishop became ever more vital to the monks' perception of their own place in the world as the ninth century progressed and the community got richer and more powerful.[59]

The formal cult of Ambrose as a saint is most obvious in the two local *vitae*. Paulinus's life became quite a popular text in the ninth century, perhaps as a consequence of the foundation of a monastery at Sant'Ambrogio.[60] The rear panels of the altar datable to the ninth century depict scenes from the life of Ambrose which are closely linked to Paulinus's text: indeed these are the oldest surviving lines of this text.[61] There are at least seven other ninth-century manuscripts: two from St Gall, one each from Milan and Bobbio, a composite Insular-north Frankish one, and another two from Francia.[62] Paredi argued

[56] *MD* 31.

[57] *MD* 38.

[58] *MD* 123.

[59] For the institutional memory of other monastic communities, compare Pohl, 'History in Fragments' (Montecassino); Costambeys, 'The Monastic Environment of Paul the Deacon' (Montecassino); Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy* (Central Italy); McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*.

[60] Paredi, 'Paulinus of Milan', pp. 221–22.

[61] Ferrari, 'Le iscrizioni', pp. 148–49, drawing on Courcelle, *Recherches sur Saint Ambroise*, pp. 169–79.

[62] Respectively: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliotek, Cod. Sang. 552, 577; Bibl. Ambr., MS A 28 inf.; Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, MS F III 16; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS 1771; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS 2072; BAV, MS Vat. Reg. 187.

inconclusively that most could be traced back to Milanese archetypes.[63] A second life based on Paulinus but with significant excisions and additions was, according to Paredi, written in the later ninth century probably in the episcopate of Anspert (868–81).[64] The author's hero-worship of Ambrose (*noster reverendus praesul*, 'our reverend bishop', cc. 85–86) in charge of the *Ambrosiana Ecclesia* (cc. 67–68) is evident throughout. The mere existence of this recomposed life is convincing evidence of the continuing development of the local cult of Ambrose, but whether the work circulated outside Milan is uncertain. Other Ambrosian enthusiasts included Andrew of Bergamo in the late ninth century,[65] and Arnulf of Milan in the late eleventh.[66] Arnulf also adopted the adjective *Ambrosiana* to refer to the Milanese clergy and to the people, the latter for the first time.[67]

Local traditions as well as foreign scholarship have tended until recently to suggest that Ambrose represented Milan to the world at large to the exclusion of all other saints. Laura Pani found that Ambrose was the third most popular author in local (mostly cathedral) libraries, after Augustine and Gregory the Great.[68] Yet Ambrose was not the only saint venerated in early medieval Milan, and other cults were strongly promoted by bishops, particularly that of the pseudo-apostle Barnabas in the eleventh century.[69] A series of lives of the bishops who preceded Ambrose (Anatalone, Gaio, Castiziano, Calimero, Mona, Maternus, as well as Barnabas) was a text intended to give 'apostolic' authority to the Milanese church. It was prefaced by an exhortatory if platitudinous description of the town (*De situ civitatis Mediolani*, dated *c.* 990–1010).[70] Earlier the *Versum de Mediolano Civitate* (written *c.* 739) had presented many saints besides Ambrose as protectors of the city and its people: Laurentius, Victor, Nabor, Maternus, Felix, Eustorgius, Nazarius, Simplicianus, Celsus,

---

[63] Paredi, 'Paulinus of Milan', pp. 220–23, questioned by Cracco Ruggini, 'Su la fortuna della *vita Ambrosii*'.

[64] Courcelle, *Recherches sur Saint Ambroise*, pp. 50–121. Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', pp. 149–86, concludes that it was written during the pontificate of Angilbert II. See above.

[65] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*, ed. by Waitz, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum, p. 225.

[66] Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium*, 4.13, 3.15.

[67] Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium* 4.4.

[68] Pani, 'Manuscript Production in Urban Centres', p. 294.

[69] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, discussed by Vocino, 'Caccia al discepolo', pp. 388–93.

[70] Tomea, 'Le suggestioni dell'antico' and *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina* a Milano nel medioevo, pp. 19–33.

Valeria, Ambrose, Protasius, Gervasius, Dionisius, Calimerus, and Benedictus.[71] All these saints apart from Benedict had churches dedicated to them in Milan itself, and the two cathedrals were dedicated respectively to Tecla and to Mary, as was the eighth-century monastery of Santa Maria d'Aurona.[72] Church dedications therefore also suggest a complex story of cults which overemphasis on Ambrose has tended to obscure.

Modern Ambrose

It was in fact the extensive post-medieval antiquarian interest by Milanese scholars in the history of Ambrose and his monastery which brought about the effective synthesis of 'Ambrosian' and 'Milanese'. Knowledge of this 'insider' scholarship demonstrates how erroneous views and factual mistakes were copied unthinkingly by generations of scholars, and how some scholars eagerly tapped into the social memory of *their* saint Ambrose. Others did not, most importantly Angelo Fumagalli, penultimate abbot while the community was being suppressed (1799), who carried out the first serious work on the charter collection.[73] Before Fumagalli, study had been much more haphazard and prone to error. Of medieval authors only the fourteenth-century Galvano Fiamma mentioned any charters.[74] Paolo Morigia's extended *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano* (Venice, 1592) made no reference to the charter collection in his remarks on the early medieval period but instead printed the text of the imposing epitaph of the Carolingian emperor Louis II for the first time, characteristically in a poor transcription.[75] Although Giovanni Pietro Puricelli published a significant number of the charters for the first time in his *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii hodie Cistercienensis monumenta* (Milan,

---

[71] Pighi, *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate*, p. 146. This Benedict was not the monk of Nursia but an early eighth-century archbishop of Milan. Gasparri, 'L'identità nordorientale e Venezia', p. 64.

[72] Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*, pp. 8–12; Cassanelli, 'Il complesso monastico di S. Maria d'Aurona', p. 119.

[73] *CDA* published posthumously in 1805 (see above).

[74] David, 'La "Cronica extravagans de antiquitatibus civitiatis Mediolani" di Galvano Fiamma'.

[75] Morigia, *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano*, p. 32, and Morigia, *Sommario delle cose mirabilis della città di Milano*, referred to 'nostro Protetture Sant'Ambruogio' (p. 20). He also incorrectly stated that Louis died at Milan and was buried in King Pippin's tomb at Sant'Ambrogio (p. 31).

1645),[76] his book is also often inaccurate. The errors of these two authors seem to support the criticisms which Mabillon made of Italian scholarship when he visited the Sant'Ambrogio archive in 1686.[77]

In the eighteenth century many more books dealing with early Milanese history appeared, most of them prompted by Muratori's scholarly work on the city's earliest chronicles and documents contemporary with them.[78] Three authors stand out: Serviliano Latuada (1703–1764), Giorgio Giulini (1717–1780), and Angelo Fumagalli. Latuada published his *Descrizione di Milano*, the first really detailed topographical description of the city, in 1737–38.[79] He allocated numbers in sequence to all its major monuments (255 in all) and plotted these on a splendid map.[80] Sant'Ambrogio (no. 154) was fully examined.[81] His account is interesting both as a snapshot of how the early history of the church was understood at the start of the modern era and also for some of the information he records about the state of the monastic archive in his own time. He began by explaining that he had to have a much longer entry than usual because the Ambrosian basilica is so celebrated. Placing great emphasis on the importance of the charter collection, he referred the reader to Puricelli's study and then gave a brief history of the site using as key documents Ambrose's letter to Marcellina, Gregory of Tours, the monastic foundation charter of 784, and Archbishop Anspert's epitaph of 881. He used several charters to 'prove' his arguments, including a suspect gift of 781.[82] While he reported with gratitude the work of Father Lorenzo de Giorgi, who had studied the archive to establish a chronological sequence for the documents, he also pointed out Mabillon's annoyance with the poor physical state of the monastic archive.[83] Latuada added that things had improved since then as the documents and a collection of both

[76] E.g. the diploma granted to Sant'Ambrogio by Louis II in 873: Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii hodie Cisterciensis monumenta*, I, 214–15.

[77] Momigliano, 'Mabillon's Italian Disciples'.

[78] Muratori, *Antiquitates* and Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (appearing from 1721 on). See above.

[79] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*. I have used the modern reprint edited by Paola Gerevini. Page numbers refer to this edition. There is a useful sketch of the author in Poli Vignolo, 'Latuada, Serviliano'. Oddly Latuada does not have an entry in the *DBI*.

[80] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, I, opposite p. 62.

[81] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, IV, 249–301.

[82] *MD* 26, cited by Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, IV, 251.

[83] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, IV, 254, 294.

ancient and modern books were housed in engraved walnut cupboards.[84] His detailed description of the church is of obvious interest as many changes have taken place since he wrote. As he regarded Angilbert's golden altar as the most precious treasure to be found in the entire city, he published the first engraving of the panels recording the life of Ambrose with written explanations of the images and a transcription of the inscription.[85] He did this because the altar was not normally visible, being locked away within an iron casing. He discussed the royal coronations held in the church and also the two Carolingian kings buried there, Bernard and Louis II, and printed transcriptions of their funerary memorials. Of particular interest is his reference to Andrew of Bergamo's *Historia* as it had only been in print for a very short while.[86]

The first Italian book of lasting value to deal with early medieval Milanese history was Giorgio Giulini's *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano nei secoli bassi* (Milan, 1760–65).[87] This too is a work of enormous erudition, although essentially antiquarian in nature. Giulini began with Charlemagne's conquest of 774 rather than any earlier period, but he did use charters from the outset beginning with Toto of Campione's *testamentum* of 777.[88] His sources for the early period included Liutprand of Cremona, Arnulf of Milan, and Landulf Senior, quoted in Muratori's editions. Verri, as seen in the previous chapter, mocked Giulini's use of charters and of archives in general, an opinion still voiced today.[89] However, Giulini's antiquarianism provided scholars with some material which would otherwise have been lost, as he printed many charter texts and inscriptions for the first time, even providing engravings of some of the most important. Yet, as with Puricelli, local scholars have tended to use his work rather uncritically.

Giulini, writing in the 1750s and 1760s, did not have the benefit of Angelo Fumagalli's scholarship. It was fortunate that Fumagalli, the first editor of the Sant'Ambrogio collection, was a much more impressive scholar than most of his predecessors (Figure 4). He printed 135 documents each with copious

---

[84] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, IV, 295.

[85] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, IV, 268.

[86] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, IV, 277–78. The manuscripts were (and are) at the St Gallen library.

[87] The standard edition is in seven volumes (Milan, 1854–57), which I cite here. Giulini was a low-key, conservative figure, sympathetic to Hapsburg absolutism: see Anon., 'Giovanni Giulini', and Conti, 'Giovanni Giulini'.

[88] Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, I, 20–22.

[89] Steedman, *Dust*.

Figure 4. Angelo Fumagalli, Abate Cistercense. Copper engraving. *Serie di vite e ritratti de Famosi Personaggi degli ultimi tempi* (Milan, 1815), unpaginated. In author's possession.

notes, and his edition of them is scrupulous by the standards of his own day.[90] His Preface is extremely interesting.[91] He explained that his book was intended as 'an essay in practical diplomatic' and that the charters are

> for the most part originals, which have been reported here faithfully in transcriptions made by us, with the most scrupulous exactitude, having left intact on all of them those incrustations, namely the very solecisms and barbarisms, and the faulty spelling: because we believe that the barbaric style in which they were written gives them greater worth; and because the desire to purge the ancient parchments of these grammatical defects, as some have done, is the same as depriving them of their most characteristic features, to which they owe their truthfulness; and they are as a consequence more easily exposed to the charge of falsity, and to the risk of advanc-

[90] Fagioli Vercellone, 'Angelo Fumagalli'; Anon., 'Angelo Fumagalli'.

[91] *CDA*, pp. xxiii–xxvi.

ing false arguments, and to making deductions about law and about facts which never had any plausibility.[92]

Fumagalli was an enthusiast for Mabillon's diplomatic method, set up a school of palaeography at Sant'Ambrogio to teach it, and published *Istituzioni diplomatiche* (a teaching manual) in 1802. Unsurprisingly, his transcriptions are generally accurate (see Figure 5 for an engraving of *MD* 6, a charter dated 725) and his commentaries still useful, but the collection nonetheless contains a few texts which are spurious.

It has been necessary briefly to explain how these Enlightenment authors presented the early medieval history of Milan because their work greatly influenced subsequent scholarship. Only by reading antiquarians like Puricelli and Giulini did it become clear just how powerful the myths and unconvincing hypotheses which they created have subsequently been. This antiquarian stance is documented in the wonderful collections of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and Biblioteca Braidense which were arguably set up to develop and maintain a specifically Milanese identity.[93] Even nineteenth-century empiricist attempts to strip away much of this old past were mostly unhelpful. The basilica church itself was disastrously remodelled, which destroyed much evidence of its early medieval past.[94] Lengthy histories of the city were written which skipped over the early Middle Ages with hardly a glance,[95] and crucial errors found their way at this time into many books, especially those in English.[96]

---

[92] I give the Italian as this is difficult to render into idiomatic English: 'quì da noi si riporteranno fedelmente da esse trascritte, e colla più scrupolosa esattezza collazionate, avendone lasciata del tutto intatta la ruggine, cioè gli stessi solecismi e barbarismi, e la stessa viziata ortografia: ben persuasi che lo stile barbaro in cui sono scritte, sia quello appunto che loro conciliar debba pregio maggiore; e che il voler di questi gramaticali difetti purgere le vetustate pergamene, come da alcuni fu fatto, sia lo stesso che privarle d'una di quelle note charatterisiche, a cui la loro sincerità si appoggia; e siano quindi al pericolo esposte d'incorrere la taccia di falsità, e al rischio di dar luogo a falsi ragionamenti, e a deduzioni di diritti e di fatti che mai non ebbero luogo' (*CDA*, p. xxiii).

[93] Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, pp. 40–45, provides a convenient account of the foundation and construction of the Ambrosiana library between 1603 and 1630. Library website: <http://www.ambrosiana.it> with access to online catalogues. The Biblioteca Braidense opened to the public in 1786: <http://www.braidense.it>.

[94] Hare, *Cities of Northern Italy*, I, 132.

[95] Cusani, *Storia di Milano*, vol. I; De'Rosmini, *Dell'Istoria di Milano*.

[96] For example, Hare, *Cities of Northern Italy*, I, 138–42; Bumpus, *The Cathedrals and Churches of Northern Italy*, pp. 305–22; Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, II, 532–95 at pp. 543–44.
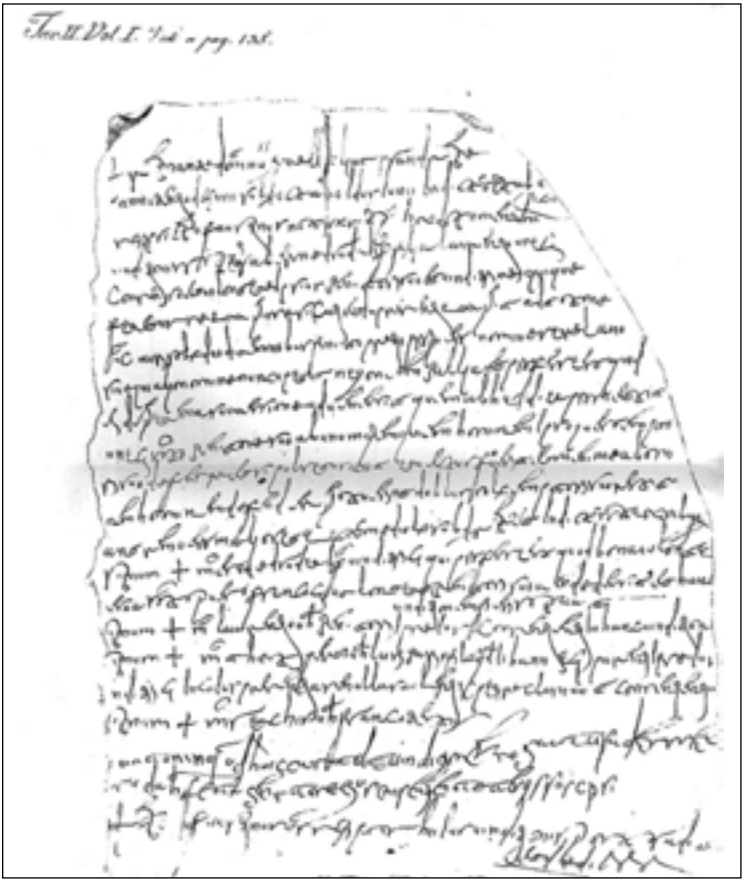
Figure 5. Charter dated AD 725. Angelo Fumagalli, *Istituzioni diplomatiche*.
Copper plate. In author's possession.

Editorial work continued. The *Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae* (*CDL*), edited by Count Giulio Porro-Lambertenghi (1811–1885) and issued in 1873 under the aegis of the *Historia Patriae Monumenta*, printed all the early medieval charters for Lombardy then known. It is still the edition in general use despite being marred by numerous transcription and dating errors.[97] It remains the only edition of the tenth-century Sant'Ambrogio charters which

Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture* is even more dated (including the section on Sant'Ambrogio, I, 227–38).

[97] Santoro, 'Rettifiche alla datazione di alcune documenti di *CDL*', is an essential supplement.

Fumagalli did not edit.[98] Some of these documents were, however, well edited by Giovanni Dozio, a prefect of the Ambrosiana Library who on 23 May 1862 was interrupted while editing by Christopher Wordsworth, Canon of Westminster Abbey. Dozio informed Wordsworth that he was 'engaged in collating and verifying the cartularies and other documents cited by those learned authorities'.[99] Such nineteenth-century analysis of the charters culminated in the pioneering and lasting work of Biscaro,[100] and at much the same time most of the early medieval Milanese inscriptions on stone, much-used by early antiquarians, were published in a faulty edition by Vincenzo Forcella which is only now being superseded.[101]

It would be perverse if at least some of these rather romanticized local historiographical traditions had not survived in the environment of the modern Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore built upon the old monastic buildings right next to the church in which Ambrose's bones still lie. Many Milanese historians, even the best, seem to have found it rather hard to escape their city's 'agreed history'. Cinzio Violante's *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1953), an influential work of social history especially in Italy,[102] sought to demonstrate that around the year 980 Milan precociously developed a 'new society' of merchants, moneyers, and notaries who had origins in the surrounding countryside and effectively took control of the city from the existing 'feudal' aristocracy. His book was deliberately polemical in its dismissal of the existing traditions of local scholarship outlined above. St Ambrose and his monastery hardly figured in the book even though the charters it had preserved were rarely absent from the footnotes. Sant'Ambrogio as an institution was consciously ignored, and the social role of its monks in Milan or in the countryside did not really come into play.[103] Bognetti's fascinating contributions to early medieval Milanese history (published in 1954) were more religious and

---

[98] There is a more recent edition of a few of the tenth-century documents which Natale had made before he died but which he did not publish: Natale & Piano.

[99] Wordsworth, *Journal of a Tour in Italy*, I, 111.

[100] Biscaro, 'Note e documenti santambrosiane'.

[101] Forcella. Narducci, 'Vincenzo Forcella'.

[102] Balzaretti, 'Review Article. Early Medieval Milan', p. 155. It was surprisingly never translated into English. Violante died early in 2001.

[103] This was, to an extent, modified by Violante's later work: Violante, *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale*, 'Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centrosettentrionale', and 'Bénéfices vassaliques e "livelli" dans le cours de l'évolution féodale'.

cultural, and often indulged in a great deal of undocumented speculation as was his habit. In complete contrast to Violante he perpetuated many of the mistaken traditions of the past and added some of his own.[104]

The publication in the late 1960s of the eighth- and ninth-century documents in a magnificent edition with photographs by Alfio Rosario Natale, then director of the Archivio di Stato, was a landmark.[105] As it is one of the best editions of any early medieval charter collection, it is surprising that it has been relatively underused by local scholars. The Sant'Ambrogio charters are often relegated to footnotes in studies produced at the Sacro Cuore by the late Anna Maria Ambrosioni, Carlo Bertelli, Enrico Cattaneo, Mirella Ferrari, Silvia Lusuardi Siena, and their students,[106] and at the Università Statale by Elisa Occhipinti.[107] Some have used them more extensively.[108] The 1980s and 1990s saw conferences and collaborative volumes marking various anniversaries including the twelve-hundredth anniversary of the monastery's foundation in 1984.[109] The sixteen-hundredth anniversary of Ambrose's death in 1997 produced another crop of impressive volumes documenting the restorations of

---

[104] Bognetti, 'Milano sotto il regno dei Goti'; Bognetti, 'Milano longobarda'; Bognetti, 'Pensiero e vita a Milano e nel Milanese durante l'età carolingia'; and Bognetti, 'Terrore e sicurezza sotto re nostrani e sotto re stranieri'.

[105] *MD*, reviewed by Ghiglione, 'Osservazioni critiche sulla nuova edizione dei diplomi degli arcivescovi milanesi' and Barbiero, 'L'edizione del Museo Diplomatico dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano'. Volume II covering the tenth century never appeared, although a few of these charters edited by Natale before he died have appeared in Natale & Piano. There is an obituary by Bellù, 'Alfio Rosario Natale'. This edition does not include the texts kept in the monastic Archivio Capitolare: those ninth-century charters appear in *CDL* in accurate transcriptions by Dozio, but the tenth-century ones were poorly transcribed. I checked all the charters at the respective archives in 1985–86. A more recent facsimile edition can be found in *ChLA*, vols XCIV–XCVI published in 2015–16.

[106] Ambrosioni, 'Per una storia del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio'; Cattaneo, 'La tradizione Ambrosiana'; Ferrari, 'Manoscritti e cultura'.

[107] Occhipinti, 'Appunti per la storia del Monastero Maggiore di Milan in età medioevale' and *Il contado milanese nel secolo XIII*.

[108] Above all Gabriella Rossetti's work: *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, 'Ancora sui "loca sanctorum"', 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', and 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita'. Less convincing in my view are Rapetti, *Campagne Milanesi* and 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*'; and numerous recent essays by Andrea Castagnetti, now synthesized in *La società milanese nell'età carolingia*. A very useful (unpublished) review is Baitieri, 'Il Milanese tra Longobardi e Carolingi'.

[109] Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*; *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*.

Sant'Ambrogio and other early churches associated with Ambrose.[110] Three excellent large collaborative volumes edited by Carlo Bertelli,[111] a popular illustrated history,[112] and the multivolume *Dizionario della Chiesa Ambrosiana* have provided up-to-date modern surveys. The results of this remarkable collective effort of scholarship are all but unknown to English speakers, and it has been part of my aim in this book to make this work better known by engaging with it critically.[113] Yet despite this work the Sant'Ambrogio charters covering the whole early medieval period have not been analysed historically *as a collection* since Angelo Fumagalli's time over two hundred years ago, and research has tended towards the cultural, religious, and archaeological history of the monastic community rather than its economic and social activities, a trend broadly in line with contemporary historiographical fashion and the 'cultural turn'.

Postmodern Ambrose?

The 'cultural turn' in contemporary historical scholarship has not, of course, been without impact in early medieval studies, even in its most traditional fields. The value of 'documents' as opposed to more apparently literary genres was questioned, for example, by the late Jacques Le Goff who went as far as to state that 'every document is a lie' in a survey article about medieval documents published in the *Enciclopedia Einaudi* in 1978.[114] This statement — which at first sight seems to undermine everything most historians hold dear about the importance of documentary evidence — is reproduced in Armando Petrucci's article 'The Illusion of Authentic History: Documentary Evidence', first published in Italian in 1984. Petrucci, one of the world's leading palaeographers, provocatively argued that 'the document'

> is first and foremost evidence of a process entirely internal to its own making [...] neither public nor private documentation was put into place with the primary purpose of constituting evidence or memory of one or more events, whose factual reality outside the tight formal structure of written discourse was and remains almost always impossible to determine.[115]

---

[110] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio*, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*, and *La Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*; Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*.

[111] Bertelli, *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, vols I, II, and III.

[112] Della Peruta, *Milano Antica e Medievale*.

[113] Cf. Fo, *Sant'Ambrogio e l'invenzione di Milano*.

[114] Le Goff, 'Documento/Monumento'.

[115] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, pp. 239 and 250.

In these now classic essays, two highly respected scholars well known for their work on written evidence suggested that documents are lies, evidence nothing other than themselves, and of little use in recovering past reality. Can the Sant'Ambrogio charters stand up in the face of such postmodern critique? Although their philosophical musings are perfectly understandable to anyone who has tried to read any early medieval text (or any text), in this book a more positive approach than that of Le Goff and Petrucci is taken to 'documents' because their scepticism, however well meant, should not deter historians from trying to write history using the evidence of early medieval charters precisely because they are among the most realistic texts to survive from this undoubtedly obscure period.

Le Goff's and Petrucci's remarks were apparently directed against traditional local scholarship similar to that dealing with Ambrose outlined above. Such scholarship is far from unique to Milan but instead found all over Europe,[116] and it has been challenged at its roots by developments in historical theory for at least the last two centuries, as Verri's critique of the 'antiquarian' Giulini makes plain. Frustration with often unthinking tradition is understandable: in the Milanese case false charters have been cited as authentic evidence over and over again in the literature, with little attempt by anyone to stop and think why this continued citation is necessary.[117] A good example is one of the most famous of early Milanese charters, a text which supposedly records the foundation of a *xenodochium* in Milan at the end of the eighth century, the so-called 'Hospital of Datheus'.[118] This institution — of which no physical trace survives — nonetheless has often appeared on plans of the early medieval city including that published in the *European Towns* volume (ed. Maurice Barley),[119] and by Bryan Ward-Perkins in his survey of urban public buildings in northern Italy.[120]

---

[116] For example, in Brittany: Davies, 'Franks and Bretons'.

[117] Blatant fakes have of course been recognized. For example, *CDL*, pp. 137–40 lists the 'seventh' and 'eighth' century ones, pp. 643–44 the 'ninth' century ones, and pp. 1779–84 the 'tenth' century ones.

[118] *CDL* 61, 22 February 787. This edition is based on a sixteenth-century copy preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. The first edition was made by Muratori, *Antiquitates*, Diss. 37.

[119] Reproduced as Figure 9, below.

[120] Cagiano de Azevedo, 'Northern Italy', pp. 478 (no. 6 on the plan) and 479; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 56 n. 16, 57, 77. It was the site of the later medieval church of San Salvatore in xenedochio, evidenced as a chapel at the end of the fourteenth century, the last parts of which were demolished to build the Galleria Vittorio Emmanuele in the 1860s. The site is approximately now where via Silvio Pellico is.

The charter text, discussed by Latuada in 1737 and first edited by Muratori in 1740, is still referred to by local scholars as though it were completely genuine, even though it is certainly fabricated and most probably forged outright.[121] Latuada, for example, in outlining its contents in 1737, extracted from the document exactly those parts which are most suspect with no hint that the text might not be authentic.[122] The document has also become well known outside of Milan as evidence of the 'first foundling hospital' in Europe.[123]

However, the charter as it stands is problematic. There is no surviving original or even medieval copy: the text exists only in two sixteenth-century versions. It claims that Datheus, archpriest of the Milanese church,[124] founded an orphanage (*brefotrofio* in Italian) for abandoned children adjacent to the cathedral. While this is not completely implausible, as Carolingian legislation issued in these very years deals with such *xenodochia*,[125] the fact that this is the earliest

[121] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, I, 167–71; Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, I, 47–51; Navoni, 'Dai longobardi ai carolingi', pp. 119–21, provides an Italian translation of the text as transcribed in the early sixteenth century in the *Liber Quodlibet* of Francesco Castelli preserved in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Milan cathedral. It has significant differences from *CDL* 61. Navoni clearly regards the text as genuine, as does Picasso, 'Milano nell'età carolingia', p. 182. Bognetti, in *Storia di Milano*, II, 331–35, stressed the importance of this text for the history of the Milanese church at this period and did not question its authenticity at all.

[122] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, I, 168–69, drawing on Tristano Calcho, *Historia Mediolanesis* (published posthumously in 1627), Puricelli, *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae*, and Francesco Castelli's unpublished *Quodlibet*.

[123] Lecky, *The History of European Morals*, p. 23 n. 1. A simple search on the Internet will find many references to the foundation of 787 by Archbishop [*sic*] Datheus. It is not, however, mentioned by Horden, 'The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam', a specialist study of early hospitals.

[124] Datheus *archpresbyter* also subscribed to the fabricated foundation charter of 789 (*MD* 30): 'Datheus archpresbiter s. mediolanensis ecclesie in hoc precepto et iussione domni Petri archiepiscopi subscripsi'. The earliest genuine reference to an archpriest of the Milanese church is in an original charter of August 839, the testament of Teutpald who mades Rachinpert *archpresbiter sancte mediolanensis ecclesie* one of his heirs (*MD* 65). Petrus, archpriest of the Brescia church, witnessed a sale of 807 (*MD* 40), an original. The office first appears in Carolingian legislation for Italy in the 840s, and it appears that archpriests only emerge into the Italian documentation at that point (Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy*, pp. 58–61; Violante, 'Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centrosettentrionale', pp. 1061–62) with the exception of a certain Sichimund, *archpresbiter* in Lucca in 740 (*CDL*, I, doc. 73).

[125] *Xenodochium* first appears in the Mantuan capitulary of 781 where Charlemagne asks that Italian *xenodochia* be restored, something reiterated in Pippin's Pavese capitulary of 787 itself: 'Placuit nobis atque convenit, ut omnes iustitiae pleniter factae esse debeant infra regnum nostrum absque ulla dilatione, tam de ecclesias quam de sinodochiis seu pauperes et viduas vel

reference to an orphanage in northern Italy by several centuries, coupled with a text which is overly long and written in a Latin which seems much later than its supposed eighth-century date, casts doubt on the event. The diplomatic of some of the document is also suspect, as is the witness list whose names are suspiciously like those of Milanese bishops of the eighth and ninth centuries. In addition to Datheus, six men signed the text: Petrus, Fortis, Natalis, Odelpert, Beatus, and Anspertus. These are names which would have been known to a later fabricator/forger if that person had been a member of the bishop's clergy, as Petrus, Natalis, Odelpert, and Anspert were all bishops of Milan.[126] John Boswell in his pioneering study of child abandonment rightly suggested that the charter is bogus.[127] An inscription (not reported in the *CDL* edition), supposedly recorded in mosaic in the floor of San Salvatore and relating to this institution, is also suspect.[128] The sixteenth-century author reported it as: *Sancte memento Deus, quia condidit iste Datheus Hanc Aulam miseris auxilio pueris.*[129] By the time of Giulini it had disappeared, if indeed it had ever existed, as it is always reported in Castelli's transcription rather than by eyewitness accounts.[130] The whole thing — charter and inscription — is most probably a sixteenth-century fabrication. Therefore we can conclude that the example of Datheus and his supposed *xenedochium* clearly demonstrates the hazards of placing too much uncritical positivistic faith in charter texts.[131] Critical analysis of language, form, and content nevertheless does demonstrate the authenticity of particular documents and especially groups of documents such as those exploited in Chapters 6–9 which comprise Part II below. Chapters 3–5 which

orfanos atque de reliquos homines secundum iussionem domni nostri Karoli regis' (Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 64–65).

[126] *Odelpert subdiaconus sancte Mediolanenesis Ecclesie* subscribed to Toto of Campione's *testamentum* of 8 March 777 preserved in the original. He was bishop between 806 and 813 and issued a genuine *preceptum* in 806 (*MD* 38).

[127] Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, p. 225 n. 158: 'its Latin is manifestly of a much later date than its purported composition, and there is no other evidence of a foundling home in Milan for centuries after this'.

[128] Forcella, I, no. 105, and Forcella & Seletti, no. 193; Antico Gallina and Soldati Forcella, 'Indagine sulla topografia, sulla onomastica, sulla società nelle epigrafi Milanese', pp. 83–84.

[129] Cited by Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, I, 169.

[130] Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, I, 51, thought the mosaic was eleventh-century. Giulini also suggested that Datheus founded a nunnery (Monastero del Boccheto) for which no authentic evidence survives.

[131] Authentic *xenodochia* are of course mentioned in several charters: *MD* 25, 90, 101, 103, 120.

complete Part I precede these with accounts of the longer-term development of the monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio from the late Roman period of Ambrose himself to the foundation of the Benedictine monastery in the later eighth century to the centuries beyond when the community expanded its interests to cover the hinterland of Milan.

Roman Milan Transformed

Late Antique Ascetic Traditions in Milan

The monastery of Sant'Ambrogio is at the centre of this book and so an appreciation of how this community evolved over time is vital to understanding it. By the time the Benedictines took up residence next to the old Ambrosian basilica, Milan and its region already had very deep ascetic traditions which might have inspired the monastically inclined across the intervening centuries. Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli (355–71), Martin of Tours, Ambrose himself, and Augustine of Hippo all promoted forms of monastic life in the region. Eusebius lived at Vercelli with his clergy in some sort of chaste community, probably before 355.[1] We know about him from one of Ambrose's letters.[2] Ambrose himself regarded monks with ambivalence: he promoted asceticism, particularly for women including his own sister Marcellina,[3] but could also write

---

[1] Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*, p. 123. Jenal, *Italia ascetica et monastica*, I, 12–15; Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, p. 59; Everett, 'Narrating the Life of Eusebius of Vercelli', pp. 133–34; Monaci Castagno, 'Tradizioni eusebiane e cultura religiosa'.

[2] Letter 63 addressed to the church of Vercelli. His *Passion and Life* written between *c.* 570 and *c.* 890 is translated by Everett, *Patron Saints of Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 171–205.

[3] Jenal, *Italia ascetica et monastica*, I, 18–19. Marcellina, who lived not in a community but as a holy virgin, was later venerated at Milan as a saint. A *vita* (*BHL* 5223) was written at some point in the early medieval period (Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', pp. 201–10, 'before the end of the tenth century') and she may be represented on the ninth-/tenth-century *ciborium* in the church of Saint Ambrose (Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina* a Milano nel medioevo, p. 565).

that 'the monks commit lots of crimes'.[4] Whether Ambrose actually founded a monastery himself in Milan is unclear. Although Augustine in his *Confessions* (*c.* 397–98) described 'a monastery at Milan also, outside the walls, full of good brethren under the care of Ambrose (*sub Ambrosio nutritore*)',[5] and Ambrose's own writings hint at his interest in monastic life, the balance of the evidence suggests that he did not institute a community as such. The main evidence against it is Sulpicius Severus's *Vita Martini* 6 (written *c.* 396) where Sulpicius reports that Martin of Tours introduced monastic practice to the city.[6] He refers to Martin's Milanese institution as a 'monastery', although some have preferred the term 'hermitage': 'Mediolani sibi monasterium statuit'.[7] This may be the same institution as that described by Augustine and by Paulinus. In *VA* 49 Paulinus refers to a letter 'which to this day is kept at a monastery in Milan' ('quae nunc usque Mediolanii habetur in monasterio').[8] This is clear evidence that a *monasterium* existed in the city sometime during the years 412–22, the decade in which Paulinus composed his life. Paulinus, however, claimed to have read the letter which suggests that the *monasterium* existed before he left for Africa *c.* 411. It is not entirely clear what type of monastic institution this phrase refers to, as many different forms of practice were to be found at this period. However, Pellegrino rightly pointed out that they may have been different institutions, if it is assumed that Martin's *monasterium* was a hermitage.[9] Martin's monastery was known to Gregory of Tours, who referred to it twice in his *Liber historiae decem*.[10] Although the extent to which memories of these institutions survived locally in later centuries can be debated, at least the potential was there.

---

[4] 'Monachi multa scelera faciunt': Epistola 1 [41].27, ed. by Faller and Zelzer, III, 160. MacMullan, *Christianity and Paganism*, p. 14; Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, pp. 59–60; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 60–68.

[5] Augustine, *Confessions* VIII.6 (trans. by Pine-Coffin, p. 167); Jenal, *Italia ascetica et monastica*, I, 17–18.

[6] Jenal, *Italia ascetica et monastica*, I, 16–20; Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*, pp. 62–64.

[7] Fontaine translated as 'il s'installa un ermitage à Milan': Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. and trans. by Fontaine, I, 266–76 with commentary at II, 582–99. Engl. trans., Head and Noble, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 1–29.

[8] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 216; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 122–23. Pellegrino, correctly, translates this as 'a' rather than 'the' monastery in Ramsey's version. The letter no longer survives.

[9] Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, p. 122, n. 1; Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*, p. 113. What the grounds are for this interpretation of the word *monasterium* are not made clear anywhere in the literature.

[10] Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum* X, I. 48 (Martin's first monastery was at Milan) and

However, a monastery is more than a contemplative religious community. Links with the outside world were important, and it is these links with the rest of society which are explored in detail in Chapters 4–9. Here the deep prehistory of these relationships is investigated from the 380s, when Ambrose had the Basilica Ambrosiana constructed, to the 780s, when a Benedictine community was set up next to that church. The beginning of this period remains very controversial because why, how, and when the Roman Empire came to an end continues to be disputed, as it always will be. It is impossible to survey the 'Transformation of the Roman World' (as it is now known) in its entirety here, as the literature is simply too large,[11] but in crude summary gradualist interpretations of profound structural and cultural changes in post-Roman society have challenged Edward Gibbon's apocalyptic Enlightenment vision of Rome's 'Decline and Fall',[12] although dissenters still argue that 'barbarians' did cause sudden, violent change.[13] No one disputes that the Roman Empire did indeed end, for the Mediterranean-wide economic system which was at its heart was superseded by dynamic exchange around the Rhineland, North Sea, and in smaller local economic networks, and a toga-clad otiose senatorial elite which had lost interest in its own institutions was replaced by a militarized aristocracy who literally wore the trousers. Christianity, developing into an increasingly fundamentalist religion against which resistance was futile, emerged by the end of Late Antiquity as arguably the dominant force in post-Roman polities, which meant that bishops — especially those of large and wealthy sees such as Milan — became increasingly prominent people.[14] None of these processes was in the least inevitable, and their configuration varied from region to region and even from one site to another. For this reason the 'macro' story of 'transformation' will be approached here through a 'micro' study of Milan and its hinterland.[15]

---

x. 31 ('he first of all founded a monastery in the Italian town of Milan').

[11] Halsall, 'Movers and Shakers'; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

[12] Cameron, 'Gibbon and Justinian'; Brown, 'Gibbon, Hodgkin, and the Invaders of Italy'.

[13] Notably Liebeschuetz, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, pp. 29–30, 94–97, 414–16 and 'Late Antiquity and the Concept of Decline'; Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*, e.g. pp. 169–83.

[14] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 145–65, and Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, pp. 120–47, 454–77; Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, pp. 274–89; Sotinel, 'Les Évêques italiens dans la société de l'Antiquité tardive'.

[15] Cf. Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 77–80, on 'micro-regions'.

Late Antique Stories about Milan: Insiders and Outsiders

First of all some sense is needed of the 'traditional narrative' of what happened politically in Milan between the departure of the imperial court in 402 and the arrival of the Carolingians in the late eighth century.[16] Radical changes in institutional and political structures throughout Europe and beyond characterized the turbulent fifth century and must be borne in mind in any consideration of local and regional history in this period.[17] Milan seems quickly to have become an insecure place threatened by northern 'barbarians', especially Huns and Goths. The vast machine of imperial patronage followed the court to Ravenna, never to return, and in its place military men both Roman, non-Roman, and those in between, soon took charge of local society most especially the powerful *magister militum* Stilicho (*c.* 360–408).[18] For a century and a half Milan was politically volatile, first attacked by Alaric in 408 and then 'sacked' by Attila in 452.[19] The 'Gothic Wars' between 535 and 554 caused even more extreme political, economic, and social dislocation (exacerbated by periods of plague) until eventually the locus of political power shifted decisively to Verona, Ravenna, and finally Pavia,[20] which had already been the tendency under Theodoric (d. 526).[21]

The struggles of the emperors to keep the old Roman world together were such that the western provinces soon began to slip out of direct, meaningful control. The emergence of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and other eastern cities as the central places of the remnant empire had marginalized once central Milan.[22] Italy became a backwater with imperial power gradually

---

[16] Bognetti, 'Milano sotto il regno dei Goti' and 'Milano longobarda'; Tabacco, 'Milano nell'età longobarda'; La Rocca, 'Milano longobarda'.

[17] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, pp. 50–101, is a very clear up-to-date narrative.

[18] Stilicho and his family left their mark on the urban fabric of Milan. His wife Serena paved the floor of San Nazaro 'that she might joyfully see the return of Stilicho' (Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, p. 71). 'Stilicho's sarcophagus' still exists in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. Local tradition reported that his *domus* was restored by Archbishop Anspert (see Chapter 4). Recently, arguments have been made that Stilicho commissioned the Basilica of San Lorenzo (Löx, 'Die Kirche San Lorenzo in Mailand', p. 429). He was executed by Honorius in 408. Cf. Nathan, 'The Ideal Male in Late Antiquity' for a gendered view of Stilicho's contemporary reputation.

[19] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, p. 68 (the source is Priscus).

[20] Majocchi, 'Sviluppo e affermazione di una capitale altomedievale', pp. 173–78.

[21] Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, pp. 42–43.

[22] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 124–44.

reduced to the area under the direct military control of the emperor's agent, the exarch resident in Ravenna.[23] In the words of Peter Brown, 'Italy was instantly neglected. Reduced to a military sideshow, imperial rule could not be securely established throughout the peninsula. An entire old-world provincial society died in Italy, as the Po Valley and the Apennines became an uncertain frontier region'.[24] However, that statement is perhaps too strong as Greek writers and other 'outsiders' who painted such an influential gloomy picture of life in fifth- and sixth-century Italy did so because that was the message their eastern audience wanted to hear. 'The west is dead, long live the east', they seemed to say.[25]

For Milan's Christian inhabitants, as for most Milanese historians, the truly significant 'event' of this lengthy post-Roman period was the abandonment of the city by Archbishop Honoratus on 3 September 569 as a result of the Lombard invasion and the Three Chapters dispute which promptly ensued.[26] The Milanese church was 'exiled' in Genoa, living off its Sicilian lands and those supposedly acquired locally in Liguria until the 640s.[27] Meanwhile, Milan became a focus for Lombard high politics as reported in contemporary chronicles and later histories including Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* in which the city features almost exclusively as a place where Lombard rulers live.[28] Agilulf was elevated to the kingship there.[29] The Huns sent ambassadors to him there.[30] Agilulf lived in the city,[31] and issued his famous grant in favour of Columbanus's foundation of Bobbio (the oldest surviving text of a Lombard royal diploma),[32] from Milan, his capital and the place where his son Adaloald

---

[23] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 49–53, with reservations expressed about the term 'exarchate'.

[24] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 182.

[25] Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 109–48, on the complexities of this issue.

[26] *HL* II 25. Paul, most unusually, gives the exact date which he probably borrowed from his source at this point, Secundus of Trent.

[27] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 90–97 with references.

[28] The late seventh-century version of the Lombard *Origo* (*Historia langobardorum codicis gothani*), for example, recorded that 'Then the citizens of Pavia and the metropolis of Milan together with all the remaining cities of Italy, since they were empty as had been preordained by God, surrendered themselves to King Alboin'.

[29] *HL* III 35.

[30] *HL* IV 12.

[31] *HL* IV 28.

[32] *CDL*, III, no. 1, pp. 3–7; Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius', p. 105.

was greeted as king in the old circus, a stone's throw from Sant'Ambrogio, in the presence of Frankish ambassadors in a late example of the old Roman *adventus* ceremony.[33] He ruled with his mother Theodelinda.[34] Perctarit again ruled from Milan in 661, while his brother and rival Godepert was established in neighbouring Pavia.[35] Gradually the popes reached an accommodation with the formerly anti-Catholic Lombard rulers and the archbishops returned from Genoa to Milan. Paul the Deacon mentioned two of them in relation to their jurisdictional disputes with the bishops of Pavia,[36] disputes which they lost. From then on Pavia became the institutional focus of Lombard royal power, and although Archbishop Theodorus may have been a relative of King Liutprand and thus close to the ruling family, the production of the *Versum de Mediolano Civitate* (*c.* 739) during his pontificate harked back somewhat nostalgically to an earlier age of the city's political centrality. After Liutprand's demise in 744 royal interests shifted decisively eastwards to Friuli, the homeland of Ratchis and Aistulf, and then to Brescia, the focus for Desiderius and his wife Ansa. Milan only became important again during Charlemagne's reign.

If many points in the traditional narrative of the institutional history of the Milanese see between 402 and 774 are problematic, the same can be said for the history of the city as a whole in that period. The surviving late antique sources for the city cannot be taken at face value, as they usually have been. Different types of text present very different historical narratives, and therefore the only sensible approach to the city's history in this period is to reappraise each of the surviving texts, paying careful attention to genre, narrative, structure, as well as 'content'. Certainly, the history of Milan in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries when compared to the fourth century is more obscure simply because far *fewer* sources have survived, and that fact is indicative of significant change. Few of the surviving texts were written by anyone who lived in the city, and nearly all the longest accounts were by outsiders, some of whom resided over

---

[33] *HL* IV 30. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp. 292–95. The reference to the circus is important evidence that some of this building at least was still standing at this point in time.

[34] The final continuation of the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine (possibly composed in Milan in the early seventh century) reported that 'Mortuo apud Mediolanium Agilulfo Adaluual filius eius cum matre Theudelinda regni curam suscepit regnavitque cum matre annis decem' (Agilulf having died at Milan, his son Adaloald took care of the kingdom with his mother Theodelinda and ruled with his mother for ten years): Mommsen, *Auctarii Havniensis Extrema*, p. 339.

[35] *HL* IV 31.

[36] *HL* VI 4 (Mansuetus) and VI 29 (Benedict); Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 84–85.

a thousand miles away. This distinction between insiders and outsiders is telling in itself. Why did the Milanese themselves demonstrate so little apparent interest in their own history? Why were non-Milanese writers more interested? Whatever the reasons, errors in most accounts by distant outsiders suggest that they were mostly ill-informed and for this reason a single narrative of 'what happened' in late antique Milan is not offered here. Instead the analysis continues with consideration of successive bishops, as their activities are better documented by 'insiders', to see what that reveals about the changing nature of power relationships within Milanese society.[37] If the sources are examined by genre,[38] quite a complex picture is revealed which questions the idea of an 'eclipse of the see of Milan' which supposedly characterized the seventh and eighth centuries here.[39]

Milan From Within: Paulinus and Ennodius

Hagiographers writing about local holy men from within the Milanese church predictably presented their men as perfect. Paulinus in his *Life of Ambrose* (*VA*) helped to define the nature of Ambrose's sanctity at the outset of the fifth century, and his work was influential both locally and beyond. Most aspects of Paulinus's own life are obscure, including when and where he was born.[40] When he arrived in Milan or how long he lived there is unclear as are the exact details of his clerical role, although he appears to have been one of Bishop Ambrose's secretaries (a *notarius*) and may have been a subdeacon. The date of the *VA*'s composition is disputed: the traditional date given is 422, but most modern scholars now prefer a date of *c.* 412–13.[41] Paulinus wrote it at the request of Augustine of Hippo, and he finished it in Africa where he had been sent as administrator of the property held there by the Milanese church.[42] He was defi-

---

[37] Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, pp. 199–211.

[38] There is space here for hagiography and history writing only, although letter collections are certainly relevant.

[39] Markus and Sotinel, 'Epilogue', p. 274.

[40] Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 1–4.

[41] Pellegrino (Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, p. 6) preferred 422; Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 613 'before 415'; Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 195, prefers the earlier date as does McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, p. 370 n. 40, drawing on Lamirande, 'La Datation de la "Vita Ambrosii" de Paulin de Milan'. Cf. Bastiaensen, *Vita di Ambrogio*, pp. xxvii–xlii.

[42] Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 3–4. Paulinus is named as 'Paulinus quidam diaconus, defensor et procurator ecclesie Mediolanensis' in a tract written by the

nitely in Africa by November 418 as then he issued a tract against the Pelagian
Celestius (*Libellus adversus Caelestium Zosimo episcopo datus*).[43]

His work was one of the first *vitae* of a Western bishop to be written, along-
side Sulpicius Severus's *Life of Martin* (*c.* 396) and Possidus's *Life of Augustine*
(*c.* 432–35).[44] Paulinus's focus was squarely upon Ambrose, his miracles, his
interest in martyrs, and, above all, his battles against the Roman emperors and
against heresy. This text has, therefore, helped to reinforce the impression that
the history of Ambrose's episcopate was the history of 'great events' of empire-
wide importance. However, some of the incidental information which Paulinus
records about the nature of Milanese society at this time is as interesting as
what he records about Ambrose himself. It is noticeable that he records the
names of quite a number of the city's residents with whom Ambrose had deal-
ings. He names various aristocrats: Leontinus *clarissimus* (*VA* 9),[45] Euthymius
(*VA* 12),[46] and Cresconius (*VA* 34).[47] Also he names various Milanese clergy:
Severus, 'a blind man who up to this day serves devotedly in the same basil-
ica, called the Ambrosian, where the bodies of the martyrs (Gervasius and
Protasius) were brought' (*VA* 14);[48] the 'guardians' (*custodes*) of the garden out-
side the city ('in horto positum extra civitatem') where the bodies of Nazarius
and Celsus were found who 'had been told by their parents never, from one
generation to the next, to leave that place because great treasures were buried
there' (*VA* 33);[49] and the deacons Castus, Polemius, Venerius, and Felix (*VA*
46).[50] At the time Paulinus was writing, both Castus and Polemius were dea-
cons at Milan,[51] Felix was Bishop of Bologna, and Venerius was Archbishop,

Pelagian Celestius (*PL*, LIII, 617). The extent of the Milanese church's African properties at this
date is not known, but the fact of it is important.

[43] *PL*, XX, 711–16.

[44] Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*, p. 99; McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, p. 370.

[45] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 199; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 62–63.

[46] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 210; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 100–101.

[47] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 210; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 100–101.

[48] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 201; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 72–73.
Also mentioned by Ambrose, *Epistola* 22, 17, who says he was a butcher before he went blind.
Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 223–24, rightly cautious about the real histories of
Milanese martyrs.

[49] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 209; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 98–99.

[50] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 215; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 116–17.

[51] In *VA* 42 Paulinus stated that Castus was his own superior: Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 213;
Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 114–15.

in succession to Simplicianus. A few chapters later (*VA* 49) Paulinus refers to 'a monastery in Milan' ('quae nunc usque Mediolanii habetur in monasterio').[52] Paulinus also reveals something about the patrimony of the Milanese church including gifts from Queen Fritigil of the Marcomanni (*VA* 36);[53] donations from Ambrose himself;[54] and land in North Africa, which Paulinus went to administer. He also mentioned Donatus, an African priest of the church of Milan (*VA* 54), who slandered Ambrose's memory.[55] This reference is interesting because, although Paulinus obviously includes it to make the point that Ambrose's detractors were punished by God, it suggests that not everyone in the Milanese church approved of Ambrose. This is worth noticing given the strong presence of Arians in the city before Ambrose arrived. Perhaps some were still there in the early fifth century? Therefore, although Paulinus was certainly a first-hand witness to life in the late Roman city, his *Vita Ambrosii* does not have to be read solely as a triumphalist narrative about Ambrose as the true 'founding father' of the Milanese church: although it displayed a strong sense of local identity and local pride which had Ambrose at its centre, Paulinus also implied that Ambrose owed much to others.

Writing almost a hundred years after Paulinus, Ennodius also wrote the life of a bishop: Epiphanius, his own predecessor as bishop of Pavia. Ennodius, whose work has been given a thorough reappraisal in recent years, is no longer regarded as one of the last relics of a decadent pagan culture (as Raby saw him).[56] He was born in Arles *c.* 473/74, spent his youth in Pavia, and was ordained a deacon at Milan while still a young man. Between 501 and 513 he was secretary to Bishop Laurentius I, and his literary output was largely confined to this period. He became Bishop of Pavia in 513, where he remained until his death in 521.[57] Ennodius spent over ten years in Milan at a time when the city seems again to have been an important political centre. Besides his panegyric for Theodoric (written in 507), his main works are the *Life of Epiphanius*

[52] See above, note 8.

[53] James, *Europe's Barbarians*, p. 219.

[54] *VA* 38: 'when he was ordained bishop he gave all the gold and silver that lay at his disposal to the Church and to the poor. The estates too, that he had, he bequeathed to the church, after having secured the income from them for his sister'.

[55] Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 217; Paulinus, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by Pellegrino, pp. 126–27.

[56] Barnish, 'Liberty and Advocacy in Ennodius of Pavia'; Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry*.

[57] His epitaph survives in the original: *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, ed. by Mommsen, no. 6464. Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 714.

(written *c*. 501–04, i.e. only a few years after the death of Epiphanius, who was bishop of Pavia 467–96/97),[58] a series of verses praising each Milanese bishop between Ambrose and Theodorus I,[59] and a letter collection (which, however, was not compiled by Ennodius himself).

In the *Life of Epiphanius*, the saint was consecrated at Milan when Ricimer, an Arian Romanized Germanic ruler, was in power there in 471–72.[60] When Ricimer summoned Epiphanius to Milan, the saint declined, although later he did go there at Theoderic's request. Ennodius also records that Epiphanius and Bishop Laurentius of Milan went together on a mission to Theoderic in Ravenna. Ennodius's verse (*c*. 511/12) helped to keep the memory of the successors of Ambrose alive, and especially bolstered the reputation of his mentor Bishop Laurentius I:

> The bishop, strong with his talent, probity and modesty
> Adored this gift with meritorious deeds, and adding the lights of life,
> To the value of the work he established this temple.
> Fallen fame does not disperse into unsure retreats
> But the ordinance of the ancient act lives on, increased through ages,
> When clever Sixtus may take the gifts of Laurentius.
> Thus continues the office which once fell to the saints.
> This one presents the temple, which that one consecrated.[61]

Despite continuing disagreements about the worth of Ennodius as a writer,[62] his Life of Epiphanius certainly gives some insight into the political issues of the time, including struggles with the Goths and hints of rivalry between the churches of Milan and Pavia, rivalry which had a long life ahead of it.

---

[58] Vogel, *Ennodi opera*, pp. 84–109, and Ennodius, *Life of St Epiphanius*, trans. by Cook. Barnish, 'Ennodius' Lives of Epiphanius and Antony'.

[59] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 206–09; Vogel, *Ennodi opera*, pp. 1–4 (praise of Laurentius I on his birthday), 120 (Laurentius I), 122, 157–58, 162–65 (Ambrose to Theodorus I), and 252–53 (hymn honouring Ambrose).

[60] Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 246–47.

[61] Translated by Kinney, 'The Evidence for the Dating of S. Lorenzo in Milan', pp. 93–94.

[62] Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry*, p. 116: 'It is no wonder therefore that Ennodius found little inspiration when he began to compose a series of hymns for the Milanese liturgy. His effort resulted in a dozen rather prosaic compositions which failed to secure a place beside the hymns of Ambrose'; Avitus, Letters and Selected Prose, trans. by Shanzer and Wood, p. 66: 'the rare ecclesiastical *homo urbanus* who wrote obscene epigrams as well as frankly pagan poetry'.

Milan From Without: Greeks, Burgundians, Franks, and Romans

The prime transmitter of an apocalyptic vision of Milan during the early sixth century was Prokopios of Caesarea (*c.* 500–*c.* 565) writing far away in Greek.[63] Milan's woes were sensationally expounded in Books VI and VII of his 'Gothic Wars'. Prokopios was with Belisarius on his first campaign in Italy (535–40) and became disheartened as the war dragged on. He probably did not return to Italy again.[64] Although Prokopios was an eyewitness to many of the events he related, possibly including those concerning Milan, Averil Cameron has argued convincingly that his account should not be taken at face value both because he received much of his information secondhand and because he was more interested in anecdote than in political analysis as such. Nevertheless a fairly continuous narrative of events in the city can be built up from a close reading of this masterpiece.

The first substantial treatment of the city appears in Book VI, 7.35. Here Prokopios records a visit in December 537 by Bishop Datius of Milan and 'some notable men among the citizens' to Belisarius in Rome, asking for troops to help oust the Goths from the city and recover it for Justinian. Prokopios adds a little description of Milan by way of introducing the city to his readers and emphasizing its strategic importance: 'it is the first of the cities of the West, after Rome at least, both in size and in population and in general prosperity'.[65] Belisarius then sent one thousand men to Milan, led by Fidelius (a native of the city, first mentioned in Book V 14.5 as *quaestor* of Athalaric).[66] Eventually, having killed Fidelius,[67] they captured the city and the rest of the province of Liguria.[68] In response the Goths besieged Milan, and Prokopios wrote up

---

[63] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, ed. and trans. by Dewing. Cf. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, pp. 188–206. Prokopios was Gibbon's main source for his narrative of the Italian wars. There is a clear narrative of these wars in Moorhead, *The Roman Empire Divided*, pp. 39–54.

[64] Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, pp. 188–89.

[65] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, V–VI.xv, ed. and trans. by Dewing, pp. 356–59.

[66] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, v.xiv (ed. and trans. by Dewing, pp. 142–43) and VI.xii (pp. 392–93). They sailed from Rome to Genoa 'which is the last city in Tuscany and well situated as a port of call for the voyage to Gaul and to Spain. There they left their ships and travelling by land moved forward, placing the boats of the ships on their wagons, in order that nothing might prevent their crossing the river Po. It was by this means, in any event, that they made the crossing of the river. And when they reached the city of Ticinum, after crossing the Po, the Goths came out against them' (a battle ensued).

[67] Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, pp. 174–75.

[68] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, VI.12.39, ed. and trans. by Dewing, pp. 394–97: then they

Uraia's siege at some length.[69] In April 539 he reported one of the most dramatic events of the war: Milan was 'razed to the ground, killing all the males of every age to the number of not less than three hundred thousand and reducing the women to slavery'.[70] This is surely not credible. The rest of his narrative suggests that Milan maintained a strong local, Roman identity at this time in resistance to the Goths.[71] However, according to Prokopios not all 'Romans' were loyal: he reported that Vitigis bribed two Ligurian priests to go on a mission to Chosroes the Persian ruler, and one of these men passed himself off as Bishop of Milan in disguise![72]

   In contrast to this sustained narrative of woe, only brief clippings about events in Milan were gathered by numerous late antique chroniclers in western Europe notably Bishop Marius of Avenches (*c.* 585) in the Burgundian kingdom. Marius, although well informed about events north of the Alps, also told only miserable tales about Milan.[73] Boethius was killed 'in Milanese territory' in 524.[74] In 538 senators and priests in the city were killed by Goths and Burgundians, and their blood spattered on church altars.[75] The following year Theudebert, king of the Franks, invaded and 'laid waste' Liguria and Emilia.[76] In 568 Narses came to the aid of Milan and other towns which the Goths had 'destroyed',[77] but in 570 there was plague.[78] This 'doom and gloom' scenario is

arrived at Milan 'and secured this city and the rest of Liguria without a battle'. Men were sent by Vitigis, Uraias, and Theudebert (Burgundians not Franks so he did not offend the emperor). The Goths began a siege and kept the Romans in distress throughout the winter.

   [69] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, vɪ.xviii.19–24.

   [70] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, vɪ.21.39, ed. and trans. by Dewing, pp. 54–55.

   [71] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, vɪ.xxi.1–6 ('Milan, which far surpasses practically all the other cities of Italy in point of size and population and in every other sort of prosperity, and, apart from these advantages, is an outpost against the Germans and the other barbarians, and has been thrown out to protect the whole Roman empire, so to speak'), vɪ xxi 13, vɪ xxi 29, vɪ xxi 42, vɪ xxii 5, vɪ xxii 18–19, vɪ xxiv 20, vɪ xxv 5–7, vɪ xxvii 3, vɪ xxviii 28/35,vɪɪ i 27, vɪɪ x 14.

   [72] Procopius, *History of the Wars*, vɪ.xxii.18–19, ed. and trans. by Dewing, pp. 62–63.

   [73] Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, ed. by Mommsen; Favrod, *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches*.

   [74] Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, ed. by Mommsen, p. 235.

   [75] Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, ed. by Mommsen, p. 235.

   [76] Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, ed. by Mommsen, p. 236.

   [77] Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, ed. by Mommsen, p. 238.

   [78] There is a growing literature. Sarris, 'The Justinianic Plague' defends more apocalyptical

obviously very selective but does at least indicate that Milan was important enough that news about it reached as far as Avenches. Fredegar, a Burgundian writer of a later generation, also reported little about Italy and nothing specifically about Milan in the fourth book of his *Chronicle* (written *c*. 650), although he did give some attention to Rothari and Gundeperga, Theodelinda's daughter, who must have known the city personally.[79]

Frankish writers also noticed Milan. Gregory of Tours (d. 594) may never have visited the city, but he showed some interest in it primarily because of its associations with Martin of Tours (d. 397), one of his heroes. Tours and Milan were linked in his mind by the miraculous appearance of Ambrose at Martin's funeral in Tours. In reality this event could not have happened as Ambrose had died in April, while Martin passed away in the following November, so Gregory's source for this happening is unclear: it is possible that he had heard about an existing tradition at Milan, although it is more likely that Gregory invented the story to establish a connection between Martin and Ambrose whose 'blossoms of eloquence [...] spread their fragrance throughout the entire church'.[80] The scene is visualized in the lower left side of the apse mosaic in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio as part of a scheme also clearly intended to stress the links between Ambrose and Martin, Milan and Tours.[81] Two panels, right and left, represent Ambrose falling asleep (in a vast church at MEDIOLANUM, the capitals are used in the mosaic) and Ambrose officiating at Martin's funeral (in TURONICA). The date of this mosaic is extremely controversial (above, Chapter 2) as the scene with Ambrose and Martin has been much repaired: some parts were detached during a 'restoration' of 1846 and are now in Brescia.[82] The physical image is unlikely to be contemporary with Gregory of Tours but probably dates either to the time of the Frankish archbishop Angilbert II or to that of Anspert.[83] Angilbert commissioned the golden altar (*c*. 835), which has another representation of this same image.

---

views of it which is the emerging consensus supported by archaeological evidence.

[79] Collins, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken*, p. 50.

[80] Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus sancti Martini* I.5, trans. by Van Dam, *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul*, p. 207.

[81] Capponi, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 8 and 14.

[82] Illustrated in Capponi, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*, p. 46. The date of these fragments is also uncertain although the technique suggests an early date, possibly pre-ninth century. Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio', pp. 8–10, has argued they are ninth-century, drawing on the work of Carlo Bertelli.

[83] Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio', makes a strong argument in favour of the latter.

This panel shows Ambrose at Martin's funeral (reproduced in Figure 6) and is accompanied with a line from Gregory's miracle collection in Martin's honour: 'ubi sepelivit corpus beati Martini'.[84] The ninth-century elaboration of Paulinus's *Life of Ambrose* — probably composed during the episcopate of Anspert — makes considerable play of this incident but in words borrowed almost verbatim from Gregory as Paulinus himself had not noted it:

> One day, Ambrose, while he was celebrating the solemn mass as usual, fell asleep after the reading from the prophets. The man who should have followed by reading, according to the custom, the letter of the apostle could not begin without the bishop's sign; and then there was a long gap for about two or three hours. Then one of those who stood near to him woke him. To him the bishop said: 'Do not worry yourself; I am very happy to have slept in this way. You should know that I was transported in spirit to the funeral of the most holy brother Martin. Now the ritual was finished, and as the final verse was about to be recited, you woke me up'. When they tried with care to find out about the incident later they found that it was exactly as he had described.[85]

Gregory also knew that Martin set up his first *monasterium* near Milan (*Histories* I.48 and x.31), information he probably derived from Sulpicius. The holiness of Milan was further enhanced for Gregory by its reputation as a centre of martyrdom. Gregory mentioned Milan in three chapters of his *Glory of the Martyrs*: the martyr Victor (44); the church of San Lorenzo (45);[86] and, most importantly, the martyrs Gervasius, Protasius, Nazarius, and Celsus (46).[87] In the latter chapter he revealed that he knew 'the history of their suffering' of which various versions survive.[88] Gregory briefly related Ambrose's discovery of their relics and noted that there were relics of these saints in Tours

---

[84] Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus sancti Martini* I.5, dicussed by Ferrari, 'Le iscrizioni', p. 149.

[85] Paredi, *Vita e Meriti di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 128–29; Courcelle, *Recherches sur Saint Ambroise*, pp. 106–07, noting the borrowings from Gregory of Tours, *De virtutibus sancti Martini*. Cf. Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', pp. 169–70, and Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the Resources of the Past', p. 147.

[86] Discussed as metaphor by De Nie, 'History and Miracle', pp. 265–66.

[87] Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. by Van Dam, pp. 67–70.

[88] Zanetti, 'Les Passions des SS. Nazaire, Gervais, Protais et Celse'. Everett, *Patron Saints of Early Medieval Italy*, p. 145, points out that the existence of this text from sixth-century Ravenna, and its tone evidences clear rivalry with Milan for domination of the north Italian church.

Figure 6. Vuolvinus, Ambrose at the funeral of Martin, high altar.
Milan, Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio. Mid-ninth century. Wikimedia commons.
Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 Unported. Author: Sailko, 13 July 2016.

and throughout Gaul.[89] Apart from references to Martin, Gregory in his *Ten Books of Histories* commented on Milan only once when the Frankish Duke Audovald encamped outside it prior to attacking the Lombards on behalf of King Childebert II in his campaign of 590.[90] By the late sixth century, therefore, there does not seem to have been much of an audience for works about

[89] Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. by Van Dam, p. 69. In *Histories* x.31 Gregory mentions a church dedicated to the Milanese martyrs Gervasius and Protasius at Tours near the town wall, which is only known from written sources.

[90] Gregory of Tours, *Libri historiarum* X x.2 (trans. by Thorpe, p. 549). Cf. Pohl, 'Gregory of Tours and Contemporary Perceptions', p. 140.

north Italian politics north of the Alps, but there was perhaps an increasing audience for writing about the activities of some of its martyr-saints.

This was far from the case in Rome. The view of Milan from there is most fully represented in the works of Gregory the Great (d. 604), especially his *Letters*. Gregory corresponded with several bishops of Milan and with their clergy. In these missives he seems to have regarded the bishop as a crucial inter-mediary in achieving his overall aim of ensuring that the Lombard rulers were good Catholics (not pagans or Arians).[91] Earlier popes (notably Vigilius and Pelagius I during the 'Three Chapters' disputes) also wrote to Milanese bishops. Otherwise, the *Liber Pontificalis* noticed Milan and its region in a desultory way without much in the way of an obvious agenda. This is discussed further below.

Rival Centres of Power: Bobbio and Pavia

Jonas in his *Life of Columbanus and his Disciples* (written 642–43) had lit-tle to say about Milan and its saints. Columbanus had first met Agilulf and Theodelinda in Milan where he had preached against Arians and produced an anti-Arian treatise (now lost).[92] The foundation of a monastery at Bobbio soon followed and was confirmed by King Agilulf in a document issued from his pal-ace in Milan in 613.[93] Bobbio went on to become one of the largest monastic communities in Italy with a substantial patrimony in the Apennines, a major library, and an extended network of connections north of the Alps.[94] But it did not, it would seem, have much long-term influence on monastic life within northern Italy, although the successors of Columbanus did have some local impact as when Attala cured a sick child on a visit to Milan (*Vita Columbani* II.4). Its exceptionality was confirmed when Pope Honorius took the monks under direct papal protection in 628.[95]

Pavia developed as the royal residence first for Theodoric and then for the Lombard kings in the course of the seventh century.[96] Rothari's Edict was promulgated from Pavia in November 643, and in 698 a 'synod' was hosted

---

[91]   Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 133–37, 140–42.

[92]   Jonas, *Vita di Columbano* I.30, trans. by O'Hara and Wood, *Jonas of Bobbio*, pp. 166–70.

[93]   *CDL*, III, doc. 1, 24 July 613. Reassessed by Gasparri, 'Columbanus, Bobbio, and the Lombards', p. 245.

[94]   Destefanis, *Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale*, pp. 66–90; Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 72–86, 140–56; Zironi, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio*, pp. 90–112.

[95]   Wood, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius', p. 118.

[96]   Brogiolo, 'Capitali e residenze regie nell'Italia longobarda', pp. 239–42.

there by King Cunincpert which ended the 'Three Chapters' at least from the perspective of the Lombard kings. The poem which reports this, known as the *Carmen de Synodo ticinesi* (*c.* 698), survived in two late seventh-century manuscripts from Bobbio and does not mention Milan at all, even though such a synod might have been expected to have taken place at the archiepiscopal seat.[97] The royal presence seems to have encouraged the local Pavese bishops to break away from the control of the diocese of Milan, and by the beginning of the eighth century they appear to have succeeded. It is no coincidence that the *Life of Sirus of Pavia* (possibly dating to the early eighth century) has a markedly anti-Milanese tone, as Nick Everett has shown.[98]

The authors of each of the narratives considered in the last couple of pages, whether writing locally or thousands of miles away, had diverse agendas and motivations which are only partially visible now. For each of them there was no doubt that Milan was a central place where 'great events' were played out, especially politically. The overriding point to take from this rapid survey is that there was continuity in how Milan was represented across Late Antiquity regardless of what actually happened there: 'insiders' were generally positive about the city, and 'outsiders' were mostly negative, with the exception of Gregory of Tours. Contemporaries produced highly charged and carefully positioned interpretations of Milanese history, especially of the figure of Ambrose, and so this range of opinion must be faithfully reflected now in multiple narratives rather than a single Ambrosian narrative.

Bishops of Milan: Simplicianus to Theodorus

Nevertheless, Ambrose's basilica was a permanent reminder of the man himself, who had been nothing if not controversial. His 'studied acts of intransigence' within the context of the fourth-century struggle between Arians and anti-Arians in Milan tested even imperial power to its limits.[99] The early construction of a 'legendary' Ambrose, in part by Ambrose himself, in part by Paulinus in his *Life*, presented his episcopal successors with a big reputation to live up to, and some were much more successful at dealing with this legacy than others. Ambrose's activities are thrown into high relief by the poorly documented

---

[97] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, 245–47.

[98] Everett, 'The Hagiography of Lombard Italy', pp. 57–74d, and Everett, 'The Earliest Recension'. English translation in Everett, *Patron Saints of Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 206–25.

[99] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 80.

lives of his fifth-century successors.[100] The names of twelve bishops of Milan
are known for the fifth century: Simplicianus, Venerius, Marolus, Martinianus,
Glycerius, Lazarus, Eusebius, Gerontius, Benignus, Senator, Theodorus, and
Laurentius I. The evidence for nearly all of them is mostly late medieval and
highly suspect.[101] Simplicanus (d. 400/401) as Ambrose's designated successor
is quite well documented,[102] and like Ambrose he too had a church dedicated
to him (the *Basilica Virginum* now San Simpliciano). He was mentioned by
Hildemar writing his Commentary on Benedict's Rule at Civate in the mid-
ninth century as one of the main saints venerated in the diocese of Milan.[103] It
would seem that Venerius, Marolus, Glycerius, and Lazarus were all buried in
the *Basilica Apostolorum* (San Nazaro), another of Milan's late antique basili-
cas.[104] Martinianus was buried in Santo Stefano.[105] Eusebius, Theodorus I, and
Laurentius I were buried in San Lorenzo,[106] Gerontius and Benignus at San
Simpliciano, with Senator at Sant'Eufemia. The fact that none of these bish-
ops was buried at Sant'Ambrogio strongly implies something very significant
about their 'relationship' with Ambrose and his memory. Of these bishops only
Laurentius I (*c.* 489–510/12) is relatively well documented because Ennodius
of Pavia was his secretary and wrote several poems in his praise, as well as being
the author of the *Vita Epiphani*.[107]

We know nothing of the things we might really like to know about these
men: What were their family origins? Where were the family lands? What the-

---

[100] The standard work is Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia*. It is prone to error.

[101] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 741 (tableau 9), and Caprioli and Rimoldi, 'L'età
antica', pp. 30–34. Funerary inscriptions survive either in stone or in manuscript for most of
these bishops (Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 167),
and Ennodius devoted honorific verses to each of them, as has been seen.

[102] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 616–23.

[103] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 395. The
others were Ambrose, Victor, Protasius, Gervasius, Nabor, Felix, Nazarius, and Celsus. On
Hildemar, see De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 70–72, and Crawford, 'Paul the Deacon between
Justinian and Bologna' who has reconsidered the whole question of the authorship of this com-
mentary to arrive at the convincing conclusion that *both* Hildemar and Paul the Deacon wrote
such commentaries. I am very grateful to Prof. Crawford for sending me a draft of this article in
advance of publication.

[104] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 53. Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, fig. 2a23.

[105] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 58.

[106] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 58.

[107] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 62, and Ennodius, *Dictio in natale Laurenti medi-
olanensis episcopi*, ed. by Vogel, *Ennodi opera*, pp. 2–4.

ological opinions did they have? How did they run the Milanese church? Were they controversial figures locally? By making comparisons with what is known about the activities of western bishops elsewhere it can be presumed that these Milanese bishops were aristocrats,[108] possibly monks in some cases, and almost certainly drawing to themselves the wide range of powers which bishops in Gaul, Spain, and elsewhere were doing at this time.[109] There was clearly considerable involvement in promoting the cult of saints: Paulinus produced his *Life of Ambrose* around 412/13 (but for Augustine rather than a Milanese bishop and probably in North Africa rather than in Milan), and the cults of some of Ambrose's predecessors may have been well established by the end of the century. But this is uncertain.

The fraught religious history of the fifth and sixth centuries is often described as 'the quest for unity',[110] and how this failed.[111] The wide-ranging theological disputes of the period certainly had many long-lasting consequences, the most important of which was continued disunity between Eastern and Western versions of Christianity. In Italy the 'Three Chapters' dispute was particularly divisive.[112] Several Milanese bishops got caught up in it,[113] and their activities were relatively well documented as a result. Those bishops who lived quieter lives, including Eustorgius II, Magnus, and Frontus, have left much less behind. The most active Milanese bishop of this period was Datius (*c.* 535–52), who was involved in both the 'Gothic Wars' and in the early stages of the 'Three Chapters' dispute.[114] Nothing is known of his origins. He was noticed in most contemporary sources which reported on the 'Three Chapters' dispute including Prokopios,[115] the *Liber Pontificalis*,[116]

---

[108] Although there may have been fewer aristocratic bishops in Italy and North Africa than in Gaul: Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity*, p. 214.

[109] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 106–13. A well-documented example is Avitus of Vienne (d. *c.* 518).

[110] Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 183.

[111] Chazelle and Cubitt, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 265–78.

[112] Sotinel, 'The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy'.

[113] Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 133–37.

[114] Sotinel, 'The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy', pp. 86–89.

[115] Procopius, *History of the Wars* VI.vii.35, which reports that Datius went to Rome to plead with Belisarius in December 537.

[116] *Liber Pontificalis Silverius* (AD 537): 'Eodem tempore tanta famis fiut per universam mundum ut Datius episcpous civitatis Mediolanae relatio ipsius hoc evidentur narravit eo quod in partes Lyguriae mulieres filios suos comedissent penuriae famis, de quas relavit ecclesiae suae

Cassiodorus,[117] the letters of Pope Vigilius, Victor of Tunnana,[118] and Pope Gregory's *Dialogues*.[119] Datius was an active prelate in difficult circumstances who went to Constantinople to assist Pope Vigilius against the emperor. His church rallied to his defence, as evidenced by two letters from 551–52. The first was addressed to 'Christians and noble men' by the Milanese clergy who urged that the Merovingian church be properly informed about what was happening to Vigilius and Datius in Constantinople. The second, sent to Bishop Nicetius of Trier by Abbot Florianus of the (apparently Milanese) monastery of 'Romenus', urged Nicetius to pray for Datius, adding his prayers to those of the late Ennodius of Pavia, Caesarius of Arles, Abbot Theodatus, and Ambrose of Milan.[120] Datius attended the Fifth Oecumenical Council in Constantinople but was eventually martyred in that city. Somehow his body was returned to Milan where he was buried in San Vittore.

His successor Vitalis was elected with the emperor's approval,[121] but stuck to the existing policy of Datius.[122] He was buried in San Vitale. His successor Auxanus kept up the battle against Pope Pelagius I who had attacked him for defending the 'Three Chapters'. He was buried in Santo Stefano, but when he died is not known. Honoratus, the next bishop, was noticed by Paul the Deacon (*HL* II 25) probably because his pontificate coincided with Lombard invasion in 569. According to Paul:

> Alboin, igitur Liguriam introiens, indictione ingrediente tertia, tertio Nonas Septmbris, sub temporibus Honorati archiepiscopi Mediolanium ingressus est. Dehinc

fuisse ex familia' (Meanwhile so great was the famine throughout the world that Datius, bishop of the city of Milan, in his report recounted openly that in the district of Liguria women had eaten their own children from poverty and hunger: some of these women, he reported, were members of his own church) (Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, p. 55).

[117] Cassiodorus, *Variae* XII, 27, *c.* 535–36. Cassiodorus wrote to Datius to ask that he open up the grain stores of Pavia and Tortona to help feed the indigent population during the famine.

[118] Victor of Tunnana, *Chronicon*, a. 554, ed. by Mommsen: 'Datius Mediolanensis episcopus Constantinopolim venit et damnationi eorundem trium capitulorum consentiens eo die percussus occubuit' (Datius, Bishop of Milan came to Constantinople, and having consented to the condemnation of those three chapters on the same day he was struck down dead).

[119] Gregory I, *Dialogorum libri IV de miraculis patrum italicorum* 3, 4 claimed he was exiled for his faith.

[120] Wood, 'The Franks and Papal Theology', pp. 225–26. The location of 'Romenus' is uncertain.

[121] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 72.

[122] Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, p. 134.

universas Liguriae civitates, praeter has quae in litore maris sunt positae, cepit. Honoratus vero archiepiscopus Mediolanium deserens, ad Genuensem urbem confugit.

[Alboin, having then entered Liguria, entered Milan at the start of the third indiction, on the third day of September, at the time of Archbishop Honoratus. From then on he took all the cities of Liguria, except those which are sited on the sea shore. Indeed, Archbishop Honoratus abandoned Milan and fled to the city of Genoa.]

This matter-of-fact statement typically gives no indication where the information was from, but it does mean that Paul probably had access to an early episcopal list either directly or via his knowledge of the work of Secundus.[123] This dramatic event initiated the period of so-called 'exile' of the Milanese bishops in Genoa, then still part of the Roman ('Byzantine') Empire, while the hostile Lombard rulers occupied Milan.[124] This period lasted until Bishop John returned to Milan *c*. 649 or later.

The next bishop may have been Frontus, of whom nothing is known from early sources. His successor, however, was Laurentius II (573–92/93) who, like his successors Constantius (593–600) and Deusdedit (600–603), is much better documented because Pope Gregory the Great corresponded with him. Gregory is ironically the principal source for the church of Milan in this period, and his evidence has to be treated with some trepidation.[125] There are intriguing hints within Gregory's work that some clergy had remained in Milan when Honoratus left. In his *Dialogues* (IV.55) he told the cautionary tale of the 'extremely dissolute' Valentine, 'defender of the church of Milan', who died while visiting Genoa. He was buried there in the church of San Siro, but two devils soon dragged his body out as punishment for his mortal sins. Although Gregory was obviously making a moral point here about sinfulness getting its just reward, he might also have been indirectly attacking Milanese clergy who had remained in the city even though the Lombard Agilulf was now its ruler.[126] Bishop Laurentius fared better with Gregory, and indeed it was he who ended the schismatic position of the Milanese church and rejoined the

---

[123] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 73 (who gives the traditional view that Honoratus was buried near Milan, for which there is no authentic early source).

[124] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, p. 68.

[125] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 92–95.

[126] Agilulf may have been pagan, Arian, or Catholic: Brown, 'Lombard Religious Policy in the Late Sixth and Seventh Centuries', p. 293.

Roman communion in 573. At his death, however, the Milanese church seems
to have been divided over who should succeed him. Gregory wrote to Magnus,
a Milanese cleric, to say that he thought that Bishop Laurentius had wrongly
excommunicated him, once again implying significant dissent within the local
church. Bishop Constantius seems to have been on good terms with Gregory,
who urged him to sort out misdemeanors among his clergy, but with his succes-
sor Deusdedit Gregory adopted a cooler tone. The latter, who had been elected
from among the Milanese clergy, 'set out for Genoa' upon his election, imply-
ing that he resided in Milan. Perhaps he, and other clerics who had remained in
Lombard Milan, were regarded by Gregory as 'collaborators'?

   After Gregory's death (12 March 604) the Milanese bishops returned to
their customary obscurity. Bishop Asterius was noticed by Bede (*Historia Eccle-
siastica* III 7) as he had consecrated Birinus as first bishop of the West Saxons in
629 (probably the year after Theodelinda died).[127] It is unclear when Asterius
had become Bishop of Milan (if indeed he was as Bede pointedly called him 'of
Genoa'), and there is a strong possibility that after Deusdedit had died (prob-
ably in 603) there was a vacancy at Milan (or perhaps even a disputed election).
It is perhaps odd that Columbanus, who visited Agilulf and Theodelinda at
Milan, did not mention the local bishop in his letter to Pope Boniface IV about
the 'Three Chapters' drafted at the king's request (*c.* 613).[128] Jonas of Bobbio in
his life of the saint explained that he stayed in Milan for the purpose of cutting
out the Arian heresy with the 'cauterization' of scripture and that he even wrote
a tract (*libellus florenti scientia*) against Arians.[129] The fact that the monastery he
founded was in Bobbio outside the archdiocese may mean that the Irish monk
was not welcomed in Milan by the local clergy. Agilulf's successors Arioald
(d. 636) and Rothari (d. 652) may have been Arians which could have com-
plicated any choice of bishop in a city where their own power was still uncer-
tain. However, Rothari famously conquered Genoa and the Ligurian littoral
which thus became part of the Lombard polity,[130] and this paved the way for
the final return of the exiled bishop to Milan in the person of John 'the Good'.

   John is otherwise obscure, as are his immediate successors Antonius,
Mauricillus, and Ampelius. Documentation improves again with Mansuetus
because of his involvement in preparations for the Sixth Oecumenical Council

----

[127] Balzaretti, 'Theodelinda, "most glorious queen"', p. 186.

[128] Walker, *Sancti Columbani Opera*, Letter V.

[129] Jonas, *Vita di Colombano*, I.30, ed. and trans. by Biffi and Granata, pp. 138–39.

[130] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 73–74.

in 679–80 which condemned Monothelitism (that Christ had one will and therefore not two wills 'human' and 'divine'). Mansuetus was also the first bishop since Ambrose to have been buried at Sant'Ambrogio.[131] In 679 at the request of Pope Agatho, Mansuetus called a provincial synod to prepare for the eastern council. He subsequently sent a learned letter of doctrinal advice with an attached Creed to Constantius IV in Constantinople.[132] On 27 March 680 he took part in the Roman council called by Agatho along with his suffragans from Bergamo, Lodi, Pavia, Acqui, Cremona, Novara, Ivrea, Genoa, Brescia, Tortona, Asti, 'Valvarius', Albenga, Vercelli, Turin, Ventimiglia, and Luni, a list which reveals the extent of the archdiocese at this time.[133] It is notable that Pavia was included, as Paul the Deacon (*HL* VI 4) suggested (probably incorrectly) that Damianus of Pavia composed a tract on doctrine on behalf of Mansuetus to help clarify matters at the synod.[134] Mansuetus probably died in 681. His name was added to a side panel of the Carolingian golden altar, and his tract circulated extensively both in Milan and elsewhere at that time perhaps demonstrating a knowledge of local church history on the part of Archbishop Angilbert.[135]

Mansuetus was succeeded by Benedict, who was probably bishop during the meeting in Pavia in 698 which once and for all resolved the 'Three Chapters' schism for the Lombard royal family.[136] Both the *Liber Pontificalis* (Constantius) and Paul the Deacon (*HL* VI 29) record that Benedict went to Rome to try to maintain his power to consecrate the Bishop of Pavia which failed (in 711): 'Benedict, archbishop of Milan, also came to pray and present himself to his pontiff; he was in dispute over the church of *Ticinum* (Pavia), but he was shown to be in error, because the consecration of the bishop of the church of *Ticinum* from ancient times has belonged and belongs to the apostolic see'.[137] Paul con-

---

[131] Ferrari, 'Il nome di Mansueto arcivescovo di Milano'; Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 84.

[132] Furciniti, 'Mansueto, Damiano e il Basileus', a thesis I have as yet not seen. The old edition of the text is *PL*, LXXXVII, 1260–67, *Epistola Damiani sub nomine mansuetae mediol. archi. ad Constantini* (and *Expositio fidei* at 1263–67).

[133] Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, p. 253.

[134] *PL*, LXXXVII, 1261–67.

[135] Ferrari, 'Il nome di Mansueto arcivescovo di Milano', p. 286.

[136] Bertolini, 'Benedetto'; Pohl, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', pp. 259–61. Benedict did not compose King Ceadwalla's epitaph (as often stated in the literature), as conclusively proved by Sharpe, 'King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph', pp. 181–85.

[137] Davis, *The Book of the Pontiffs*, p. 92. Cf. the example of Bobbio.

cluded that Benedict was 'vir egregiae sanctitatis, de quo per universam Italiam bona fama flagravit' (a man of notable holiness whose reputation for goodness was known throughout Italy). He was also lauded in the *Versum* (dated *c.* 739) as *almus Benedictus* ('the saintly Benedict'), and like Mansuetus he too was buried in Sant'Ambrogio.[138] This poem also praised Bishop Theodorus (II), brother of Aurona, sister of King Liutprand, a connection with the royal family that probably explains his appointment to the Milanese see, and it is possible that Theodorus commissioned the praise poem to mark this occasion. He was the third bishop in a row to be buried in Sant'Ambrogio (at least according to local tradition) which points to the reign of Liutprand (712–44) as a potentially important period in the patronage of this church. The bishops of the late Lombard period are once again obscure: Natalis, Arifretus, Stabilis, and Letus are not documented by authentic material. This takes us to Archbishop Thomas who in 781 baptized two of Charlemagne's children in Milan and who may have paved the way for the foundation of the Benedictine community at Sant'Ambrogio.

The key point to draw from the histories of these bishops such as they are is that significant documentation about them was mostly generated when they were involved in events outside their diocese, most notably when they were in contact with Rome or Constantinople (Francia took over from the late eighth century). While this pattern may mean that more active bishops generated more documentation, and so suggest that the surviving documentation does reflect reality to some degree, it also implies that all the surviving documentation for Milan in this transformative period should be treated with caution, as so little of it was produced locally.

From Imperial Capital to Metropolis

During the 'long fourth century' Milan was one of the great cities of the Roman Empire (Figure 7). Designated an imperial capital by Diocletian in 286, it remained so until 402 when Ravenna took its place for largely strategic reasons.[139] In this period wealth poured into the city and its infrastructure and architecture underwent complete transformation by the imperial family with the result that Milan became the consumer centre for the whole region. This

---

[138] Pighi, *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate*, p. 90: 'ibi almus Benedictus recubat'. Both their graves have disappeared.

[139] Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, reviewed by Christie, 'Milan as Imperial Capital, and its Hinterland'. Cf. La Rocca, 'Milano longobarda'.

Figure 7. *Mediolanum* (third–fifth century AD). Drawn by cristiano64. CC BY-SA 3.0.

metropolis attracted Ambrose, Augustine, Martin of Tours, and many others from across the empire in search of career success.[140] Many contemporary writers noticed the city, but one work immortalized Imperial Milan: the verse devoted to it in 'The Series of Famous Cities', a poem written by the Gallic aristocrat Ausonius in Bordeaux in *c*. 388–89. The influence of this short work has been long and deep.

> Et Mediolani mira omnia; copia rerum,
> innumerae cultaeque domus, facunda virorum
> ingenia et mores laeti, tum duplice muro
> amplificata loci species populique voluptas
> circus et inclusi moles cuneata theatri;
> templa Palatinaeque arces opulensque moneta

[140] McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*; Stancliffe, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*.

>et regio Herculei celebris sub honore lavacri;
>cunctaque marmoreis ornata peristyla signis
>moeniaque in valli formam circumdata limbo.
>omnia quae magnis operum velut aemula formis
>excellunt nec iuncta premit vicinia Romae.[141]

[At Milan there are all sorts of wonderful things — an abundance of goods, innumerable elegant homes, men of marvellous eloquence and pleasing manners. Moreover, the beauty of the place is accentuated by a double wall. And there are a Circus, which is the people's joy, the wedge-shaped bulk of the theatre, the temples, the bulwarks of the palace, the splendid mint, the district that is celebrated because of the Baths of Hercules,[142] all the colonnades adorned with marble statues, the encircling defences that are banked up at the city's edge. All these things, which rival each other, so to speak, by their massive workmanship, are of surpassing excellence, and the proximity of Rome does not detract from them.][143]

This vivid evocation of Milan at its fourth-century peak presents us with a great, monumental city, eclipsing the surrounding countryside which Ausonius does not bother to mention. But too much weight should not be placed on this literary entertainment, even though Ausonius may have been personally acquainted with Milan. Scholars working on Ausonius have emphasized the *Ordo*'s unsystematic and personal quality,[144] even suggesting that it was merely 'a verbal lesson in the geography of the empire'.[145] Although the truth of Ausonius's imagery can be tested with the evidence of archaeology, as will be seen, the world view behind such celebrated monumentality has to be considered as well.[146] The urban-centered stance assumed by Ausonius, so typical of late Roman literary sources and inherited by us via the work of our early modern predecessors, is perhaps the most intractable problem faced by modern scholars of early medieval Milanese history. It seems simple common sense that Milan

---

[141] Green, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, pp. 189–95 at p. 190 with commentary at pp. 573–74; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, p. 29.

[142] Between the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and Corso Europa (Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, fig. 2a.9).

[143] Trans. Ramsey, *Ambrose*, p. 21. This replaces the rather twee translation in the Loeb edition.

[144] Green, *Ordo Urbium Nobilium*, p. 570.

[145] Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux*, p. 79.

[146] David, 'Il paesaggio urbano di Mediolanum nell'età di Decimo Magno Ausonio', does exactly this.

remained one of the major cities in the Po Valley throughout the early medieval period, and yet this is a statement much less easy to prove than it is to believe.

Nearly four centuries after Ausonius wrote, an anonymous poet produced another verse about Milan, the so-called *Versum de Mediolano Civitate* (sometimes known as the *Laudes de Mediolano Civitate*).[147] This text is preserved in a single manuscript (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC (85), fols 25–27), a ninth-century collection of poetry perhaps written around 870, possibly at Verona or elsewhere in northern Italy. Who wrote the poem and exactly when is unknown, but it is generally thought to have been composed *c*. 739–40, in the latter years of the Lombard king Liutprand's reign. It is in twenty-four stanzas (seventy-two lines) which praise the buildings of the city, notably the impressive fifth-century Basilica of San Lorenzo, and its many saints, who defend the people. Midway through the poem is the following stanza (8):

> This is the queen of cities and mother of this country,
> Rightly called by the name *metropolis*,
> Praised by the nations of all ages.[148]

The poet goes on in stanza 9:

> The dignity of its power is constant,
> and to it travel the bishops of Italy,
> to be instructed in the correct ways of the church.[149]

And later in stanza 18 he notes:

> The Lombards hold the sceptre of power there,
> Liutprand the pious king with the merit of sainthood,
> to whom Christ has given such grace and sanctity.[150]

---

[147] Pighi, *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate*, pp. 89–91(diplomatic transcription), 145–47 (edition), 147–48 (Italian translation). Pighi replaces all earlier editions of a text which was first printed by Muratori in the 1720s. Cf. Granier, 'Capitales royales e princières d'Italie lombarde d'après le poèsie d'éloge', p. 59.

[148] 'Hec est urbium regina mater atque patrie | Que precipuo vocatur nomine metropolis | Quam conlaudant universi nationes seculi'.

[149] 'Ingens permanet ipsius dignitatis potencia | Ad quam cuncti venientes presules Ausonie | Iuxta normam instruuntur sinodali canone'.

[150] 'Sceptrum inde Langobardi principalem optinent | Liutprandum pium regem meritis almificum | Cui tantum sancitatis Christus dedit graciam'. I have drawn on an unpublished translation by Brian Ward Perkins.

Like Ausonius, the poet of the *Versum* emphasizes the monumentality of the city but encases it within a strongly Christian message.[151]

Other early medieval sources in prose provide some information about the Milanese townscape, and historians have for many years tried hard to interpret these, with varying success. Most narrative sources are very frustrating because they present highly idealized impressions of landscape features, which self-evidently bear very little relationship to any actual environment. They are interesting from the perspective of cultural history alone. Typical are the brief 'descriptions' of the sixth-century city presented by Prokopios in the course of his *Gothic Wars* which are too generic to be meaningful, particularly as it seems Prokopios never visited the city:

> Now this city is situated in Liguria, and lies about half way between the city of Ravenna and the Alps on the borders of Gaul; for from either one it is a journey of eight days to Milan for an unencumbered traveller; and it is the first of the cities of the West, after Rome at least, both in size and population and in general prosperity.[152]

> Milan, which far surpasses practically all the other cities of Italy in point of size and population and in every other sort of prosperity, and, apart from these advantages, is an outpost against the Germans and the other barbarians, and has been thrown out to protect the whole Roman Empire, so to speak.[153]

The *De situ civitatis Mediolani* ('On the Situation of the City of Milan'),[154] written in the time of Archbishop Arnulf II of Milan (998–1018),[155] is potentially a more significant 'insider' narrative. This brief text prefaces a set of *vitae* of the first six and otherwise obscure bishops of Milan, the whole of which presents an argument in favour of the apostolic origins of Milan and of its position as a 'second Rome'.[156] The *De situ* is a short description of the city and

---

[151] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 224–29.

[152] Procopius, History of the Wars VI.vii.35.

[153] Procopius, History of the Wars VI.xxi.1–6.

[154] Colombo and Colombo, *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus*.

[155] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 19–33 and 418–40; Godding, 'Review of Tomea 1993'.
Bollandiana, 112 (1994), 401–22.

[156] *Vitae* of Anatelon, Gaius, Castricianus, Calimerus, Monas and Maternus (Colombo and Colombo, *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus*, pp. 21–75) preceded by a short text attributing the foundation of the Milanese church to the pseudo-apostle Barnabas (Colombo and Colombo,

its region,[157] which although based quite closely on parts of Book II of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*,[158] nonetheless provides some pointers to its author's conceptualization of Milan and its landscape around the year 1000. Milan's geography is explained with reference to Italy, Liguria, the Rivers Adda and Ticino, the Raetian Alps, Venetia, Emilia, Rome, the Cottian Alps, Tuscany, Cisapline Gaul, Bergamo, Brescia, and Pavia. As these are all places which appear in the late antique works which this classicizing author relied on, there is little sense that the information was derived from direct observation. The physical features mentioned are described in poetic language and are rather stereotyped: the great waters/rivers, the Alps, Milan's place at the centre of a plain, and so on. It opens:

> Therefore the site of the metropolitan *civitas* appeared such a reasonable thing that it was the most fecund mother of Italy; to such an extent that the name of Liguria was chosen for this part of the province by the ancients, from the northern to the eastern part between the Adda and the Ticino, great rivers of Po waters, which flowed to the very centre.[159]

Clearly this is not a description which historians can use as evidence of the actual state of the local landscape on the ground in the early eleventh century.

Charters are very different from Prokopios, the *De situ*, and similar narratives because the landscape they describe was real: the transmission of real property was the raison d'etre of such texts. But again there are problems with the mode of description: descriptive formulae can be too generalized to permit the reconstruction of a plausible landscape. Unlike Anglo-Saxon charters, for example,[160] property boundaries are rarely described in a way which makes

---

Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus, pp. 14–21). For these bishops, see Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 25–41.

[157] Colombo and Colombo, *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus*, pp. 6–14. This part of the text has been transmitted in five manuscripts, the earliest of which can be dated to 1126–40 (Bibl. Ambr., MS I 152 inf., fols 94ʳ–98ʳ); Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 23.

[158] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 231–32, provides a detailed comparison of the two texts (*HL* II 15 and 23). This is important evidence that Paul's *HL* was being read in late tenth-century Milan.

[159] 'Situs igitur civitatis metroploitane de qua occurrit ratio, uberimus est fecunde matris Italiae sinus; in ea dumtaxat provincie opsius plaga que Ligurie nomen a veteribus sortita est, per quam a septemtrionali ad orietnalem verus partem Addua et Ticinum, ingentia flumia padani gurgitis, medium influunt gremium' (Colombo and Colombo, *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus*, pp. 6–7).

[160] Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 138–41.

them locatable today. The fullest attempt to exploit charters for landscape
history in early medieval Lombardy and Emilia has been undertaken by the
'Bologna school' led by the late Vito Fumagalli and his pupils the late Bruno
Andreolli, Paola Galetti, and Massimo Montanari.[161] Montanari especially
managed to find some real contrasts within the early medieval landscapes of
the Po Valley, notably between wet and dry environments and the societies
they supported.[162] Other work was done by Fumagalli himself and by Paolo
Squatriti.[163] But Fumagalli's more recent general work on 'Landscapes of Fear'
was poorly received: Diego Moreno rightly criticized Fumagalli's false distinc-
tion of cultivated and wild (which harks back to Emilio Sereni and to the early
modern writers on whom he drew) and questioned his unduly bleak picture
of medieval rural life.[164] Detailed work with charters can be a really important
part of reconstructing what the early medieval countryside was actually like —
indeed these are the only type of documents which are at all useful — but only
when carried out in the context of local discussion.[165] This evidence is exam-
ined in Chapters 6–9.

The role of towns within early medieval societies has been a popular theme
with historians and archaeologists alike in recent years, especially in Italy.[166]

---

[161] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*; Montanari and Andreolli,
L'azienda curtense in Italia; Galetti, 'Per una storia dell'abitazione rurale nell'altomedievo';
Galetti, 'La casa contadina nell'Italia padana dei secoli VIII–X'; Galetti, *Abitare nel Medioevo*;
and Galetti, *Civiltà del legno*, pp. 17–35; Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*; Mancassola, *L'azienda cur-
tense tra Langobardia e Romania*.

[162] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, especially pp. 19–70.

[163] Fumagalli, *Terra e società nell'Italia padana*, 'Strutture materiali e funzioni dell'azienda
curtense', and *Le Prestazione d'opera nelle campagne Italiane del Medioevo*; Squatriti, *Water and
Society in Early Medieval Italy* and *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy*.

[164] Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*; Moreno, 'Review of Fumagalli', 91.

[165] For models, see Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 37–47, and Wickham, *The Mountains and the
City*, pp. 15–39, 153–79.

[166] Classic surveys: Mannoni and Poleggi, 'The Condition and Study of Historic Town Cen-
tres in Northern Italy'; Carver, *Arguments in Stone*; Christie and Loseby, *Towns in Transition*;
Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*; Hodges and Hobley, *The Rebirth of Towns
in the West*; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages* and 'The Towns of
Northern Italy'. More recently, Augenti, *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medio-
evo*; Christie, *Landscapes of Change* and *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 183–280; La
Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*; Loseby, 'Reflections on Urban Space',
pp. 13–16; Valenti, 'Le città del centro-nord'; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp.
591–692; Ward-Perkins, 'The Lombard City and the Urban Economy'.

Most research has focused on continuity/discontinuity from ancient to medieval times, conceptualized in terms of 'decline', 'transition', 'transformation', and 'rebirth'.[167] What the north Italian evidence means is still controversial, with Brescia and Verona being both the best-studied and most-disputed sites.[168] The much-altered landscape of Milan and its hinterland has posed significant difficulties for archaeologists as well as historians.[169] A real problem is posed by the huge imbalance in archaeological knowledge of Roman Milan and its hinterland, which is considerable, in comparison with Roman Milan and its early medieval successor, which is meagre.[170] Within the city boundary excavation has proved difficult to arrange, technically problematic to carry out, and hugely expensive. Results for the early medieval period remain inconclusive.

The archaeology of Milan, like that of most Italian cities of any size, has meant Roman archaeology, with the emphasis in recent research on the fourth century when the imperial city was at the peak of its political importance.[171] In the course of writing this book Milanese archaeology has certainly been transformed:[172] there have been significant excavations in the Piazza

[167] Ward-Perkins, 'Urban Continuity?'; Christie, 'Italy and the Roman to Medieval Transition'; Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 195–98; Hodges, 'The Idea of the Polyfocal "Town"?', which argues a very minimalist view (without reference to Milan).

[168] Brogiolo, 'A proposto dell'organizzazione urbana nel medioevo' (e.g. p. 39), *Brescia altomedievale*, and 'La città longobarda nel periodo della conquista'; La Rocca, '"Dark Ages" a Verona', pp. 116–22 (challenging Brogiolo), 'Città altomedievali, storia e archeologia', '"Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose"', 'Trasformazioni della città in "Longobardia"', and 'Le piazze di Verona nell'alto medioevo', p. 8.

[169] Talbert, *The Barrington Atlas*, Map 39 *Mediolanum*. The *Carta archeologica della Lombardia* has so far covered Brescia and its province, Bergamo province, Como, and Lecco, but not Milan. The best archaeological surveys for north-west Italy in this period are Brogiolo, 'La città tra tarda antichità e Medioevo'; Cantino Wataghin and Brogiolo, 'Tardo antico e altomedioevo nel territorio padano'; Cantino Wataghin, 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes'; Brogiolo, 'Towns, Forts and the Countryside'; Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*.

[170] Contrast Garnsey, 'Economy and Society of *Mediolanum*' with Forni, 'Le strutture agrarie del Milanese' and Sacchi, *Ianua leti*, fig. 1. Cf. Michelotto, 'La Lombardia romana'.

[171] Mirabella Roberti, *Milano romana*; La Guardia, *Milano tra l'età repubblicana a l'età Augustea*; Pizzi, *Milano capitale*; Sena Chiesa and Arslan, *Felix temporis reparatio*.

[172] Cf. Balzaretti, 'History, Archaeology and Early Medieval Urbanism' with what follows here. Caporusso, 'Milano' pointed out that in 1984 only 0.12 per cent of Roman layers had been archaeologically investigated. Caporusso, *Scavi MM3* is essential. Sannazaro, 'Archeologia cristiana a Milano' is a crisp survey up to 2011.

Duomo,[173] the Biblioteca Ambrosiana,[174] and a range of sites associated with the construction of Linea 3 of the metro system in the late 1980s.[175] There have also been numerous other smaller excavations across the city,[176] including an important one at the site of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio itself, and another in its immediate environs.[177] As will become clear, knowledge of the Roman city has been transformed while understanding of the early medieval city has advanced rather less, which has perpetuated the existing imbalance in knowledge.

Most of the key Roman sites of civic importance have been excavated one way or another and prove the city to have been huge and imposing by the time of Ambrose. The walls, built between the first century BC and fourth century AD, encompassed a vast area which was expanded on several occasions as the urban population increased. The most important circuit was built by Maximian in the third century of which some parts survive to their full impressive height still (Figure 8).[178] The forum (the modern Piazza San Sepolcro,

[173] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 97–209; Andrews, 'Milano altomedievale sotto Piazza del Duomo' and Andrews and Perring, 'Milano'. For technical difficulties Andrews, 'Vecchie difficoltà e nuove prospettive' and Caporusso, 'Milano' (with photographs of the Piazza Duomo excavations in progress at pp. 112–14). An up-to-date analysis is Neri, Spalla, and Lusuardi Siena, 'Il complesso episcopale di Milano'.

[174] 'Milano Indagini nell'area del foro', *Notizario* (1990), pp. 173–85. This is probably the site of the most ancient human settlement in the city. Detailed reports on the excavations under the Ambrosiana library in the 1990s are awaited, but some are available, e.g. *Notizario* (1992–93), pp. 114–17, synthesized by Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana'.

[175] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, especially pp. 351–58, and *Notizario* (1990), pp. 187–95.

[176] Caporusso, 'La zona di Porta Nuova', p. 21 (little evidence of continuity after the sixth century); *Notizario* (2010–11), pp. 236–41 (Piazza Meda, no evidence of early medieval layers, but continuity of Roman street plan across the period).

[177] 'Milano. Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Scavi nei cortili', *Notizario* (1986), pp. 139–45; 'Milano. Università Cattolica. Seconda campagna di scavo', *Notizario* (1987), pp. 43–148; *Notizario* (1995–97), pp. 202–04; Rossignani and Lusuardi Siena, 'La storia del sito alla luce delle indagini archeologiche'; Sannazaro, Cattaneo, and Ravedoni, 'La necropoli rinvenuta nei cortili dell' Università Cattolica' (late antique necropolis); Sannazaro, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', pp. 39–46; Lusuardi Siena and Rossignani, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, II, 101–48; Lusuardi Siena, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, III; Sannazaro, 'Il suburbio sudoccidentale nell'Altomedioevo' (p. 98 for archaeological map of the area); Lusuardi Siena, Rossignani, and Sannazaro, *L'abitato, la necropolis, il monastero* (final report). Fedeli and Pagani, *Il volto di una piazza* deals with Piazza Sant'Ambrogio and has added much detail about late Roman burials here (pp. 32–50), including biological evidence (pp. 51–58).

[178] Mirabella Roberti, *Milano romana*, pp. 23–34; Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in*

Figure 8. Late Roman watchtower. Milan, Museo Archeologico. Author's photograph.

site of the Ambrosiana library and the Crusader church of San Sepolcro) may well have been the oldest part of the Roman town. Excavations in the 1930s revealed some of the fine paving and a large building with a courtyard (identified as a market) on the corner of via Torino and via delle Asole. The whole area between San Sepolcro and the wall had a reticulated street plan. More recent excavations under the Biblioteca Ambrosiana have revealed much more, including the Roman slabs of the old forum itself.[179] Earlier Roman public buildings

Lombardia, pp. 179–99; and the definitive Caporusso, *Le torri romane del Monastero Maggiore*.

[179] Ceresa Mori, 'Milano: Indagini nell'area del foro', p. 181, fig. 200, and 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana'.

known archaeologically include the first-century theatre (Piazza degli Affari), the *horreum* (via Olmetto/via dei Piatti), the amphitheatre (via Arena), and the baths (near the demolished church of San Giovanni in Conca).[180] Even before Milan became the imperial capital in 286 it was one of the largest cities in Italy.[181] However, it grew rapidly during the fourth century as a result of its new political and military status. Some remnants of the city which Ausonius described in 388/89 still survive above ground, notably the famous columns in front of the church of San Lorenzo (which probably came from the earlier amphitheatre),[182] itself a late fourth-century structure, and sections of the fourth-century walls and circus.[183] The circus was vast (85 m by 450 m) and encompassed by the city defences.[184] The imperial palace was sited between the circus and the *decumanus maximus*. Large mosaic pavements were discovered here in the late nineteenth century, and substantial excavations between 2008 and 2011 have recovered much more. During the early medieval period (see Map 3) the remains were used for building stone, and layers of dark earth suggest that it became waste ground.[185] The imperial mausoleum (via San Vittore), a huge fortified polygonal structure, was outside the walls.[186] Valentinian II was buried here in 392. The most prominent buildings to have survived above ground albeit in much-altered forms are churches,[187] especially those founded

[180] Ceresa Mori, *L'anfiteatro di Milano e il suo quartiere*. Cf. La Rocca, 'Public Buildings and Urban Change in Northern Italy in the Early Mediaeval Period', p. 170, for Lombard public buildings in Milan.

[181] Garnsey, 'Economy and Society of *Mediolanum*'.

[182] Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, fig. 2a33.

[183] Ceresa Mori, *Le colonne di San Lorenzo*, pp. 11–22.

[184] Parts of it are still visible at the church of San Maurizio (the old Monastero Maggiore) and in adjacent streets (via Morigi, via Vigna, and via Circo). Pertot, 'Le fabbriche del monastero attraverso i secoli' and De Marchi, 'Milano e le testimonianze altomedievali del monastero Maggiore' (esp. pp. 48–50) are useful summaries of the Roman remains at this site with excellent photographs of the two surviving towers.

[185] *Notizario* (2010–11), pp. 241–47 at p. 246. For *spolia*, see Greppi, Bugini, and Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale', and Greppi, *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo*, pp. 13–30, for methods of analysis.

[186] Some remains and a reconstruction of its ground plan are visible in the grounds of the city's science museum.

[187] Best surveys: Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano'; Greppi, *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo*; and Sannazaro, 'Archeologia cristiana a Milano'.

in the late fourth century by Ambrose (San Nazaro,[188] San Simpliciano,[189] in addition to Sant'Ambrogio)[190] and those perhaps associated with the imperial court (notably the vast fifth-century San Lorenzo, with its contemporary mosaics in the chapel of Sant'Aquilino).[191] The area under and around the current cathedral (Piazza Duomo) developed as a substantial episcopal district based on the enormous church of Santa Tecla, the second cathedral.[192] The current cathedral (Santa Maria Maggiore) has underneath it the earlier Romanesque building and, in all probability, the Carolingian church. At long last tantalizing remains of that building have been found.[193] A great deal more was uncovered by excavations carried out in the 1920s and 1930s, and many architectural fragments can be found in the city's larger museums.

Until 1990 or thereabouts scholars were generally agreed that as far as the late antique period was concerned there was no disjunction between written and archaeological evidence, which both tend to much the same conclusions.

[188] Built by Ambrose in 386 as the *Basilica Apostolorum* and dedicated to Nazarius from the seventh century, it was on the monumental colonnaded street which is now Corso di Porta Romana (Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 237–61). Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', pp. 56–61 (minor structural changes in ninth century); David, *La basilica di San Nazaro* and good recent accounts of the building by Bonetti, 'San Nazaro' and Greppi, *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo*, pp. 49–52.

[189] Ambrose's *Basilica Virginum* on the road to Como dedicated to his successor as bishop. Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', pp. 52–56; Greppi, *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo*, pp. 43–48; Crivelli, *S. Simpliciano*; Di Girolamo and Howes, 'San Simpliciano'. This church was the object of further patronage in the fifth and sixth centuries, evidenced by high-quality masonry dated to that period: Greppi, Bugini, and Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale', p. 103.

[190] Löx, 'L'"architectus sapiens" Ambrogio e le chiese di Milano'.

[191] Interpretations of this church are varied, and it remains unclear exactly who commissioned it. Recent arguments that it was Stilicho are especially thought-provoking. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, pp. 69–92, and McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, pp. 220–37. Biscottini, *La basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore* is a scholarly guide. Cf. Kinney, 'The Evidence for the Dating of S. Lorenzo in Milan' and '"Capellae reginae"', p. 31 (none of the imperial family were ever buried here); Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, fig. 2a35; Löx, 'Die Kirche San Lorenzo in Mailand'; Fieni, 'Indagine archeologico archaeometrica sulla basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano'.

[192] Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', pp. 36–41; Greppi, *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo*, pp. 31–42; Lusuardi Siena, 'Il complesso episcopale'; Lusuardi Siena and others, 'Recenti indagini nel complesso episcopale milanese'; Neri, Spalla, and Lusuardi Siena, 'Il complesso episcopale di Milano'.

[193] Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio a Milano', pp. 36–41, fig. 6 p. 37.

Map 3. Early medieval Milan. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

1 S. Vincenzo in Prato	**10** S. Ambrogio in Solario	**19** SS. Protasio e Gervasio
2 S. Ambrogio	**11** S. Sebastiano	**20** S. Maria Gisonis
3 S. Valeria	**12** Roman Forum	**21** S. Tecla
4 SS. Nabore e Felice	**13** S. Sepolcro	**22** S. Maria
5 Monastero Maggiore	**14** S. Vittore al Theatro	**23** S. Satiro
6 S. Maria Podonis	**15** *Curs ducis*	**24** Porta Romana
7 Porta Ticinensis	**16** S. Simpliciano	**25** S. Eufemia
8 S. Lorenzo	**17** S. Giovanni Quatru Facie	**26** S. Nazaro
9 S. Giorgio al Palazzo	**18** SS. Cosma e Damiano	**27** S. Maria d'Aurona

Milan was certainly one of the largest and most splendid cities in late Roman Italy, quite as physically imposing as its political and religious history, populated by Constantine, Ambrose, Theodosius, Justina, and Valentinian, would suggest. With so much gone it is hard to imagine that great city today, but a comparison with the amazing standing remains of modern-day Rome is not entirely far-fetched. However, although the 1990 exhibition *Milano Capitale* and its associated conference demonstrated very clearly how much is now known of late antique Milan from archaeological evidence,[194] it also revealed how little is actually known about the population of late antique Milan and how those people made the transition to the post-Roman world.[195]

It was hoped to address this problem in the Linea 3 excavations, published in five substantial volumes in 1991.[196] The concluding synthesis by Arslan and Caporusso constitutes the main piece of interpretation.[197] They rightly emphasized that these excavations were significant because they dealt with the non-monumental aspects of the city's past, the ordinary urban fabric rather than the well-known Roman monuments which have dominated research hitherto, as the last few paragraphs above show.[198] The editors explained that because the route of the new metro crossed the city from outside the Roman walls through the Roman centre and back outside to the north-east, it provided a unique opportunity to investigate different types of archaeological context, intramural and suburban, for evidence of residence, production, and burial. The conclusions made about the fourth to sixth centuries can be summarized as follows. In the north-east of the city at via Romagnosi there was some evidence of abandonment but also some new building.[199] At the nearby via Croce Rossa there was further evidence of abandonment in the fifth century as a canal silted up there.[200] Close to the city centre, there was some new building in brick at via Tommaso Grossi,[201] but this had to be set alongside the appearance in the sixth

---

[194] Sena Chiesa and Arslan, *Felix temporis reparatio*.

[195] Balzaretti, 'Images of Dark Age Milan'.

[196] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*; reviewed by G. P. Brogiolo and G. Olcese in *AM*, 20 (1993), 676–83, and by L. Chiappa Mauri, *ASL*, Ser. 11, 8 (1991), 531–35.

[197] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 351–58.

[198] This trend has continued since and can be followed in successive issues of the local *Notizario*.

[199] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 75–96.

[200] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 51–74, II, Tavole 5–7.

[201] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 211–28.

century of beaten earth floors and derelict hypocaust at the Piazza Duomo site. In the south, a grand ceremonial way (Corso di Porta Romana, i.e. *via Emilia*) was constructed in the mid-fourth century, with a late fourth-century triumphal arch added to mark the entrance to the city from the south-east, which was probably demolished in the 530s.[202] At Piazza Missori there was continuity of use until at least the end of the fifth century, but during the Gothic wars the site went out of use.[203]

Arslan and Caporusso argued that although there was certainly revitalization in the fourth century as one would expect of the imperial capital, this was in their phrase solely as a 'consumer city' because there was little evidence of production in the excavations of this period. Large amounts of imported north African, some Egyptian, and Middle Eastern pottery were found, but this tailed off in the fifth century.[204] They noted that the late fourth and early fifth century was a time of political crisis but that new building continued (e.g. the Duomo) after the (so-called) sack of Attila in 452. There was further disruption in the Ostrogothic wars (cf. the accounts of Prokopios and Ennodius), especially outside the walls. However, phases of abandonment remain less clear within the walls, and stuck for an explanation of this pattern the editors ended up attributing abandonment generically to the early Middle Ages.[205] Importantly, although wooden buildings replaced those in brick, the pre-existing Roman grid plan was retained, a significant argument in favour of continuity.[206] Under the Lombards settlement was reduced to the Duomo area, where Lombard pottery has been found, and a very few other sites.[207] After this the city was abandoned. This was followed by rebirth (*ripresa*) which they found very difficult to

[202] Reconstruction illustrated in Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, ɪɪ, fig. 16a, and Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, p. 458.

[203] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, ɪ, 289–93, ɪɪ, Tavole 17–24.

[204] Fontana, 'Le "imitazioni" della sigillata africana', p. 89, notes that local imitations of north African *sigillata* circulated at Milan, Monte Barro, and Angera during the sixth century. Gelichi, 'Societies at the Edge', pp. 292–97, notes that both imported and locally made (Adriatic coast) globular amphorae circulated here also in the eighth and ninth centuries.

[205] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, ɪ, 357: 'Comunque non sembra ancora giunto il momento dell'abandono progressivo di ampie aree interne alla città de pensiamo abbia caratterizzato, come vedremo, una fase più avanzata dell'altomedioevo'.

[206] As illustrated in Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, ɪ, 352.

[207] Giostra, 'I Longobardi e le città', p. 53 and fig. 6, for an unpublished excavation at via Illica (south of Castello Sforzesco) which may be of Lombard date with a small pottery flask of that period.
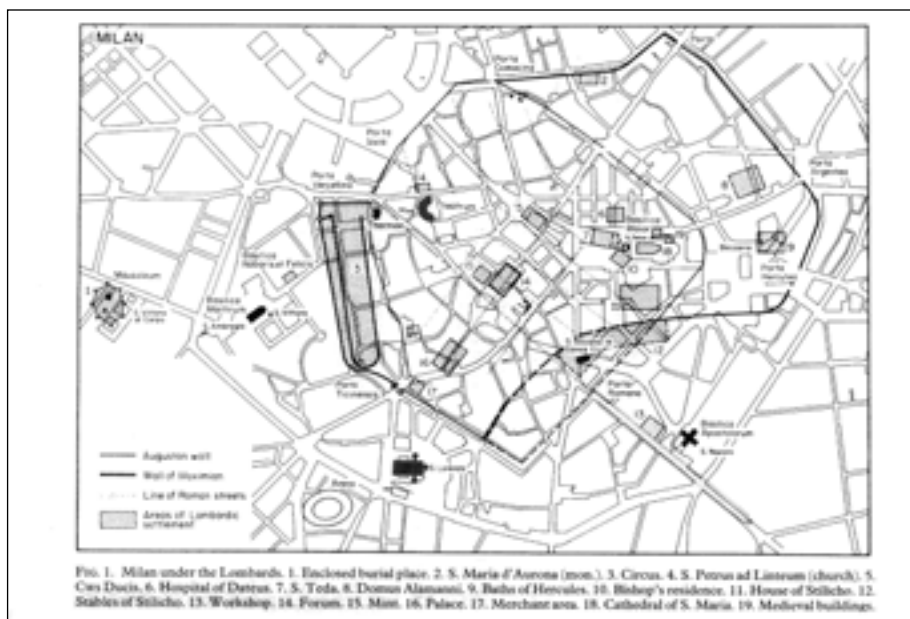
Figure 9. 'Lombard Milan'. From *European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History*,
ed. by M. Barley (London: Batsford, 1977), p. 478.

date.[208] For example, evidence of new building at the Duomo and Missori sites could only be dated vaguely to the eighth to tenth centuries. This period was generally underplayed in these volumes.

The interpretive scheme proposed by Arslan and Caporusso is disappointingly tame: fourth-century magnificence which hung on through the fifth century to decline quickly in the sixth century to reach a low point under the Lombards followed by a gradual recovery.[209] Although a brave attempt to combine the archaeological results with the known historical framework derived from the few written sources for the late antique period (notably Ambrose, Ennodius, Prokopios), upon reaching the seventh century all reference to written sources disappeared as though there were none. This means that the settlement archaeology of seventh- to tenth-century Milan was judged by standards different to those adopted for earlier periods although, while the absence of grave goods in burials and much in the way of pottery in these later centuries does make the archaeological contexts genuinely different, there are many

[208] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, i, 358.

[209] Cf. Brogiolo, 'Milano e il suo territorio alla luce di archaeologia'.

documents of this period as has already been seen. The use of the word *ripresa* also directly reflects a much earlier historiographical tradition as it was used by Violante in 1953 to characterize these centuries.[210]

The early medieval city had been represented in map form long before the publication of *Scavi MM3*. A much-quoted example is that of 'Milan under the Lombards' published by Michele Cagiano de Azevedo in the famous *European Towns* volume (reproduced as Figure 9 here).[211] This plan, which is potentially misleading because of its imposition of features onto a modern street plan, nonetheless shows that the Late Roman street plan did indeed survive largely intact into the eighth century. However, Cagiano de Azevedo's detailed reconstructions were questionable, based mostly on the stray finds of so-called Lombard artefacts, many of them now deposited in the city's various archaeological museums.[212] The equation of the ducal court (*curs ducis*) with the modern Piazza Cordusio, although frequently made, is based only on etymological guesswork.[213] The existence of the Hospital (*xenodochium*) of Dateus at this period is based on a fake charter.[214] Numbers 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, and 19 are also fictions. The attribution of the churches of Santa Maria d'Aurona and the cathedral of Santa Maria to the Lombard period is disputed.[215] More reliable are the lines of the late Roman walls, the axes of the main streets, and the locations of large late Roman secular buildings (numbers 3, 9, and 14) and churches (number 7). These are plausible because parts of them still survive. Cagiano de Azevedo's belief that the central focus of the city had shifted to the modern Piazza Duomo largely as a result of the construction of Ambrose's new cathedral and associated bishop's palace,[216] and that Lombards did indeed live within the old walled circuit mostly towards the north of this area is more

[210] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1953 edn), p. 3.

[211] Cagiano de Azevedo, 'Northern Italy', p. 478, based on his 'Milano da S. Ambrogio a Desiderius'. See further Sannazaro, 'Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo a Milano', p. 41 (not referencing the English language article, however).

[212] The 'Civiche Raccolte Archaeologiche e Numismatiche' is split between the Civico Museo Archeologico (Corso Magenta) and the Castello Sforzesco. Cf. Sartori, *The Milan Museum of Archaeology*.

[213] Number 5 on the plan, marked 'Cws Ducis' (*sic*, correctly *curs ducis*). The Latin term is not evidenced in Milanese charters before the mid-ninth century and the dialect term (*el Cordüs*') rather later: see Olivieri, p. 194.

[214] Number 6 on the plan.

[215] The debate reopened by Cassanelli, 'Il complesso monastico di S. Maria d'Aurona'.

[216] Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, pp. 126–29.

acceptable, although it ignores the episcopal exile from the city between the 570s and 640s. He also ignored the evidence of eighth-century charters discussed above that other parts of the city were inhabited too.

More recent archaeological maps of Milan have located those structures which retain early medieval fabric above ground much more accurately. The map published in 1984 by Caporusso and Ceresa Mori[217] located what were largely churches with such fabric: Sant'Ambrogio and the chapel of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro (see below); San Bablia; Sant'Eufemia; San Giovanni in Conca; San Lorenzo (and the chapel of Sant'Aquilino, originally S. Genesius); San Nazaro;[218] San Pietro e Lino; San Satiro;[219] San Sepolcro; San Simpliciano;[220] Santa Tecla; San Vincenzo in Prato.[221] Additionally, from Santa Maria d'Aurona there are numerous eighth- and ninth-century sculptural fragments in the Castello Sforzesco.[222]

People in the Urban Space

The material discussed so far provides indirect evidence about the population of Milan. Burials and associated funerary inscriptions constitute more personal evidence of actual people and their lives.[223] Graves reveal that in the last centuries of Roman rule the city had a mixed population, some of whom had immigrated from other parts of the empire.[224] For Milan, the work of Marco

[217] Caporusso and Ceresa Mori, 'Milano', p. 136.

[218] David, 'Appunti per lo studio della pavimentazione tardoantica della basilica dei SS. Apostoli e Nazaro maggiore a Milano'.

[219] Peccatori, *Insula Ansperti*, pp. 27–73.

[220] A roof tile stamped with the names of Agilulf and Adaloald and found here may evidence some restoration of this church *c.* AD 615: Fiorilla, 'Bolli e iscrizioni su laterizi altomedievali del territorio lombardo', pp. 335–36.

[221] Latis, *La basilica di San Vincenzo in Prato*. The existence of a small monastic community here in the ninth century is clear. The institution may have had origins as a foundation by the Lombard king Desiderius, but the evidence is inconclusive: Spinelli, 'L'origine desideriana dei monasteri di S. Vincenzo in Prato e di S. Pietro in Civate', pp. 200–203, argues in favour of such an origin. Figure 13, below.

[222] Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*, pp. 29–68.

[223] As argued for the Roman period by Sartori, *Gente di sasso*. Cf. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 262–65; Bullough, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West'; Halsall, *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul*, pp. 287–412; Barbiera, *Memorie sepolte*, pp. 93–175.

[224] David and Mariotti, 'Africani ed Egiziani nel territorio di *Mediolanum* tra IV e V secolo'.

Sannazaro has been particularly stimulating.[225] As yet, although there is no agreed corpus of either burials or inscribed stones for the city or its hinterland which makes synthesis difficult, the general patterns are perfectly clear. Milan, like most late Roman cities of any size, had suburban cemeteries.[226] By the fourth century these were concentrated to the west and south of the city in the vicinity of the Porta Vercellina and Porta Romana, with an additional important cemetery near S. Eustorgio.[227] The imperial family were buried in huge mausolea.[228] Christian martyrs too had marked burials (*cellae memoriae*).[229] After the fifth century the practice of burial within churches is also evidenced, especially the cathedral of S. Tecla: for example 'Hic requiescit in pace bone memoriae Maginfredus presbiter de ordine qui fuit vir bonus et benefactor pauperibus'.[230] Some tombs had elaborately painted interiors, and Milan may have the largest number of this type in early medieval Europe.[231] Internally painted tombs have been found at San Nazaro (seventh/eighth centuries); at San Giovanni in Conca (late sixth/early seventh century);[232] and at Sant'Ambrogio (at least one painted tenth-century tomb in the remains of a seventh-century chapel discovered in the postwar restorations).[233] The bulk of these tombs (six in total) were

[225] Sannazaro, 'Osservazioni sull'epigrafia della prima età longobarda in Italia settentrionale', pp. 209, 214, and 'Epigrafia e città', pp. 81, 85, 90.

[226] Ceresa Mori, *L'anfiteatro di Milano e il suo quartiere*; Sannazaro, 'Considerazioni sulla topografia e le origini del cimitero Milanese *ad martyres*' and 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', pp. 34–37; Sacchi, *Ianua leti*; Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*; Cantino Wataghin and Lambert, 'Sepolture e città' and 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes'.

[227] Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, fig. 2a.16, maps these and other late Roman burials.

[228] Pizzi, *Milano capitale*, p. 471.

[229] Palestra, 'I cimiteri palaeocristiani Milanesi' has a full list.

[230] Palestra, 'Tombe palaeocristiane e altomedievali a Milano', p. 314; Antico Gallina and Soldati Forcella, 'Indagine sulla topografia, sulla onomastica, sulla società nelle epigrafi Milanese', pp. 44–45.

[231] Fiorio Tendone, 'Dati e riflessioni sulle tombe altomedievali internamente intonacate e dipinte rinvenute a Milano', cited by tomb number.

[232] The impressive stone of Aldo was also found here: Lusuardi Siena, '*Pium super amnen iter*', illustrated at pp. 1, 4–5; De Vingo, 'Forms of Representation of Power and Aristocratic Funerary Rituals', p. 127.

[233] Lusuardi Siena dates the chapel to the fifth/sixth century, however. A seventh-century burial of *Marchebadus* near the high altar of Sant'Ambrogio was discovered in 1813, but the grave good have since disappeared: De Vingo, 'Forms of Representation of Power and Aristocratic Funerary Rituals', p. 123.

at the cathedral site of Santa Tecla, which have the best preserved inscriptions and are of ninth-century date. Painted tombs and finely carved epitaphs provide clear evidence of considerable expenditure on burial by some families well into the early medieval period.

A significant corpus of inscribed stones survives to set alongside skeletal remains although the exact number is difficult to determine given the age of the main editions,[234] and patchy publication of new discoveries.[235] The entire corpus from the first century to the tenth was tackled in a substantial article in the late 1970s, but this must be read in the light of more recent work.[236] Approximately 72 fourth-century, 134 fifth-century, and 13 sixth-century inscriptions were listed, some surviving as original stones, others in later transcriptions. There are only seven seventh-century stones, none exactly dated,[237] and only four eighth-century survivals.[238] These figures reveal both the history of excavation (i.e. more interest in earlier periods) but also something significant about changing funerary customs, as well as demographic shifts.

From the early eighth century other Milanese residents are reported in charters. In the three texts from Lombard Milan covering the period 725–65 thirty-two people are named, although only three certainly lived in the city: Aunemundus, deacon and custodian of Sant'Ambrogio, Martinaces *monetarius*, and Ambrosius, priest and custodian of Sant'Ambrogio. It is notable that one of these was not a cleric. As the numbers of charters increased in the late eighth century after the Carolingian conquest, so more names of residents have been preserved, and some lived in named neighbourhoods: Teodorus had a house near *Colonna Orphana* ('the orphaned column' near Sant'Ambrogio) in 776, and Garibald was from Porta Argentea in 777. Witness lists only sometimes designated people 'of Milan' but we may reasonably presume that witnesses to charters written in Milan either lived there too or had meaningful association with the city (Table 5).

[234] Forcella; Forcella & Seletti; Monnaret de Villard, *Catalogo delle iscrizioni cristiane*; and especially *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores (nova series)*, vols XII, XIV, and XVI.

[235] Cuscito 'Epigrafia cristiana di Milano' and 'L'epigrafia cristiana', and the works cited above.

[236] Antico Gallina and Soldati Forcinella, 'Indagine sulla topografia, sulla onomastica, sulla società nelle epigrafi Milanese'.

[237] These were found at the churches of San Vittore al Corpo, Sant'Ambrogio, Santa Maria alla Scala (demolished in 1776), and San Nazaro. Cf. De Rubeis, 'Le scrittura epigrafica in età longobarda', p. 72 and 'Epigraphs'.

[238] 739 (Archbishop Theodorus from Sant'Agata which was next to Santa Maria d'Aurona); 741 (Archbishop Natale, San Sebastiano/San Giorgio al Palazzo).

Table 5. Eighth-century Milanese residents

Date	Name	Place
724/44	None (damaged text)	Not known (damaged text)
725	5 witnesses + notary, none 'of Milan'	Milan
735	4 local witnesses + scribe	Campione
742	Aunemundus, *custus* of Sant'Ambrogio, no others from Milan, 4 witnesses	Milan
748	all locals, 4 witnesses	Trevano
756	locals, 5 witnesses	Campione
765	locals? 6 witnesses + scribe	Milan
769	locals, 5 witnesses + scribe	"Sossono"
771	locals	?Locate
774	local 5 witnesses + scribe	?
776 (fake)		basilica of Sant'Ambrogio
776	5 witnesses, none local? + scribe	Milan
776	5 witnesses + scribe, locals?	Milan
777	6 witnesses from Milan	Milan
781	7 witnesses + scribe	Toriglas?
784	6 witnesses + scribe	Sant'Ambrogio
787	6 witnesses + scribe	Milan
789	4 witnesses + scribe	Trevano
789	22 witnesses + scribe	Milan
792	5 witnesses + scribe	Pavia
793	5 witnesses + scribe	Mendrisio
796	4 witnesses from Milan + scribe	Milan
799	5 witnesses + scribe	Campione

Sant'Ambrogio: From Mausoleum to Monastery

These charters allow us to home in on the Sant'Ambrogio site from the eighth century.[239] Before that it is harder to connect documented buildings to social

---

[239] For archaeological comparisons with other mostly Italian monastic sites, see Cantino Wataghin, 'Monasteri tra VIII e IX secolo', 'Archeologia dei monasteri', and 'Concluding Remarks'. Cf. De Rubeis and Marazzi, *Monasteri in Europa occidentale*, pp. 551–55 (by Bougard).

existence. The *Ambrosianum* is of course often seen as a potent symbol of conti-
nuity in Christian history.[240] It is sited in a south-western suburb just outside the
Roman walled circuit a matter of metres from the circus.[241] This part of the city
has preserved remnants of centuriation where the countryside met the city.[242]
The district's rurality facilitated use as a necropolis from the first century AD,
and around six hundred burials have been excavated here so far.[243] Interments
around special graves believed to be those of early martyrs (*ad martyres* buri-
als) continued right into the sixth century.[244] In the fifth century an oratory
dedicated to St Victor (San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro) became an important cult
site which was later attached to the Ambrosian basilica.[245] The construction
of that great church was initiated in 386 by Bishop Ambrose who intended it
to honour the remains of local martyrs as well as to be his own mausoleum. In
one sense it was a challenge to the power of the Arian members of the imperial
family of Theodosius with whom Ambrose famously fell out. The history of the
building is highly complex as the structure has unsurprisingly been continually
modified over the 1600 years of its existence. In August 1943 it was substan-
tially damaged by Allied bombing (Figure 1, above, Introduction to Part I);[246]
the current church is therefore a reconstruction.[247] The late Roman church was

[240] Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages*, 962–1154, p. 164. Cf. Gatti Perer, *La
Basilica di S. Ambrogio*; Rossignani and Lusuardi Siena, 'La storia del sito alla luce delle indagini
archeologiche', pp. 27–30. Foletti, *Oggetti, reliquie, migranti*, is the fullest recent treatment of
the artistic patrimony of the basilica church.

[241] Sannazaro, 'Il suburbio sudoccidentale nell'Altomedioevo', p. 98.

[242] Talbert, *The Barrington Atlas*, Map 39; Pearce and Tozzi, 'Map 39 *Mediolanum*', p. 581.

[243] Sannazaro, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero
di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', p. 34; 'La necropoli *ad Martyres*'; and 'Considerazioni sulla topo-
grafia e le origini del cimitero Milanese *ad martyres*', pp. 87–93. For surviving inscribed stones
from this site (over 160), see *Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores (nova
series)*, XVI, 3–156.

[244] Sannazaro, 'Considerazioni sulla topografia e le origini del cimitero Milanese *ad mar-
tyres*'. Cf. Bullough, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West'.

[245] MacKie, 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel'; Foletti, 'Il tri-
onfo della figura', pp. 17, 24; and Foletti, *Oggetti, reliquie, migranti*, pp. 50–93. The famous
figure mosaics in this space, including that of Ambrose himself, have recently been dated to after
the 450s.

[246] Reggiori, *La basilica Ambrosiana* is crucial for the pre-1943 building. Cf. Gatti Perer, *La
Basilica di S. Ambrogio*.

[247] Early plans are therefore important, above all that by Richini made *c*. 1616: Lusuardi
Siena and Rossignani, 'Scavo nei cortili', *Notizario* (1986), pp. 139–45 at p. 143 (fig. 138), and

certainly a large building (*c.* 100 × 25 m) and was expensively appointed as was the custom at that period.[248] Its focus was the shrine of Gervasius and Protasius, and the adjacent privileged burial of Ambrose.[249] Behind this was a huge apse mosaic of Christ in majesty with scenes from the life of Ambrose.[250] Its dating is highly controversial, and indeed it has proved difficult to reconstruct the original scheme.[251] Both the shrine and the mosaic were substantially altered in later periods, and a magnificent *ciborium* was added probably during the tenth century (as discussed in Chapter 4).[252] Most notable was the gift of a remarkable gold and silver casing for the main altar by Archbishop Angilbert II in the 830s which is one of the masterworks of Carolingian art (see below, Chapter 4).[253] Such an object may have been funded by the revenues which came into the church from the exploitation of the surrounding countryside, especially given the Carolingian royal donations to the monastic community precisely at that time. At least one high-status burial was to be found near this object, perhaps the grave of Louis II (or Archbishop Peter).[254] By the 830s the Benedictine community had been set up alongside the basilica, although the precise location of the early medieval monastic complex remains uncertain.[255] A substantial series of excavations in the courtyards of the current Università Cattolica since 1985 has failed to find it (as it is probably under parts of the building still in use today).[256] It may be that there were no especially distinctive monastic buildings until well into the ninth century if patterns observed elsewhere in

---

especially Lusuardi Siena, 'Tracce archeologiche della "deposito" dei santi Gervasio e Protasio negli scavi ottocenteschi in Sant'Ambrogio'.

[248] Colombo and Howes, 'Sant'Ambrogio'.

[249] Lusuardi Siena, 'I corpi dei santi Gervasio e Protasio e la sepoltura di Ambrogio'.

[250] Capponi, *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio*; Foletti, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio'; Foletti, *Oggetti, reliquie, migranti*, pp. 15–49.

[251] Foletti and Quadri, 'L'immagine e la sua memoria', p. 490, is the most convincing attempt so far.

[252] Foletti, *Oggetti, reliquie, migranti*, pp. 181–221.

[253] Foletti, *Oggetti, reliquie, migranti*, pp. 107–60.

[254] Lusuardi Siena, 'Tracce archeologiche della "deposito" dei santi Gervasio e Protasio negli scavi ottocenteschi in Sant'Ambrogio', pp. 147–48.

[255] Lusuardi Siena, Rossignani, and Sannazaro, *L'abitato, la necropoli, il monastero*.

[256] Sannazaro, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*; Lusuardi Siena, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, ii; Lusuardi Siena, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, iii; Lusuardi Siena, Rossignani, and Sannazaro, *L'abitato, la necropoli, il monastero*.

Italy were repeated here.[257] However, these excavations have added to knowledge of the occupation of the site over a long period. African amphorae and fragmentary inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries have been unearthed which suggest some continuing exchange,[258] but evidence of production in the city has also been found, including tiles of local manufacture dated to the second half of the fifth century.

Lastly, it is worth pointing out that nothing is known about how this church was maintained during the fifth to eighth centuries, whether it had any parochial rights, if there was a community of clergy who staffed it, and if so what relationship they may have had with the bishop. The same can said for any of the churches documented in Milan during this period.[259] In the case of Sant'Ambrogio proper appreciation of these gaps in knowledge is important, as twelfth-century canons based at the basilica believed that their community had early origins and forged documents to that effect, to which the monks responded with forgeries of their own.[260]

City and Countryside

The site of Sant'Ambrogio was liminal: neither entirely of the city nor the countryside, it linked the two in a special spiritual space devoted both to worship and to remembrance of local saints. The building must have brought priests into contact with laity, but it is impossible to trace any such personal contacts or wider social networks centred upon this and other late Roman churches in Milan before the survival of the first charters in the 720s. This is one reason why those documents are important. The frustrating absence of late antique charters similar to those which have survived from Byzantine Ravenna is compounded by the refusal of the late antique hagiographers and historians dis-

---

[257] Gelichi, 'Nonantola and the Archaeology of Early Mediaeval Monasteries in North Italy', pp. 2–3; Hodges, Leppard and Mitchell, 'Reconstructing the Later Eighth-Century *Claustrum* at San Vincenzo al Volturno', p. 153.

[258] Sannazaro, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', p. 42.

[259] One clear change is the disappearance of stone *spolia* in church fabric dating to the seventh and eighth centuries to be replaced by the reuse of bricks: Greppi, Bugini, and Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale', p. 104 (attributing this change to economic contraction). However, the reasons for this remain unclear. Cf. the fuller treatment by Greppi, *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo*.

[260] Ambrosioni, 'Controversie tra il monastero e la canonica'.

cussed above to consider the surrounding countryside or its rustic inhabitants (*rustici*) when they wrote about Milan.[261] Although a commonplace of late Roman discourse,[262] this habit nevertheless means that written evidence casts much less light on the Milanese countryside in comparison to the illumination which should be provided by archaeology. Unfortunately archaeologists have encountered technical problems at many rural sites in this region which have been damaged by urban sprawl, roads, canals, deep ploughing, and mechanized agriculture. Consequently, fortified sites and cemeteries have been more thoroughly studied than village sites, and sites further away from Milan have survived better than those closer to it. In the absence of field surveys like those of central Italy,[263] the main debate has been about the nature of Christianization rather than settlement change (the two are sometimes related),[264] although recent remarkable discoveries at Comacchio in the Po delta suggest that the question of how, precisely in the eighth century, effectively the local economies of Milan's hinterland connected with a wider Po Valley trading network is back on the agenda.[265]

In debates about 'Christianization' the views of late fourth-century bishops have been important, as the letters and homilies of Ambrose, Zeno of Verona, Chromatius of Aquileia, and Maximus of Turin have been used to assess how successful their pastoral efforts may have been in a world in which paganism was still very important. Although Ambrose himself was probably interested in the evangelization of the countryside,[266] he like most others of his period addressed his works to urban dwellers. In the fifth century there is more evidence of missionary activity in this region, but of course it is all top-down: we

[261] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*; Ward-Perkins, 'The Lombard City and the Urban Economy'.

[262] Grey, *Constructing Communities*, pp. 4–15. However, Barnish, '*Religio in stagno*' argues for a more sympathetic appraisal of the issue, especially in the work of Cassiodorus. He shows (p. 400) that writers had a more ambiguous view of 'rustics' by the sixth century.

[263] Arthur, 'From *Vicus* to Village'; Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 412–28; Dyson, *The Roman Countryside*, pp. 36–54; Barker, *A Mediterranean Valley*; Barker and Lloyd, *Roman Landscapes*.

[264] Sannazaro, 'Chiese e comunità rurali'.

[265] Gelichi, 'Comacchio' is an excellent summary of the significance of Comacchio in the eighth and early ninth centuries.

[266] Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy'; Humphries, *Communities of the Blessed*, pp. 175–79; Cantino Wataghin, 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes', pp. 210–11.

do not know for certain how this activity was received by those targeted for conversion, although some success is suggested by the survival of pilgrim souvenirs in some quantity at Bivio in the Brianza north of Milan. Further north the church of San Vincenzo in Galliano (at Cantù) has a mid-fifth- to seventh-century phase with Christian tombs and inscriptions. Such a building might have been a small family funerary chapel or a small church open to a wider public. People also came into contact with Christianity at baptisteries, most of which were in towns (in this region Milan and Novara),[267] but a few were built in the country at Cesano Boscone (S. Giovanni Battista), Castelseprio, Gravedona, and Isola Comacina.[268] There were more rural churches without formal baptisteries, and more of these are now becoming known archaeologically.[269]

However, the extent to which the countryside was effectively evangelized before the eleventh century remains controversial as it is hard to know how many people frequented rural churches and indeed what they may have believed.[270] Arguments have also been made that ideas as well as goods could circulate at rural fairs and markets, contexts which may have helped to convert the peasantry to Christianity.[271] The precise chronology of parish formation in this region remains unclear, despite several attempts to sort it out.[272] It may be that an older parish structure survived the arrival of the Lombards, although the evidence for this is not absolutely water tight.[273]

[267] Milburn, *Early Christian Art and Architecture*, pp. 203–14; Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 133–36.

[268] Cantino Wataghin, 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes', pp. 225–29.

[269] Cantino Wataghin, 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes'; Brogiolo, *Le chiese tra VII e VIII secolo in Italia settentrionale*; Chavarría Arnau, '*Splendida sepulcra ut postieri audient*', pp. 141–42 (late antique funerary chapel at San Desiderio in Assago, Milan); Chavarría Arnau, 'Changes in Scale in the Italian Countryside from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', pp. 124–29; Moretti, 'Le chiese collegiate della Svizzera italiana'; *Notizario* (2006), pp. 147–51 (Besnate, VA, small seventh-eighth century church).

[270] Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism'.

[271] Barnish, '*Religio in stagno*', p. 392 with references. Cf. Carver, 'Commerce and Cult'.

[272] Most lucidly, Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 86–91, and Violante, 'Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centrosettentrionale'. See also Boyd, 'The Beginnings of the Ecclesiastical Tithe in Italy'; Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy*; Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *cura animarum* in the Early Middle Ages'.

[273] Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, p. 86, and pp. 48–65 on the Lombard church (based largely on the Tuscan evidence).

The few important thoroughly excavated early medieval settlement sites in the Milanese countryside are all some distance from Milan itself: the *vici* of Angera and Muralto;[274] cemeteries of Arsago Seprio and Trezzo sull'Adda,[275] the former showing some social variation within a family cemetery,[276] and the latter with very high quality grave goods suggestive of aristocratic/warrior status;[277] and the fortified sites of Monte Barro and Castelseprio, the former destroyed *c.* AD 560.[278] There have also been useful surveys of the Brianza and Varesotto.[279] From this evidence an overall pattern of gradual decline in the fifth century with more significant population collapse by the seventh has been deduced. However, as very few sites closer to the city have been studied — or indeed *can* be studied as we have seen — it cannot be established with certainty if excavated rural sites were typical of a wider picture or not, although this has not stopped such generalizations being made.[280] What was happening in the countryside is crucial to understanding how the city survived. As Milan's commercial contacts across the empire appear to have dwindled during the fifth and sixth centuries, so the day-to-day importance of its hinterland as producer of fresh food for the urban population is likely to have increased. How, therefore, was a complex urban society supported? Certainly the late antique city ben-

[274] *Notizario* (2006), pp. 140–46.

[275] Gelichi, 'Archeologia longobarda e archeologia dell'alto medioevo italiano', p. 177, for the publication problems of Lombard period funerary archaeology.

[276] De Marchi, Mariotti, and Miazzo, 'La necropoli longobarda di Arsago Seprio', pp. 114–23; *Notizario* (2006), pp. 146–47.

[277] Largely seventh-century inhumations, with a small church built *c.* 650. Roffia, *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda*; Lusuardi Siena, 'Alcune riflessioni sulla "ideologia funeraria" longobarda', pp. 367–70; Lusuardi Siena, 'La necropoli longobardo in località Cascina S. Martino' (important for its reading of the territory near Trezzo); De Vingo, 'Forms of Representation of Power and Aristocratic Funerary Rituals', pp. 135–36.

[278] Brogiolo, 'Edilizia residenziale in Lombardia (v–ix)', pp. 104–05; Brogiolo, 'Edilizia residenziale di età gota in Italia settentrionale', pp. 219–21; Carver, 'S. Maria *foris portas* at Castelseprio'; Brogiolo and Castelletti, *Archeologia a Monte Barro*; Brogiolo, 'Towns, Forts and the Countryside'; Martínez Jiménez, 'Monte Barro', p. 38 (RC destruction date); Rossi, 'Il problema Castelseprio'.

[279] David, 'Fonti archeologiche per un'immagine del territorio brianteo', pp. 20–29, and David, 'La Tarda Antichità nel "territorio varesino"', pp. 179–85.

[280] Stimulating surveys by Arthur, 'From *Vicus* to Village'; Brogiolo, 'Risultati e prospettive della ricera archeologica sulle campagne altomedievali italiani', pp. 13–15; Brogiolo, 'Le campagne italiane tra tardo antico e alto medioevo', pp. 14–17, 19 (for new settlements); Valenti, 'Campagne in trasformazione' and 'I villaggi altomedievali in Italia'.

efited from a Mediterranean-wide exchange network which largely disappeared during the disruptions of the mid-sixth century. However, the absence of such exchange does not necessarily mean that urban life could no longer be supported at Milan, albeit on a significantly reduced scale. In order to understand how Milan was able to continue as an urban centre throughout the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries as it was transformed from imperial capital to Lombard metropolis, the key is therefore how local economies operated in the countryside. There have been major archaeological advances across the Po Valley in the last twenty years which are beginning to make some sort of synthesis possible, especially in the case of overall settlement patterns.[281] But the detailed chronology of settlement change is more problematic as much archaeological work has been sidetracked by questionable assumptions about ethnicity, in particular the attribution of ethnic labels to certain types of artefact, and the consequent identification of 'Gothic' and 'Lombard' sites.[282] As argued elsewhere, local economies were in my view still vibrant and able to support a significant number of non-agriculturalists throughout the early medieval period.[283]

A large body of work by northern European archaeologists now exists which has dealt with early medieval economies at the regional level.[284] Such regional models have been helpful in working out the degree to which kings, bishops, and other aristocrats may have controlled economic relationships within the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon worlds.[285] Extensive excavations of emporia at Dorestad, Hamwic, London, Hedeby, and Quentovic have transformed understanding of early medieval exchange,[286] as have impressive central Italian regional surveys in South Etruria (Farfa) and Molise (the Biferno

---

[281] Bierbrauer, 'Situazione della ricerche sugli insedimenti'; Lusuardi Siena, 'Insediamenti Goti e Longobardi in Italia'. Vollono, 'Constructing Identity in Lombard Italy' is an important reappraisal of issues of identity in archaeological contexts.

[282] An approach impressively criticized long ago by Hudson and La Rocca, 'Lombard Immigration and its Effects' and more recently by Gillett, *On Barbarian Identity*. Cf. Giostra, 'Goths and Lombards in Italy'.

[283] Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries'. Cf. the essays in Lavan, *Local Economies?*.

[284] Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 121–36.

[285] Cf. the debate between Maddicott, 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', Nelson, 'Debate', and Balzaretti, 'Debate'; Innes, 'Framing the Carolingian Economy', p. 48 (on giving and receiving in the workings of manorial economies).

[286] Hodges, 'Emporia, Monasteries and the Economic Foundations of Medieval Europe'; Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, pp. 210–16; Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 93–107.

Valley and San Vincenzo al Volturno).[287] In general, the Po Valley was different from these places because it was much more densely urbanized in this period, in part as the result of its Romanization.[288] This means that it was a fundamentally different sort of economic system. Bryan Ward-Perkins suggested in 1988 that urban revival across the Po Plain in the eighth century was based on 'an expanding local economy'.[289] Key sites were on or near the River Po: Pavia, Piacenza, Cremona, and Mantua.[290] North of these places early medieval levels exist in Milan, Bergamo, and Brescia, with quite dense settlement between. This area was settled early by the Lombards as were north-eastern towns including Verona, Cividale, and Trento. South of the Po the Emilian towns of Parma, Reggio, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and Ravenna appear to have been less obviously urban sites and settled by Lombards considerably later.

By contrast and perhaps more significant to the functioning of local economies were the numerous smaller settlements, relatively neglected in many surveys of urban development in both Italy and Europe. These too could take on considerable political importance for short periods, usually as a direct result of royal or aristocratic residence. Monza, perhaps Agilulf's 'capital' between 590 and 626,[291] was apparently the site of a *palatium* and associated fiscal properties built by his queen Theodelinda, who also founded a church there dedicated to St John the Baptist which had a major effect on the tenurial patterns of the surrounding area.[292] Corteolona, south-east of Pavia and very near the Po, was also the site of a Lombard palace, particularly important in the time of Liutprand, which retained this status well into the Carolingian period. The few fine pieces of sculpture which have survived from Liutprand's palace reveal it to be a site crying out for modern archaeological investigation, as it must have been dedi-

---

[287] Hodges, 'Re-writing the History of Early Medieval Italy'; Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, pp. 147–58; Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*; Balzaretti, 'Review Article. San Vincenzo al Volturno'.

[288] The territorial infrastructure of Lombardy (viz. roads and some settlement during the Golasecca culture) was essentially pre-Roman: Pearce, 'Le città fallite', p. 817.

[289] Ward-Perkins, 'The Towns of Northern Italy', p. 24.

[290] Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries', p. 216 with references. Cf. Panato, 'Il Rodano in epoca carolingia (VIII e IX secolo)', pp. 141–68. I am grateful to Marco Panato, who is currently undertaking his PhD at Nottingham supervised my me and Mark Pearce, for letting me read this unpublished work.

[291] *HL* III 35. Cracco Ruggini, 'Monza imperial e regia'.

[292] *HL* IV 21. For royal burial here, see Lusuardi Siena, Giostra, and Spalla, 'Sepolture e luoghi di culto in età longobarda'.

cated to conspicuous consumption.[293] The monastery of Santa Cristina (possibly founded by Liutprand) was an important local landowner here by the tenth century, making effective use of the marshlands of this area.[294]

The most important recent excavations in northern Italy have uncovered an emporium at Comacchio in the Po delta of comparable type but smaller scale to those around the North Sea.[295] This site has long been thought important because of the 'Comacchio pact', an agreement most probably dated to 715/30 between Liutprand and local traders.[296] Gina Fasoli argued in the 1970s that the Comacchio text documented a trading system within which cities were the nodal points, each serviced by ports (*portus*) and bounded by delta settlements in the east and Pavia ('the most important market in the kingdom') in the west.[297] She was less convinced than Bognetti had been that this sort of system existed before the eighth century. More recently, Tom Brown connected the militarization of Comacchio as a result of its position between *Langobardia* and the Exarchate with nucleated settlement around the cathedral.[298] Excavations in the late 1980s revealed significant settlement at and around Comacchio in the sixth and seventh centuries despite the apparently marginal nature of the environment which was prone to flooding; a substantial emporium was not found at that point. It was suggested that Comacchio was a Gothic port serving Ravenna and therefore important before it is first evidenced in the written texts.[299] During the last fifteen years everything has changed as a true emporium has at last been uncovered.[300] Comacchio, 'undoubtedly the motor of the regional political economy', in the words of Richard Hodges,[301] will be discussed further

[293] Calderini, 'Il palazzo di Liutprando a Corteolona'.

[294] *Breviarium de abatia Sancte Christine que nominatur de Ollona* in Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 29–40.

[295] Negrelli, 'Dal VI all'VIII secolo' and 'Produzione, circolazione e consumo tra VI–IX secolo'.

[296] Montanari, *Alimentazione e cultura nel medioevo*, pp. 147–63; Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries', pp. 219–25, with the document translated. Cf. Gasparri, 'The First Dukes and the Origins of Venice', pp. 16–17.

[297] Fasoli. 'Navigazione fluviali'.

[298] Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers*, pp. 42, 95.

[299] Patitucci Uggeri, 'Il delta Padano nell'età dei Goti', p. 293.

[300] Gelichi, 'The Rise of an Early Medieval Emporium'; Gelichi, 'Alla fine di una transizione?'; Gelichi, 'L'archeologia nella laguna veneziana e la nascita di una nuova città'; McCormick, 'Comparing and Connecting'; and especially Gelichi, 'Societies at the Edge' and Gelichi, 'Comacchio'.

[301] Hodges, 'Aistulf and the Adriatic Sea', p. 276.

in Part III. In fairness it should be added that Hodges has also argued force-fully that north Italian urbanism was nevertheless underdeveloped through-out the early medieval period, especially in comparison with sites in northern Europe.[302] While there is much to be said for this view it is not one I share in the specific case of Milan, which was exceptional as a former imperial capital.

This chapter has addressed the transformation of Milan in Late Antiquity through a series of key themes: the impossibility of writing a continuous nar-rative of political change given the fragmented nature of the surviving written documentation; the importance of bishops and the prominence of particu-lar bishops (also closely connected to how evidence has survived); the sur-vival of the urban fabric throughout the period and the difficulties of urban archaeology in proving continuity or discontinuity; and the developing rela-tionship between city and countryside in which the monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio was well placed to play an increasingly significant role, along-side small rural churches which ministered to the local population. Each of these themes illustrates how Milan acted as the central place for its region throughout Late Antiquity and beyond. The Sant'Ambrogio basilica church itself represented the transformation of this society in microcosm as from the moment of its construction it acted both as a physical and a spiritual store-house of Ambrosian memories, a classic *lieu de mémoire*. Even here, although it is not possible to relate its history consistently between the fourth and eighth centuries, the unique combination of traditions described above make it unsur-prising that a monastery was eventually founded alongside it in the late eighth century by a family — the Carolingians — for whom monastic communities were an important means of spiritual salvation and earthly power.

---

[302] Hodges, 'The Idea of the Polyfocal "Town"?', p. 282, referring (unhelpfully in my opin-ion) to 'the nationalist model of urban continuity'.

Sant'Ambrogio and its Patrons

Lombards at Sant'Ambrogio

The appearance of a monastic community following the Rule of Benedict was, compared to the rest of Western Europe, a rather late phenomenon in Milan.[1] It did not happen until the 780s during the final stages of the Carolingian conquest and subsequent assimilation of Italy within the Frankish world.[2] Charlemagne did not begin his foundation from scratch, for there is some evidence that late Lombard Milan was flourishing and that clerics at Ambrose's Basilica Martyrum had been receiving patronage from some in the local community well before the arrival of the Franks in Milan. The eighth-century documents dealing with this community are dwarfed in number by the survivals of later centuries, and yet they are extremely interesting for the tantalizing glimpses they provide of the Sant'Ambrogio site in its pre-Carolingian and possibly pre-monastic phase. Their fortunate preservation emphasizes how little

---

[1] The variety of monastic rules used in the early medieval West was considerable, and many communities, including small nunneries, appear to have used mixed rules as the work of Diem in particular has shown: Diem, *Die monastiche Experiment*; 'Rewriting Benedict'; 'New Ideas Expressed in Old Words'. Benedict's Rule was clearly one among many until the Carolingian reforms initiated late in Charlemagen's reign and intensified by Louis the Pious: Costambeys, 'The Transmission of Tradition'; De Jong and Erhart, 'Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi'; De Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 23; Diem, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*'. For the specific case of Fulda, see Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, pp. 36–38.

[2] Schmid, 'Zur Ablösung der Langobardenherrschaft durch die Franken'.

is known about other Milanese churches in the mid-eighth century and how lucky we are to have the Sant'Ambrogio documents.

The earliest authentic complete charter in the Sant'Ambrogio corpus dates from 721 ('Anstruda's charter'),[3] around seventy years before the foundation of the monastic community. The first surviving charter actually produced in Milan was made on 6 June 725.[4] It records the purchase of a Gallic boy called Satrelanus ('puero nomine Satrelano, sive quo alio nomine nuncupatur, natzonem Gallia') by Toto *viro clarissimo* from Ermedruda *honesta femina* for twelve gold solidi. While it merely recorded that the document was written in Milan (*actum Mediolani*), it is possible that the four witnesses to the transaction actually resided in the city, although that is uncertain. Presumably it, like the next charter of 30 January 735, came into the archive later as part of the dossier of eighth-century texts associated with Toto of Campione.[5] These three charters are nearly contemporaneous with the *Versum de Mediolano Civitate* which lists many Milanese churches.[6] The twenty-four verses of this poem concentrate on the saints that protected the city: Ambrose, Nazarius, Victor, Lawrence, Vincent, Eustorgius, Nabor, Felicity, Valeria, Protasius, Gervasius, and Eufemia, each of which had a church. Toto of Campione's will of 777 mentions that the churches of San Nazaro, San Vittore *ad corpus*, San Lorenzo, and Sant'Ambrogio were to benefit from the gift of an annual oil render, but otherwise there is no other contemporary material which helps to contextualize this aspect of the *Versum*.[7] Nevertheless it is highly likely that these institutions were, like Sant'Ambrogio itself, the objects of lay patronage at this period which has gone unrecorded.

By contrast, the foundation of the Benedictine monastery dedicated to Ambrose (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*) was recorded in several charters, as was a common pattern for monastic foundations. These charters have been discussed repeatedly since the seventeenth century.[8] Indeed they were controversial even in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Milan, as the monks of Sant'Ambrogio and

---

[3] *MD* 5, discussed above in Chapter 1.

[4] *MD* 6, an original (AdSM sec. VIII 4) written by Faustinus *notarius regie potestatis*. It is translated in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, doc. 13, and illustrated at Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, p. 165 (pl. 105). See below.

[5] *MD* 8. Campione is examined in Chapter 6.

[6] Pighi, *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate*, discussed above, Chapter 3.

[7] *MD* 25, discussed below, Chapter 6.

[8] Chapter 2.

the canons who tended to the basilica church at that time disputed rights to the church and its holy relics (another pattern common elsewhere).[9] As often the case with monastic foundation documents, these have been preserved in later medieval copies made long after the events recorded at a time when the early history of the monastery was in dispute.[10] However, comparing the problematic texts with the genuine documents exposes their interpolations and permits a plausible sequence of events to be discerned. This sequence (Table 6) fits in well with what is known of similar churches elsewhere in Italy in this period, which was one of substantial gift-giving to churches.[11]

Table 6. Charter evidence for the foundation of the Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio

Date	Description	Archive Number
8 May 742	Gift by Theopert, *vir magnificus*, of house/land in *Brisconno*, to custodian of Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, then leased back to him	AdSM sec. VIII 10/25, unauthenticated twelfth-century copy containing 2 related charter texts
784	Gift by Theopert, *clericus*, of property in *Brisconno* to Abbot Benedict and his monks (from the *ecclesia vel cella*)	
20 August 765	Gift by Ursus, *vir devotus*, of property in *Torriglas*, to Ambrosius, custodian *oratorium* of Sant'Ambrogio	AdSM sec. VIIII 15, original
13 April 776	Bequest by Radoald, *vir devotus*, of a house to *ecclesia* Sant'Ambrogio	AdSM sec. VIII 20 (and Pandolfi VIII, 1–4), twelfth-century copy, 2 related charter texts
25 May 776	Gift by Flavianus and Letus of property in Lampugnano to Fortis, deacon of the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio	
2 February 781	Gift by Ursus of property in *Torriglas* to *cellola* of Sant'Ambrogio	AdSM sec. VIIII 23, twelfth- or thirteenth-century unauthenticated copy
23 October 789	'Foundation charter' in which the *ecclesia vel cella* gave property to the new *monasterium*	AdSM sec. VIII 27, thirteenth-century copy, authenticated
10 April 790	Diploma of Charlemagne, pro-*monasterium* and Abbot Benedict	AdSM sec. VIII 28, tenth-century copy

[9] Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West*, pp. 122–24.

[10] Rights to officiate in the basilica church and rights to property were hotly contested: Ambrosioni, *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale*, pp. 3–39.

[11] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 43.

The sequence began in 742 when Liutprand was still king and his brother Theodorus probably still archbishop.[12] Theopert son of Mauro of *Brisconno* gave his house and land in *Brisconno* to Aunemund, deacon and custodian (*custus*) acting on behalf of the Sant'Ambrogio basilica.[13] Theopert is described as *vir magnificus*, an honorific title which means at the least that he was an important man, probably in the immediate royal circle. His property was ten kilometres south-west of the basilica on the way to Abbiategrasso and he had inherited it (*ex parentorum successione*), suggesting that he may have been from a local family. The property was described in a longish formula suggestive of a mixed arable and woodland landscape, but no size was given nor were any neighbouring owners recorded, which is rather odd.[14] The custodian Aunemund, who is otherwise unknown, leased the property back to Theopert for his lifetime, with the proviso that should Theopert at a later point wish to live at the *cellula* he had to return the land.[15] A later controversial charter ostensibly dating to 784 suggests that Theopert had become a cleric (*humilis clericus*), was living at the *cellula predicte basilice sancti Ambrosii* and was at this point giving his property in *Brisconno* in perpetuity with full ownership rights to the abbot and monastery on his death.[16] As this was exactly the situation envisaged earlier by the 742 charter, it is perhaps a bit too neat for comfort. In the 784 *cartula concessionis*

[12] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 85–87, suggested that Theodorus II was surrounded in 'un halo de mystère romantique' (p. 85) because of his supposed royal connections. Late medieval documents regarded him as the brother of Aurona, Liutprand's sister. He was apparently buried at the monastery of Santa Maria 'd'Aurona', founded by his sister (Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*, pp. 9–11).

[13] *MD* 11 preserved in an unauthenticated copy of twelfth-century date (AdSM sec. VIII 10/25). Although its dating clause is problematic and some of its diplomatic is faulty, its structure is plausible being in large part identical with other certainly genuine documents dated 765 and 781 (see Schiaparelli's discussion in *CDL*, I, 229; I have followed Schiaparelli's reconstruction of the text). The surviving version is therefore probably based quite closely on a genuine record. *CDA*, pp. 20–24, accepted its authenticity. *Brisconno* is unidentified but was most probably near Vermezzo (Boselli, *Toponimi lombardi*, p. 54).

[14] '[id est casa] mea ubi habitare videor in fundo et vico Brisconno, una cum area, curte, orteleo et credalia [interpolated?] in ipso fundo Brisconno, portione [mea in] in(tegrum), tam campis, pratis, pascuis, vineis, silvis, amenedollaribus, vectualia, aquaria, aquarumque usibus, culto et inculto, mobile aut inmobile seseque moventibus'.

[15] Aunemund is not a very common name: Jarnut, *Prosopgraphische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 68, and Francovich Onesti, *Vestigia longobarde in Italia*, p. 183.

[16] *MD* 28 copied onto the same parchment sheet as the 742 charter (AdSM sec. VIII 10/25). It is one of the most controversial documents in the entire collection. Fumagalli (*CDA*, doc. XVII, pp. 71–73) did not question its authenticity.

Theopert's property was described more vaguely than in the earlier text: moving from 'casellas iuris tui, ubi habitare visus fuisti, que est posita in vico Brisconno, portionem tuam cum territoria et adiacentia sua mobilibus et immobilibus' via a single *casella* to the later *edificias vel territorias*, the phrasing suggests uncertainty on the part of the scribe. Given these and other diplomatic difficulties with the text it cannot be known whether Theopert actually did what this text attributes to him. It is implausible given common ages of death at this time that he should still be living forty-two years after the first transaction, but certainly possible. The best that can be said is that someone called Theopert gave some property to the church and its clergy, but we do not know exactly when.

Further gifts of property to the west of Milan followed. An unimpeachable charter recorded that on 20 August 765 Ursus, son of Theudulf, *vir devotus*,[17] gave a field in *Torriglas* to the aptly named Ambrosius, custodian (*vir venerabilis presbiter custus*) of the 'oratorium beati Ambrosii confessoris domini nostri Iesu Christi qui est fondatum prope civitate hac Mediolani, sito in loco ubi Turriglas nominatur'.[18] The scribe used a fairly common formula to explain the donor's reasons for his gift: 'de spem aeterne vite salutes anime suae remedium cogitat, qui in locis venerauilibus de suis rebus confer terrena, ut ad Christo recepiat aeterna celestia, et ut votis suis expleatur devotio'.[19] His gift was described in some detail:

> that is one part of a field under my control which I am seen to have in the territory of Milan in the above-mentioned village of 'Torriglas' which is known as 'ad Aspri', and which is bounded by: on one side the field of Sunderarius, on another side the little field of the *cellola* of Saint Ambrose, and on another side by the field of Ragipert, and on the other side by the public road which passes there.[20]

---

[17] Precisely what this honorific title signified by this date is unclear, but it might indicate military status: Conti, *Devotio e viri devoti in Italia, da Diocleziano ai Carolingi*.

[18] *MD* 17 (AdSM sec. VIIII 15) written at Milan by Erminald, *scriptor* (Liva, *Notariato e documento notarile a Milano*, p. 7 n. 8). *Turriglas* is probably Cascina Torrette (Instituto Geografico Militare, Milan Ovest 45 III NE), an identification which makes more sense than those given in *CDL* (Torrette near Lodi) and Olivieri (Torriggio near Locate) because of the later build-up of Sant'Ambrogio property in this area. It is not impossible that *Turriglas* implies a location near one of the towers of the city wall. The Latin implies too that *Turriglas* was close to the basilica. See Bognetti, 'Introduzione alla storia medievale della basilica Ambrosiana', pp. 367 and 372. *CDA*, doc. VIIII, pp. 33–38; *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 850, pp. 39–41. This charter has an eleventh-century dorsal annotation: *Cartula de Ursone de campo de Toricle*.

[19] A formula used in *MD* 11 and *CDL*, ii, doc. 218 as well (and the dubious *MD* 26).

[20] 'id est campo iuris mei petza una quid habere viso sum in territorio hac Mediolani in suprascripto fundo Torriglas ubi ad Aspri dicitur, et est inter adfines: da uno lato campo

This formula is not detailed enough to allow a reconstruction of the landscape at 'Torriglas', beyond the fact that it was apparently arable, but it does mean that the Sant'Ambrogio *cellola* already had property there before Ursus made his gift. This in turn is likely to mean that another charter dealing with the earlier transaction(s) must once have existed. Anyway, Ursus made his gift in perpetuity and the custodians were allowed to do with it as they wished according to holy law ('ut sagre constidutiones habit aucturitas' [*sic*]).[21] In return he was to have masses said and oil lamps (or candles) lit for his soul and those of his parents ('pro messa remedium et luminaria mea vel parentorum meorum').[22] The deed was witnessed by five men, including Martinaces, a *monetarius*. Ursus may have made a further gift of land in *Torriglas* to the church (*ecclesia*) in 781 after the Carolingian conquest in return for a shirt made of squirrel skins.[23]

On 13 April 776, nearly two years after Charlemagne's conquest (and in the year of the Friulian rebellion when Charles spent Easter at Treviso),[24] Radoald, *vir devotus*, son of Modoald of Abbiategrasso bequeathed (*post obitum meum*) his house in Abbiategrasso to the *ecclesia beatissimo sancti Ambrosii*, for the sake of the souls of himself and his parents.[25] The gift was witnessed by three *presbiteri*, Andreas, Ropaldus, and Ursus, *vir venerabilis*, and Alexandrus, all of

---

Sunderari, da alio lato campello da cellola Sancti Ambrosii, et da uno capo campo Ragipert, da alio capo percurrente via publica'.

[21] A formula found also in *MD* 23 ('ut sacre constitutiones habet auctoritas'). Ten years before in 755 the previous king Aistulf had issued a law (*Aist*. 12) reminding people that gifts made to holy places *per cartola* for the sake of the soul could not be revoked and their provisions had to be respected.

[22] Fouracre, 'Eternal Light and Earthly Needs', pp. 68–78, who points out (p. 74) that lighting clauses were very rare in eighth-century Frankish charters.

[23] *MD* 26 (AdSM sec. VIII 23) which is a twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy of rather dubious provenance and character. Its diplomatic is suspiciously similar to the earlier charter of 765 except for those phrases reporting new information. It is possible that it was fabricated using *MD* 17 as a model, so that later medieval claims to land in 'Torriglas' could be proven. The fact that it appears to have been copied out by Petrus 'Sinistrarius' does it no favours (see below, Chapter 6). Neither Fumagalli (*CDA*, doc. XVI, pp. 67–70) nor Porro-Lambertenghi (*CDL* 57) questioned it.

[24] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 48–49.

[25] *MD* 23 (*cartola dispositions*), preserved in two twelfth-century copies, one in the State Archive (AdSM sec. VIII 20), the other in the Archivio Capitolare (Pandolfi VIII, 1–4). It was drawn up in Milan by Melsus, *scriptor*. Olivieri, p. 45, and Boselli, *Toponimi lombardi*, pp. 17–18, for the identification of *Abiate* as Abbiategrasso. Cf. *CDA*, doc. XIII, pp. 51–53.

whom might have been living in the city.[26] The following month Flavianus son of Ago together with his brother Letus (*clericus*) gave property in Lampugnano (now a district north-west of Milan's centre) about two kilometres north of Cascina Torrette ('Torriglas'), to Fortis *reverentissimus diaconus* of the basilica.[27] The brothers had a field there and, interestingly, a mill with rights to the nearby River Vepra, a tributary of the Olona. Their land was bounded by land owned by a certain Benedict, by the *cellola* of Sant'Ambrogio, by another *via publica* and by the River Vepra. In return Fortis alienated to Flavianus property within Milan itself ('terrola [...] intra civitate hac Mediolani iuxta columpna qui dicitur orphana') near the Porta Vercellina, a kilometre or so east of the basilica. The owners of adjacent properties are noted: Flavianus and Letus,[28] and Anipert of Quarto, who had land, and Theodore, who had a house.[29] Again there was a 'public' road running alongside.

If these properties are mapped (Map 4, below) it can be seen that they comprise a coherent block to the west of the city, relatively accessible from Sant'Ambrogio, itself just outside Milan to the south-west of the old Roman wall. The presence of a mill at Lampugnano — probably using water from the River Olona which once ran above ground there — would also make sense as a focal point for processing the produce of the land in 'Brisconno', 'Turriglas', and Abbiategrasso. However, it would be unwise to place too much faith in details, given the diplomatic problems presented by these documents. The object of

[26] Ursus, Melsus, and Petrus, son of Alexandrus (*negotians*) witnessed a gift of Ursus (*clericus*) in 804 (*MD* 37, an original), a similarity of names which is probably too close to be a coincidence.

[27] *MD* 24, another twelfth-century copy authenticated by Guifredus de Vineate, Petrus 'Sinistrarius', and Ginamus de Curtenuova. Unfortunately there are gaps in the text probably because Guifredus had difficulty reading the original. This is the first *commutatio* in the archive which opens with the common formula *commudatio bone fedei nuscitur esse contractum*. Thomas the scribe made two copies of the charter, a practice customary for charters of exchange. The document was witnessed by Letus (*clericus*), Quintus (*clericus*), Bonus, and Gaidulf. *CDA*, doc. XIV, pp. 54–56, and Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, IV, Dissertation 31, p. 47, where he defended this charter's authenticity.

[28] It is worth noticing that at approximately this time one of the archbishops of Milan was called Letus, and according to later traditions, he was buried in the Sant'Ambrogio basilica: Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 89, 322, 358, 742. The proceedings of a synod he may have called survive. Perhaps Letus *clericus* and Letus *episcopus* were one and the same in the mind of whoever drafted this charter?

[29] There is an irritating lacuna here where the name of another neighbour, a merchant (*negotians*), is missing.

the gift-giving is rather harder to pin down, being variously termed *basilica*, *ecclesia*, *cellola*, *oratorium*. This whole issue is of course complicated by the fact that most information survives only in fabricated texts. The *basilica* church certainly refers to the great building of Ambrose, which presumably still stood pretty much as it had in the late fourth century. Such a large structure would have needed clerics to maintain it, hold services there, and minister to the local population. The various deacons and priests referred to no doubt fulfilled these functions. Between 742 and 789, the year in which the *monasterium* was most probably founded, one subdeacon, three deacons, two custodians, one priest, and two clerics are recorded at 'Sant'Ambrogio' as well as three priests and two clerics witnessing charters involving the church who might well have been part of this presumed community. This is not a large number for a forty-five-year period, but probably sufficient to run the church.[30] Precise understanding of the situation worsens closer to the actual foundation. The 784 charter is one of the most corrupt because it suggests that Theopert's land in 'Brisconno' was transferred from the *ecclesia vel cella* to the newly founded Benedictine community with the permission of Archbishop Peter ('ex hac permissione domni Petri archiepiscopi'). It is this charter which also mentions the *monasterium* headed by Abbot Benedict for the first time. The claim that property was transferred to the new community from the old — a classic type of interpolation — recurs in the corrupt foundation charter of 23 October 789, where the usage *ecclesia vel cella* is repeated.[31] The *ecclesia vel cella* formula occurs only in these two corrupt charters and therefore connects them diplomatically. Modern commentators have rightly concluded that both texts are interpolated precisely where the *ecclesia* is linked with the *monasterium*,[32] a view supported by the later history

---

[30] In the course of the ninth and tenth centuries this group began to live canonically and called themselves *presbiteri decumani*. It was they who preserved all these early charters, who altered them much later as part of their ongoing disputes with the monks, and who maintained interests in properties in *Brisconno*, *Torriglas*, and Lampugnano up to and beyond the year 1000 (Ambrosioni, *Le Pergamene della Canonica*, pp. xiii–xiv).

[31] *MD* 29 (AdSM sec. VIII 27), a thirteenth-century copy made by Jacobus de Turre from an earlier copy of Petrus 'Sinistrarius'. *CDA*, doc. XIX, pp. 76–80 (and Fumagalli, *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi*, Dissertations 31 and 37).

[32] Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia* argued that it was wholly genuine; Biscaro, 'Note e documenti santambrosiane' that it was completely forged; Bognetti, 'Introduzione alla storia medievale della basilica Ambrosiana' had it both ways: 'certemente spurio, se non addirittura integralmente falso'. Cf. Bondioli, *La fondazione del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*, pp. 18–35; Ambrosioni, 'Per una storia del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio', pp. 291–94. Fumagalli did not question the authenticity of this charter.

of the *Brisconno* land which appears frequently in canonical charters but not at all in monastic ones.[33]

The exact meaning of *cellola* in this context is more problematic but important as it is used in the one absolutely genuine charter in this mini-dossier, that of 765. This word may suggest a small monastic community (it does for Niermeyer), but such a definition begs the much debated question of what is meant by 'monastic' at this time.[34] Older arguments worried about which monastic rules were followed and tended to equate 'monastic' with the Rule of St Benedict alone.[35] Work about minsters in Anglo-Saxon England has suggested that *monasterium*, *coenobium*, and *cella* could be synonyms, and that these words referred to religious living in common rather than those following a set rule (let alone Benedict's Rule).[36] Recent studies of early Carolingian monasticism have also shown that mixed rules (*regulae mixtae*) were more common than single rules.[37] If we take these points on board for Sant'Ambrogio we are probably looking at a small religious community at the basilica in the mid-eighth century which may well have been following a rule before it was 'made Benedictine' under Carolingian influence. Milan was, after all, a place of deep ascetic traditions (above, Chapter 2), some knowledge of which may well have lingered after the Lombard conquest, particularly in a clergy for so long exiled in Genoa.

Lastly, there are the benefactors themselves, although by now it will be obvious that we know little about them. The process of lay benefaction of ancient urban churches was happening all over the north of Italy in the eighth century as has been seen.[38] Within the immediate vicinity of Milan, ancient and prestigious foundations in and around Monza and in Lodi received far larger

---

[33] *CDL* 845, 965, and many more in the twelfth century, which explains why the foundation dossier was recopied at that time.

[34] Niermeyer, pp. 163–64.

[35] Bondioli, *La fondazione del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio nei documenti del secolo VIII* and Bognetti, 'Introduzione alla storia medievale della basilica Ambrosiana'.

[36] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 80–83; Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 5–10; Cubitt, 'The Institutional Church', pp. 383–90; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 71–92.

[37] Note 1, above. Cf. Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, pp. 36–38, on the use of Benedict's Rule at Fulda, founded in the 740s. Diem, 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', pp. 252–53, on Carolingian 'selective reading' of the Rule.

[38] Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries', pp. 225–28; Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', pp. 164–69.

gifts at the same time as Sant'Ambrogio. In 742 the church of St Stephen in Vimercate was granted four estates, at least two tenant houses, and other land by Rotpert of Agrate, *vir magnificus*.[39] In 769 the church of San Giovanni in Monza acquired estates in Milan and olive groves in Como and its vicinity from Simplicianus of Monza.[40] In 761 the church of San Giovanni in Lodi exchanged many estates (some substantial) with the newly active San Salvatore in Brescia, including one in the Valtellina.[41] In 768 the church of Sant'Agata in Monza was given a small land parcel by a local priest.[42] In Milan itself, besides Sant'Ambrogio, it is possible that Santa Maria d'Aurona and the Monastero Maggiore, nunneries which acquired extensive lands in a later period, may have been founded and endowed at this time. Paul the Deacon attributed the foundation of Santa Maria d'Aurona to King Liutprand, but Paul's information for Milan is not especially reliable.[43] The Monastero Maggiore might have been founded before the ninth century, but traditions surviving at the community itself suggesting Sigismund, Theodelinda, or Desiderius as founders are not reliably documented.[44] It is first reliably referred to in a charter of 823.[45]

Like Rotpert, Sant'Ambrogio's patrons seem also to have been locally powerful men but not great aristocrats: Theopert, *vir magnificus*; Ursus, *vir devotus*;

---

[39] *CDL*, i, doc. 82. Bosisio and Vismara, *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, i, pp. xxxiii–xxv; Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 38–39 (emphasizing the intensity of Lombard settlement here); Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', p. 161 (stressing Rotpert's relative poverty); La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', 53–54, and 'Segni di distinzione', pp. 31–33 (in the context of testamentary customs). Rotpert had land in Trezzo sull'Adda, Roffia, *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda*, pp. 175–79 (for excavations, see above, Chapter 3).

[40] *CDL*, ii, doc. 231. This was the church founded by Queen Theodelinda (Paul the Deacon, *HL* iv 21).

[41] *CDL*, ii, doc. 155.

[42] *CDL*, ii, doc. 218.

[43] *HL* vi 22. A substantial number of eighth-century fragments of high-quality masonry have survived from the church which are illustrated and discussed by Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*, especially pp. 66–68. By the twelfth-century, as evidenced in its charters, Santa Maria had property in Brianza, centred on Binzago and Cesano Maderno (Baroni, *Le pergamene del secolo xii del Santa Maria di Aurona di Milano*).

[44] Occhipinti, 'Appunti per la storia del Monastero Maggiore di Milano in età medioevale' and *Il contado milanese nel secolo xiii*, p. 18. There is an excellent recent scholarly guide to the church: Capponi, *San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore in Milano*, especially pp. 8–9, 19–26. Still useful is Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, iv, 380–84.

[45] *MD* 48.

Radoald, *vir devotus*; Flavianus and his brother Letus, *clericus*.[46] Significantly, they were apparently all Lombards (although their ethnicity is of course difficult to prove, and reliance on names as indicators of ethnic allegiance is a highly problematic procedure). Interestingly however, there is no evidence of any direct involvement by any Lombard archbishop, king, or duke in the community's good fortune. As already seen, the eighth-century Milanese archbishops are shadowy figures, so being certain about this is not possible particularly in view of the loss of the early episcopal archive. The burial of Benedict (708/15) and Natalis (750–51) at Sant'Ambrogio itself might suggest a shift in archiepiscopal patronage in favour of this church, but this still leaves other prelates without any apparent links to Sant'Ambrogio: Theodorus (739), Arifretus, Stabilis, Letus, and Thomas (777–81). Neither King Liutprand, who was involved with many communities in this area possibly including his sister's foundation of Santa Maria d'Aurona, nor Aistulf, whose links with Nonantola in the early 750s were apparently strong,[47] nor Desiderius, whose focus was San Salvatore in Brescia in the early 760s,[48] had any recorded dealings with Sant'Ambrogio. There is little evidence of any royal involvement in Milan at this time from north of the Alps, and perhaps it was this lack of either Lombard or Frankish royal interest in this ancient site which allowed Charlemagne to appropriate the Sant'Ambrogio site so easily as part of his conquest of the Lombard kingdom?

The Carolingian Foundation in the 780s

The see of Milan undoubtedly had a special place in Carolingian history.[49] Charlemagne felt it to be sufficiently important to include in the *testamentum*

---

[46] Their actions were more like those of Walfred who founded a monastery at Monteverdi in Tuscany in the mid-750s (Balzaretti, 'Lombard Fathers', pp. 51–52 with references) than those of Abbo of Provence, allied to Charles Martel, who founded Novalesa in the Susa valley in 726 and very substantially endowed it in his will of 739 (Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 210–11, 280–81).

[47] At least according to traditions of the monastery as recorded in the so-called *Vita Anselmi Abbatis Nonatolani* and the other texts presented in Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*, pp. 566–73. Whether the foundation can really be attributed to Aistulf and Anselm is arguable: Cantarella, 'La figura di Sant'Anselmo'.

[48] See Pasquali, 'Gestione economica e controllo sociale di S. Salvatore – S. Giulia'.

[49] The best sketch of Carolingian Italy remains Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 47–63, to which Collins, *Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 58–76, makes a useful comparison. Cf. West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy'.

of 812 which Einhard preserved in the emperor's *vita*.[50] As far as we know, Charles had first visited the city some thirty-one years earlier in 781 on his way back from a visit to Rome, where Charles's young son Pippin had been baptized by Pope Hadrian (probably on the Thursday of Easter week, 12 April).[51] When the king and his queen Hildegard (his third wife) reached Milan, they had their newborn daughter Gisela baptized by Archbishop Thomas.[52] The ceremony most probably took place in the great font of the old cathedral (S. Tecla), which can still be viewed under the present Duomo.[53] This massive structure was the font in which Ambrose himself had baptized Augustine.[54] We do not know what impression Milan made on the father-king, but the associations with the revered church 'fathers' of the past which it may well have brought to mind are obvious. It is not clear how long the royal party stayed in the city, but it seems possible that a short text giving a suggested itinerary of Milanese churches, associated in the manuscript with similar itineraries of churches in Rome, may have been prepared for this visit.[55] The document is preserved in a miscellaneous manuscript book written *c.* 798 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 795, fol. 186), which is usually associated with Bishop Arn of Salzburg, as it contains other texts, such as Alcuin's letters to the bishop, relating to his life.[56] Because of this some scholars have attributed the Milanese itinerary to Arn's visit to Rome in 788. However, Arn is not otherwise known to have visited Milan, which was not for certain a normal pilgrim stop on the way from

---

[50] Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ch. 33, trans. Dutton, *Charlemagne's Courtier*, p. 38, a controversial document which may misrepresent Charlemagne's intentions. Collins, *Charlemagne*, pp. 158–59; Innes, 'Charlemagne's Will'; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 96–103. There is no record that the Archbishop of Milan actually received the moveables bequeathed to him (and to the other twenty metropolitans of the empire): Barbero, *Charlemagne*, pp. 99, 108, 136–37, and 345.

[51] *ARF s.a.* 781. Collins, *Charlemagne*, pp. 4–6; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 147.

[52] *ARF s.a.* 781. Thomas 'personally received her in his hands from the sacred baptism' (King, *Charlemagne*, p. 81). Presumably the stop at Milan for this baptism had been discussed with Thomas beforehand: Navoni, 'Dai longobardi ai Carolingi', p. 97.

[53] The revised *ARF* refer to the font as 'sacred', but this is probably formulaic. Collins, *Charlemagne*, p. 69, and Barbero, *Charlemagne*, p. 37.

[54] McLynn, *Ambrose of Milan*, p. 226.

[55] The so-called *Itinerarium Salisburgense* is a brief account of a Frankish pilgrimage to Italian and other holy sites, and probably dates to the late eighth century (the title was the invention of Theodore Sickel in 1875). Cf. Leyser, 'The Temptations of Cult', p. 297 (n. 40).

[56] Nelson, 'Viaggiatori, pellegrini e vie commerciali', p. 167, for Alcuin's trips south of the Alps, and Matthews, *The Road to Rome*, pp. 39–44, for routes.

his region to Rome. Other scholars, with some reason, have dated the original composition of the itinerary to the seventh century, on the basis of the church dedications it records and the order in which they are presented.[57] However, the most likely context for the linkage of the Roman itineraries with a Milanese one in a manuscript produced in the late eighth century is precisely the visit of Charlemagne to Milan in 781: the king and his family definitely did visit both places and did so in the context of crucial religious events, namely the baptisms of their children. The text is as follows:

> Est in alio loco iuxta mediolanensem urbem contra orientalem plagam foris civitatem. Ibi est ecclesia. sancti ambrosius episcopi et confessoris. et sancti martryis gerbasius et protasius et sanctus victor martyr. et in altera ecclesia sanctus maforius et felix martyr. et ibi in uno angulo sanctus simplicianus confessor. et in una ecclesia in dextera parte ibi pausat baleria mater sanctorum gerbasi et protasi. sanctus diunius martyr. sanctus aurelius martyr. sanctus nazarius martyr. in sua pausat ecclesia. et in uno angulo sanctus morimonianus confessor. et in altera ecclesia sanctus celsus martyr. et sanctus maternus episcopus et confessor. sanctus storius confessor. et sanctus magnus confessor et sancta eugenia confessor.[58]

> [And in another place adjoining the *urbs* of Milan in the Eastern part outside the civitas there is the church of Saint Ambrose bishop and confessor and the martyr saints Gervasius and Protasius and Saint Victor martyr. And in another church Saint Maforius and Felix martyr. And there in a corner Saint Simplicianus confessor. And in a church in the righthand part there rests Valeria mother of Saints Gervasius and Protasius, Saint Diunius martyr, Saint Aurelius martyr. Saint Nazarius martyr rests in his (own) church. And in a corner Saint Morimonianus confessor. And in another church Saint Celsus martyr. And Saint Maternus bishop and confessor. Saint Eustorgius Confessor. And Saint Magnus Confessor and Saint Eugenia confessor.] (my translation)

Certainly, the choice of Milan for this event must have sent out a clear message about its archbishop's role within Italy as second only to Rome (a position which it contested with Ravenna, which preceded Milan in Charlemagne's will, and, to a lesser extent, with Pavia which had from the time of Theodoric the Ostrogoth been a favourite royal residence). Perhaps Charlemagne even discussed the possible foundation of a Benedictine monastery in the city with Archbishop Thomas? Thomas is an interesting, although poorly documented,

---

[57] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 19–24, accepted by Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', p. 229 n. 184.

[58] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 20.

figure.[59] He was buried at the church of San Lorenzo Maggiore at the entrance to the splendid fifth-century octagonal chapel of Sant'Aquilino (dedicated to St Genesius in Thomas's time), rather than at the more usual episcopal burial place in Sant'Ambrogio, which is of itself thought-provoking.[60] Centuries later the local historian Landulf Senior duly attributed to his pontificate an attempt by Charlemagne to abolish the 'Ambrosian rite', and indeed there exists a later medieval 'Sermo beate Thomae episcopi Mediolani' purporting to be the defence made by Thomas of his church's long-established customs. This is not, however, a genuine text.[61] It is possible that the so-called *Capitulare cum episcopis langobardicis deliberatum*, produced *c.* 782, involved him.[62] However, the new spiritual relationship between the royal couple and Archbishop Thomas which Gisela's baptism had brought into being did not last long, as both Thomas and Hildegard died in 783.[63] It was left to his successor to ensure that monks at Sant'Ambrogio lived according to a rule.

Charlemagne did not forget Milan even though he apparently never went there again. Over the next few years he and Peter, the Frank who succeeded Thomas as archbishop, founded a new monastery alongside the old basilica in which Ambrose lay buried next to Gervasius and Protasius, with Bishops Benedict and Natalis somewhere nearby. It was the first Carolingian monastic

---

[59] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 23–24, 89–92, 322, 357–58, and 623. Cf. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, I, 32–33.

[60] The text of his funerary stone has survived: Forcella, I, no. 505. For the site, see Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 90–91 and figs 9, 12, and 13. This site has recently been shown by thermoluminescence to date to AD 720 +/− 105: Fieni, 'Indagine archeologico archaeometrica sulla basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano', p. 76.

[61] Milani, 'Osservazioni linguistiche sul "Sermo beati Thome episcopi Mediolani"', pp. 90–95; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 180–82.

[62] Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 56–59. The bulk of this text was concerned with the proper regulation of ecclesiastical life, especially the requirement to live according to a rule. It survives in a single ninth-century manuscript, St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 733, fols 10–15 (<http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0733>), alongside other Italian capitulary texts of this period (Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, pp. 676–80). The title of this text was given by the MGH editors. Cf. West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy', pp. 220–21.

[63] Hildegard was only twenty-five but had already established connections with holy women, including Leoba: Nelson, 'Women at the Court of Charlemagne', pp. 52–53. Charlemagne's mother, Bertrada, died in 783 too, and was buried in Saint Denis alongside her husband Pippin (Barbero, *Charlemagne*, p. 133). Rotrude, Charlemagne's eldest daughter, also passed away. For the inscription reporting the death of Thomas, see Chapter 1, note 268, above.

foundation south of the Alps, and given the ecclesiastical importance of the see it was arguably one of the most important political acts of Charlemagne's 'conquest' of the Lombard kingdom. The *precise* timing of the foundation of Sant'Ambrogio is difficult to determine because none of the charters which record the events of the actual foundation have come down in their original forms. As far as we know, Archbishop Peter initiated the monastic foundation sometime between 784 and 789.[64] The text which provides the first evidence of Peter as archbishop happens to be a (corrupt) charter of 784 which contains the first appearance of the word *monasterium*.[65] This coincidence raises the possibility that Peter founded the monastery as a gesture to mark the beginning of his episcopate.[66] According to the 784 charter Peter founded the monastery at the church of Ambrose, which was headed by Benedict, *venerabilis presbiter et abbas*. The recent discovery (in a house near the Università Cattolica) of Abbot Benedict's funeral stone which does term him priest and abbot provides important corroboration of this phrase.[67] It reads:

Hic requiiscit in pace Benedictus presbiter et indignus abas monasterii sancti Ambrosii vixit in hoc seculo annus plus minus nomero L. crux Christi mihi vita est. Credo quod Dominus non me derelinquid nec condemnabit me dum veneris ad iudicandum sed miserere mei redemptor meus pius Deus redemptor meus vivit et … in novissimo renovavit renovantur denuo ossa mea et in carne mea videvo Domine Deo mette angelum qui me si …tit de terra pulverem i…d rere aid…urcti.[68]

[Here lies in peace Benedict priest and unworthy abbot of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, who passed in this earthly life more or less fifty years. The cross of Christ is life for me. I believe that the Lord has not abandoned me and will not condemn me before he comes to judge me. But pity me, my Redeemer. Pious Lord,

---

[64] Peter's career is outlined in Oltrocchi, *Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, pp. 264–72; Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia*, pp. 306–12; Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 92; Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', pp. 178–80. He attended the Council of Frankfurt in 794 (Pertz, *Annales Laureshamenses*) and was a correspondent of Alcuin.

[65] *MD* 28.

[66] Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', p. 97.

[67] The text and appearance of the stone were known from the eighteenth-century account and engraving of Giulini (*Memorie spettanti alla storia*, II, opposite p. 75, see Figure 3, above), but the recent discovery has recovered the object and confirmed the relability of Giulini's account of it: Cassanelli, 'Un contributo all'epigrafia altomedievale Milanese', with the stone illustrated on p. 510. The original location of Benedict's burial is unknown.

[68] Cassanelli, 'Un contributo all'epigrafia altomedievale Milanese', pp. 505–06, is the best edition of the text. See also Forcella, III, no. 264.

my Redeemer lives and in the final moment was reborn, and I too shall see my
bones and flesh reborn [...] to God the Saviour [...] send me your angel my protec-
tor who [will raise] me from the dust [...].] (my translation)

Benedict's origins are unknown, but it is possible that he, like his archbishop,
was from Francia.[69] His designation as priest and abbot fits with the fact that
monks who were ordained became increasingly common in the course of the
ninth century.[70] To have a priest as abbot certainly sent a strong message into
the world about the pastoral role of this community which would have been
attractive to potential donors.

The testimony of the 784 charter is complicated by another interpolated text
purporting to date to 23 October 789 (the so-called Foundation Charter).[71]
This records the foundation of the monastery in 789 by Peter who made
Benedict *presbiter* the first abbot and gave him and his successors jurisdiction
over the basilica itself, with the right to hold services there. The community was
to adopt Benedict of Nursia's rule and to pray for the kingdom and its people
('pro regnum nostorum felicitate et totius ipsorum populi sospitate', a standard
formula). The archbishop also gave land he had inherited in Legnanello to the
deacon Fortis to compensate the priests who had previously had rights over
this church (which is clearly a later interpolation).[72] Too much has been made
of problematic details of this text, as the twelfth-century interpolations in it
are perfectly clear. It seems entirely plausible that by 789 the new community
was firmly established under its new abbot, significantly named Benedict. On
10 April of the following year Charles at the request of Peter issued his only
diploma in favour of the new *monasterium sancti Ambrosii* in which he con-
firmed the fact of its establishment by Archbishop Peter and stressed the need
to follow the Rule of Benedict, particularly that the monks had the right to
elect their abbot in accordance with the provision of the rule ('habeat atque
monachos ibidem sub regulam sancti Benedicti noviter, qui laudes deo illic

---

[69] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 290.

[70] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 90.

[71] *MD* 30 (October 789), critiqued by Zagni, 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–
IX', pp. 7–9. This controversial charter of foundation is discussed more fully in Balzaretti, 'The
Lands of St Ambrose', pp. 49–52. Angelo Fumagalli was strong in his defence of this 'il primo
e principale fondamento, a cui i diritti, son appoggiati dei monaci Sant'Ambrosiani' (Fumagalli,
Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi, IV, 301).

[72] The Latin of the disposition is not especially problematic, but it does seem unlikely that
if Peter was Frankish he would have inherited land in this region so soon after the Frankish con-
quest of 774, unless of course he had a local mother.

sedulas referant and et quandoquidem divina vocatione abbas ex ipso monasterio de hac ab luce ad Dominum migraverit, licentium haberent monaci de ipso monasterio [...] secundum ordinem sanctum et regulam sancti Benedicti eligendi abbatem').[73] The emphasis on Benedict is perfectly plausible for a period when Charlemagne was trying to track down the original manuscript of his Rule, as documented by a letter sent to the king possibly by Abbot Theodemar of Montecassino (or perhaps by Paul the Deacon).[74] He did not grant the new community any new land but confirmed that which it was to receive from the archbishop.[75]

Archbishop Peter was apparently a loyal Carolingian servant. His friend Alcuin praised his piety in three letters written in the 790s, and Peter duly attended the great Council of Frankfurt in 794.[76] He may well have played a significant part in Charlemagne's monastic reforms outside of Milan.[77] This much is straightforward and concurs perfectly well with the reforms Alcuin and Charles had instituted elsewhere, including the famous *Admonitio generalis* of 789.[78] The details of these reforms are clear from numerous capitularies which emphasized the need for monastic life to be regularized, based on Benedict's

---

[73] *MD* 31, April 790 (Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 164, pp. 221–22; *CDA*, pp. 81–89), preserved in a tenth-century copy with some evidence of interpolation (AdSM sec. VIII 28). This document was issued from Worms where the king spent of most of 790 according the annalistic sources. Interestingly, the Moselle annals for this year record that King Pippin was present in Worms for an assembly in the summer: 'Pippin, King of the Lombards and Louis, king of the Aquitainians, were present at that assembly with the peoples and forces subject to them' (King, *Charlemagne*, p. 135). It may be that Pippin formed a link with Sant'Ambrogio — where he was later to be buried — at this point. It is highly likely from the wording of the annal that representatives of Sant'Ambrogio, probably Abbot Benedict himself, were also present to petition for their charter. Charlemagne referred to Chapter 64 of Benedict's Rule: Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, pp. 206–09.

[74] Translated in Venarde, *The Rule of Benedict*, pp. 230–43; Costambeys, 'The Monastic Environment of Paul the Deacon', pp. 127, 132–33; De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', p. 118.

[75] A certainly fake diploma in favour of the Milanese church dated 808 highlights the authenticity of the text of 790: Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 277.

[76] Dümmler, *Alcuini epistolae*, no. 83 (to Peter), pp. 125–27, no. 186 (to Arn of Salzburg), pp. 311–13, no. 190 (to Peter), p. 317; Pertz, *Annales Laureshamenses, s.a.* 794 (p. 36). Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 441, 450–51.

[77] Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia*, pp. 306–12.

[78] Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, no. 22, pp. 52–62; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 239–43.

scheme. Indeed, a series of capitularies issued especially for Italy in the name of King Pippin in the early 780s dealt in detail with monastic life.[79] In the absence of evidence from Milan itself these texts suggest what type of community the king and his advisers intended for Sant'Ambrogio. The 'Capitulary agreed with the Lombard bishops' was the first of a series of Carolingian capitularies specially issued for Italy that stressed the need that monks and nuns should live according to a rule.[80] It was stated again in Pippin's capitulary of 782 that monks and nuns should live by a rule (*ut regulariter vivant*) but that the bishop's clergy should do so as well.[81] In neither case was a particular rule specified, although it is likely that the Rules of Benedict and Chrodegang respectively were intended.

Charlemagne's encouragement of monastic life in his new kingdom at this time can also be observed in his *diplomata*, although as few of these now survive in the original, some caution needs to be applied to details of language. Documents were issued in favour of Novalesa (773, 779),[82] Bobbio (774),[83] Farfa (775, 776,

---

[79] Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, i, nos 89, 90, and 91; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 54–63. Cf. Manacorda, *Ricerche sugli inizi della dominazione dei Carolingi in Italia*, pp. 43–139, and West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy', pp. 211–53. In general, Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, pp. 17–54.

[80] *Capitulare cum episcopis langobardicis deliberatum*, ch. 3 'Ut tam monachi quam monachas, ubiquecum fuerint, regulariter vitam degant' (That monks as well as nuns, wherever they are, must live life regularly). respectively Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, i, nos 89, 94, and 95.

[81] Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, p. 58: 'Ut pontifices ordinent et disponant unusquisque suas ecclesias canonico ordine, et sacerdotes suos vel clericos constringent canonice vivendo ordine' (ch. 2). This text also made provision that derelict oratories and baptismal churches should be restored.

[82] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, nos 74, 125. Charlemagne's brother Carloman had already issued documents in favour of Novalesa in 769 (no. 47, which survives in the original in Turin's State Archive) and 770 (no. 59). The sensitive location of this monastery, on one of the main routes into Italy — the Susa valley — as well as its Frankish history made it a likely candidate for Carolingian patronage at this point in time. Cf. Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence*, pp. 124–25.

[83] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 80, the authenticity of which has been questioned by Roger Collins (*Charlemagne*, pp. 61–62) because of its transmission history (later medieval but not especially unusual in the context of Charlemagne's other grants) and because it has Charlemagne using the Lombard royal title (*rex Langobardorum*) on 5 June 774, the very same month that Pavia fell. The problem here is that Collins expects this document to fit in with his not entirely convincing interpretation of the conquest, namely that Charlemagne had not really intended to do it and so one would not expect a charter issued at this point to give him this royal title. Cf. Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 97–98.

782, 788, 791, 803),[84] Nonantola (776, 780, 797),[85] Sesto al Reghena (781),[86] Brescia (781),[87] San Vincenzo al Volturno (787),[88] Montecassino (787),[89] and Milan. However, almost as many charters were sent to bishops.[90] Additionally there were three in favour of laymen: the men of Comacchio in 787,[91] Aio of Aquileia in 799,[92] and the men of Reggio in 808.[93] It is worth emphasizing that this list is very close to the lists of institutions patronized by successive Lombard kings, which implies that these institutions requested confirmation of their rights and so took the initiative in this relationship. Nonetheless, it is notable that before Charlemagne's visit of 781 in which he tried to assert his authority over the Lombard aristocracy in person, only four Italian churches had received documents from him: Novalesa, Bobbio, Nonantola, and Farfa, all situated in places of some strategic importance but each also a monastery of some size in the later Lombard period, and therefore already well established. Importantly, the king granted properties in the Eastern Alps and a *xenedochium* in Pavia to St Martin of Tours in July 774 at the request of Queen Hildegard.[94] The posses-

[84] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, nos 98, 99, 111, 146, 160, 171, 172, and 199. Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 323–32.

[85] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, nos 113, 131, 183. In 813 Peter, Abbot of Nonantola, was sent as Charlemagne's legate to Constantinople (ARF). Uggé, 'Il monastero di Nonantola' and Cantarella, 'La figura di Sant'Anselmo', dealing with the monastery's Lombard founder.

[86] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 134 (pp. 134–35).

[87] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 135 (pp. 185–86). The date of this document is missing from the ninth-century copy in which it survives and so is largely educated guesswork.

[88] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, nos 157 (pp. 212–13), 159 (pp. 216–17). Wickham. 'Monastic Lands and Monastic Patrons', p. 142.

[89] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 158 (pp. 213–16).

[90] Reggio Emilia in 781 (Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 133), Modena 782 (no. 147), Arezzo 783 and 801 (nos 150 and 196), Florence 786 (no. 155), Benevento 787 (no. 156), Aquileia 792, 811 (nos 174, 175, 214), Bologna 801 (no. 197), Grado 803 (nos 200, 201), Como 803 (no. 202), Piacenza 808 (no. 207). But not the bishops of Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, and Brescia.

[91] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 132 (pp. 182–83, dated 781).

[92] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 187 (p. 251).

[93] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 208 (pp. 278–79, an original in the State Archive, Modena).

[94] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 81 (pp. 115–7). This

sion of a hospice in Pavia with all its associations with Martin must have especially pleased the Frankish monks.

The sequence of donations recorded in these few Sant'Ambrogio charters is therefore quite plausible when compared with what is known about similar events in Italy and elsewhere. The versions of the 'private' charters which have survived suggest the following sequence. In 742 Theopert donated to the deacon Aunemundus. In 765, Ursus also donated to the *oratorium*. In 776, Rodoald gave to the *ecclesia* and Flavianus donated to Fortis. In 781, Ursus gave again to the *ecclesia*. In 784, Theopert's land was transferred to the new monastery. In 789, the archbishop founded the monastery. In 790, Charlemagne confirmed this foundation. Of these only the 765 charter is unquestionably genuine and unaltered: all the other texts were interpolated mostly in the twelfth century to show how the rights and properties which the priests had were wrongly taken over by the monks. Although the detail of what really happened can no longer be known with certainty, the most plausible reconstruction is that there was a small group of clerics living at or near Ambrose's basilica in the mid-eighth century, who might well have received some episcopal patronage given that they had buried Bishops Benedictus and Natalis. They serviced the church, including an oratory there. They received a few small gifts of land from the laity in return for the usual services. One of them, Benedict, was made abbot in the late 780s when the new Frankish archbishop, Peter, set up a community specifically to follow the Benedictine Rule. Some priests continued to live outside the monastery, off lands to the west of the city. They may have helped to service the basilica. Crucially, neither Peter nor Charles was particularly generous with grants of property to the new abbot and his monks, and their community seems to have been small and perhaps genuinely poor at this time, as the vows of poverty in Benedict's Rule required.

When Peter died early in 806, late in Charlemagne's reign with his son Pippin firmly established as king of Italy, Odelbert, the new archbishop, began his episcopate with a grant to Arigausus, the second abbot of Sant'Ambrogio as Abbot Benedict had died sometime between 790 and 806. In his *praeceptum* the bishop gave Abbot Arigausus the oratory of San Vincenzo *in Prata*, about one kilometre south-east of the church of Sant'Ambrogio, together with his own estate there.[95] Although it was a lifetime grant to the abbot personally,

---

was already a hugely rich abbey which had possessions throughout Europe. The links between Saint Martin and Milan were not lost on Carolingian scholars.

[95] *MD* 38, January 806, an original. *CDA*, doc. XXVII, pp. 109–12. Zagni, 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secc. VIII–X', pp. 9–10. Ambrosioni argued that Odelbert had risen

Odelbert nonetheless required that Arigausus should make sure that the monks of *monasterium nostri* sang the divine office (*versi*) day and night.[96] Although the gifts of property were no doubt welcome at this period, they probably did less to increase the influence and status of the monks within urban society than their continuing association with Ambrose and with the royal family. The important social position of the monastery could only have been enhanced further when Charlemagne's son Pippin died at the early age of thirty-three and was buried in the basilica in 810.[97]

However, the monastery's early good fortune did not last. Once Louis the Pious inherited the empire upon Charles's death in January 814, he expelled his father's advisors from the palace and brought in his own men from Aquitaine.[98]

---

up through the local clergy, but nevertheless Charlemagne had to approve his appointment. Odelbert has traditionally been regarded as extremely pro-Carolingian by virtue of his supposed authorship of a letter which he sent in reply to Charlemagne's circular letter about baptism in which he supported the Roman style of baptism rather than the Ambrosian. However, his supposed authorship of this reply has been disproved by Keefe, 'The Claim of Authorship in Carolingian Baptismal Expositions'. For the wider context, see Keefe, 'Carolingian Baptismal Expositions', pp. 198–99 where Odelbert's authorship was not questioned.

[96] Prayer was fundamental to Carolingian monastic practice: De Jong, 'Carolinginan Monasticism' and 'Charlemagne's Church', pp. 125–29.

[97] *ARF s.a.* 810, Pippin died on 8 July. The *Annales Laureshamenses* (ed. by Pertz, p. 121: 'Pippinus rex Italiae obiit; sepultus est Mediolanum') (only in BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 243 which includes Einhard, not the Fulda codex of these annals) and Pertz, *Chronicon Vedastium*, p. 707 ('Rex Italiae Pippinus, Karoli Magni filius, obiit 8. Id. Iulii, Mediolanum sepelitur') say he was buried at Milan (Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', pp. 160–61). The origin of these texts is not firmly established, but neither is a strictly contemporary notice although each was probably written in the latter part of the ninth century: McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, pp. 35–36, and Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 94. The surviving stone (Forcella, III, no. 265) reads: 'Hic Pipinus rex quiescit in pace qui in hac regnavit provincia. An. xxviiii. M. iiii. Depositus v Id. Iul. Indictione iiii. F. D. M. Caroli'. It was found in the choir of the church in 1874 and is still to be seen in the church in the left-hand nave. As it reports an abbreviated version of the funerary inscription found in a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript (*PLAC*, p. 405; Majocchi, 'Le sepolture regie del regno italico (secoli VI–X)'), its authenticity has been debated with most scholars now against it (West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy', pp. 153–56). Taking into account Charlemagne's personal link to his co-parent Archbishop Thomas, his association with Archbishop Peter and confirmation of the foundation of the monastery, and the later, certainly genuine, evidence for Carolingian royal burials in the basilica (Ermengard's brother Hugh and Louis II), it seems likely that Pippin was indeed buried here in an act intended to establish the church as the mausoleum of the kings of Italy.

[98] Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814–898', pp. 110–15, and *Charles the Bald*, p. 72. On

In particular, Charlemagne's kinsmen Adalhard — who had been one of the boy-king Pippin's guardians in Italy — and his brother Wala were exiled from court as monks, notably at Corbie.[99] Soon — and perhaps surprisingly — there were to be ramifications of these distant events in Italy. The fortunes of the Sant'Ambrogio monks quickly took a turn for the worse. In March 814 the monks received a gift from a man called Rotfred who lived in 'Wattingo', a village in the strategically significant Valtellina.[100] He gave the monastery, which was now ruled by Abbot Deusdedit, the third in that role, further suburban property near the bridge of Sant' Eustorgio only a kilometre west of Odelbert's gift of 806, a gift which was probably intended to consolidate Sant'Ambrogio's property holding in this part of the city.[101] The fact that the monks did not receive another gift until 835, when Louis's son Lothar granted them a string of estates, suggests that the timing of Rotfred's gift in March 814 may be of more than ordinary significance. At that point news of Charlemagne's death two months earlier had probably only recently reached Milan, and it may be that Rotfred, about whom we know very little, had decided to throw in his lot with Charles's grandson Bernard by donating property to the church where the new king's father was buried. Whatever the case, Milan apparently became a centre of support for Pippin's illegitimate son Bernard, upon whom Charlemagne had conferred the Kingdom of Italy in 813.[102] When he revolted against his cousin Louis because he had been left out of the king's *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817, it was apparently with the help of Archbishop Anselm I.[103] It is possible

the court, see Airlie, *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe*, Essay VII, 'The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as a Political Centre'.

[99] Cabaniss, *Charlemagne's Cousins*, pp. 3–14; Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 22–29; De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 102–11. For Adalhard's involvement as the king's *missus* in a dispute between the monasteries of San Silvestro di Nonantola and San Salvatore di Brescia in June 813, see Bougard. 'Adalhard de Corbie entre Nonatola et Brescia (813)'.

[100] *MD* 45, see below, Chapter 8.

[101] It is not clear if Archbishop Odelbert who had made the earlier gift was still alive at this point, as the last documented reference to him is in 812. But given that the first reference to his successor, Anselm I, dates to 817, it seems quite likely that Odelbert was still in charge and that his influence may explain why the property given by Rotfred was so close to the earlier gift.

[102] *ARF s.a.* 813. Bernard was crowned King of Italy at Aachen in 813 immediately after the coronation of Louis as Charlemagne's successor, but he was not *anointed* king.

[103] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*, chs 5 and 6 (Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*, pp. 224–25), cover Anselm's involvement in Bernard's revolt. On the latter, see Noble, 'The Revolt of King Bernard of Italy'; Depreux, 'Das Königtum Bernhards von Italien und sein Verhältris zum Kaisterum'; Jarnut, 'Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme und König Bernards von

that when Bernard died of his injuries in 818 he, like Pippin, may have been buried in the Ambrosian basilica.[104] Anselm, according to the Royal Frankish Annals, was deposed and put in an unnamed monastery.[105] Picard surmised that this was not Sant'Ambrogio because such a move would have been politically foolish.[106] However, if Anselm was held in a monastery in Milan at this time there would have been no real alternative to Sant'Ambrogio. His successor Bonus, about whom little is known, was buried at Sant'Ambrogio.[107] The fact that Ambrose's church was becoming the mausoleum for the Carolingian kings of the *regnum Italiae* cannot have been lost on the monks, and the collapse of Bernard's rebellion and the brutal manner of its suppression may well have plunged the monastic community itself into some sort of crisis of divided political allegiance (cf. San Vincenzo al Volturno in the early 780s).[108] Was it too closely tied to the memory of Charlemagne, Pippin, and Bernard for the comfort of Louis the Pious?

Italien'; West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy'; and McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, pp. 265–70, on 817 and the memory of Bernard's rebellion.

[104] Forcella, III, no. 266: 'Bernardus civilitate mirabilis ceterisque piis virtutibus, inclitus rex hic requiescit. Regnavit annos IV menses V. Obiit XV Kal. maii indictione decima. Filius piae memoriae Pipini'. The stone with this inscription was conveniently 'found' in the eighteeenth century and is now in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio underneath a fresco representing the supposed joint burial of Bernard and Anselm: Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, II, 97–98, 102 (citing Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, no. 154, IV, 276). Majocchi, 'Le sepolture regie del regno italico (secoli VI–X)' thinks it unlikely that Milan was Bernard's burial place, whereas Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', p. 161, thinks it *possible* that he was taken to Milan for burial after his execution at Lyon (Nithard, *Historiarum libri IV* I.2, ed. by Müller). It is impossible to know.

[105] *ARF s.a.* 817–18, 'episcopos [...] depositos monasteriis mancipari'. Anselm was described as one among the 'distinguished nobles' (*praeclari et nobiles*) involved in the conspiracy. Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ch. 22 (ed. Tremp, p. 210), writing in 837, reported that the rebellious bishops including Anselm were 'shortly afterward deposed because of their confessions' but were not sentenced to death like the other conspirators. On the monastic imprisonments after Bernard's revolt, see De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 254–55, and McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, pp. 266–67, who suggests that this part of the ARF may be contemporary comment.

[106] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 94. However, the late medieval episcopal list *does* claim that he was buried in Sant'Ambrogio.

[107] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 94; Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', p. 99. The evidence is again very late in date.

[108] Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*, pp. 29–34, and Balzaretti, 'Review Article. San Vincenzo al Volturno', pp. 387–88.

The activities of Louis's disaffected son Lothar in Milan and its vicinity provide the political context for the next couple of decades.[109] Born in 795 he was a young man of twenty-seven when he arrived in Italy in 822, where he remained until 824 accompanied by his guardian, the rehabilitated Wala.[110] He spent some of the time at the royal estate of Corteolona south-east of Pavia, once favoured by King Liutprand (*HL* VI 58). From here his earliest capitularies were issued in 822–23.[111] The first of these (*Capitulare Olonnense*, ch. 1) had some sharp words for bishops who had profited from leasing out the lands of *xenodochia*, baptismal churches, and monasteries within their jurisdiction.[112] It is highly likely given the location of the meeting that the new Archbishop of Milan was present when these laws were issued. This man was Angilbert I (822–23) who had become archbishop in July 822 in succession to the disgraced Anselm. It was hardly coincidental that Angilbert became archbishop just as Lothar arrived in Italy, for as Rossetti has plausibly suggested, it was understandable that Lothar wanted to put a safe man in the see of Milan after the events surrounding Anselm's pontificate.[113] Although Angilbert is a shady figure, one of the few things we do know about him is that he may have rented out monastic lands for his own benefit.[114] This being the case, it seems likely that Lothar's capitulary was directed at Angilbert and the Milanese church

[109] Lothar's rule in Italy has only recently been given the attention it is due by historians, especially Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40'. For narratives, see Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', pp. 304–10; Jarnut, 'Ludwig der Fromme, Lothar I und das Regnum Italiae'; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 50–60.

[110] *ARF s.a.* 822 'sent to Italy'; Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ch. 29 (ed. Tremp, p. 216) stated that Lothar was sent to Italy with Ermengard. In 822 he issued a single charter to an Italian monastery, Farfa:Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 1.

[111] Boretius and Krause, *Capitularis regum Francorum*, II, nos 157 and 158; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 112–17. For the archeoogical potential of this site see Riccardi, *Le vicende, l'area e gli avanzi del Regium Palatium [...] di Corteolona* and Calderini, 'Il palazzo di Liutprando a Corteolona' not cited by Brogiolo, 'Capitali e residenze regie nell'Italia longobarda', pp. 242–43.

[112] Chapters 1 and 2: Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, p. 112. The problem was particularly with *enfitheuseos*, long leases for land which as a result tended to pass completely from church control.

[113] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 88.

[114] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 81, 84, 87–88. He supposedly (according to a court case of 844, heard under Angilbert's successor Angilbert II) leased out land in Cologno Monzese to his vassal Lupus, although this might be a case where his memory was being impugned by his successor. See below, Chapter 7.

rather than being supported by him. According to local tradition he died in 823 and was buried in the new cathedral dedicated to Mary.[115]

Acquisitions and Disputes, c. 822–882

It was probably the years of political uncertainty since 817 both locally and beyond which explain why so little is known about Sant'Ambrogio in the 820s. It is likely that there was more going on in these years than we now realise, for the monastery had been in existence for over thirty years, plenty of time to have become a well-established social actor. Aristocratic gift-giving directed at this site had been taking place for some eighty years or so (*c.* 742–*c.* 822), and bonds of friendship and association of which nothing is now known must have been forged around such acts.[116] Other sizable Italian monasteries may have received similar sorts of gift-giving during this period, including those at Bobbio, Brescia, Farfa, and Montecassino, so Sant'Ambrogio was not particularly unusual in this respect.

By the 820s, however, it is certainly significant that the gift-giving of earlier decades had dried up in Milan at least. In place of gifts its charters at this period evidence instead both disputes and deliberately acquisitive acts. The monastery seems to have become a more proactive institution with considerable agency. In May 822 Nonio, Sant'Ambrogio's first (recorded) *prepositus* ('prior'), took the community's first (recorded) dispute to court.[117] This case, which dealt with the personal status of some monastic dependents in Dubino, a village far away in the Valtellina, demonstrates that the monastery already had land in the lower Valtellina. How it got this land is unknown because there are no charters recording its acquisition, but the strategic significance of this Alpine valley should again be borne in mind.[118] In May 826 the first purchase by the community is

[115] Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', pp. 97–98. Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 98–102, proves conclusively that he did not build this church, as is often stated.

[116] For the general point, see Airlie, *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe*, Essay VI, 'Bonds of Power and Bonds of Association in the Court of Louis the Pious' (orig. pub. 1990). Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving'; Barrow, 'Friends and Friendship in Anglo Saxon Charters'; Nelson, 'Munera'.

[117] *MD* 47, an original (AdSM sec. IX 11) written by a scribe called Iona. Benedict had devoted Chapter 65 of his Rule to cautioning priors to respect their abbots: Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, pp. 210–13.

[118] Property was held there by St Martin of Tours and San Salvatore, Brescia. It could be that Sant'Ambrogio's property had originally been given by Rotfred of 'Wattingo' in a different, no longer recorded gift.

recorded.[119] Sunderarius ('presbiter et praepositus monasterii sancti Ambrosii')
gave ten ounces of silver denarii to Arifet *clericus* and his brother Alfret from
Mornago for a farm ('sedimen, campis, pratis, pascuis, vineis et selvis universis
territoriis') in Biandronno, on the shore of Lake Varese, north-east of Milan.

These are the only two charters in the archive for the 820s which deal
directly with monastic property, either human or territorial. There are, how-
ever, three other very interesting charters recording transactions in the 820s
between laypeople relating to properties which came under monastic control
much later. The first is dated June 823, an exchange (*commutatio*) of plough
land in the village of Carpiano, between Walpert of Carpiano and Hernost,
a vassal of the king. Although the amount of land is small, the names of the
owners who bounded it are all recorded.[120] Hernost's property was bounded
by a road, property of Ursus, and *terra sancti Ambrosii*; Walpert's by Hernost
himself, the Monastero Maggiore, and fiscal land (*terra regi*).[121] The words 'land
of Saint Ambrose' are crucial evidence that Sant'Ambrogio already had land in
Carpiano which is not otherwise recorded in a surviving charter, a fact which
helps to validate the hypothesis that some charters from this politically unstable
period have been lost, or perhaps even deliberately destroyed.[122] Also important
is the fact that a vassal of the king who is likely to have arrived in the area with
Lothar in 822 was almost immediately dealing in local land. Hernost appears
again in July 823 in a *vestitura* (a charter of investiture) preserved now in the
canonical archive.[123] The text reports that Hernost and his wife Weltruda were
sorting out their affairs in Italy. He gave her his Italian property in usufruct for
her lifetime; she gave him ten *manses* in both Italy and Alemannia presumably
where either she and/or her husband were from. Finally, there is a gift made in
January 824 by Leo of Sizzano to Arifusus, a goldsmith. This document was
drawn up in Pavia itself and dealt with property in the village of Gnignano,
which was later to become an important estate centre for Sant'Ambrogio.[124]

---

[119] *MD* 50, an original (AdSM sec. IX 14) and a linguistically interesting document.

[120] *MD* 48.

[121] The first authentic reference to the Milanese Monastero Maggiore.

[122] Sennis, 'Documentary Practices, Archives and Laypeople in Central Italy', pp. 328–30;
Sennis, 'Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages'.

[123] *CDL* 102 (Pandolfi IX, 1), an original written by the scribe Petrus in Resenterio, near
Locate. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, p. 359, speculated that Ratald,
presbiter et misso domni imperatoris, who was present at this transaction, may have been Ratald,
bishop of Verona, but that may stretch the evidence too far.

[124] *MD* 49, an original (AdSM sec. IX 13). Arifusus first appears in a charter of 792 (*MD* 32).

The number of charters preserved in the Sant'Ambrogio collection from the 820s is therefore very small indeed. It is likely that there were once more, as internal references in other documents occasionally hint.[125] It is quite possible that some were destroyed in the political uncertainty resulting from Bernard's revolt and Archbishop Anselm's part in it. It is equally possible that it was politically dangerous to endow this community in the light of this rebellion and Archbishop Anselm's involvement, or that potential donors, associates, or 'friends' worried over the consequences of any obvious support they might give it. Certainly the lack of charters in the archive for this period is suspicious.[126]

Of course, by this time efforts to reform monastic practice had been under-way for some time, notably on the part of Benedict of Aniane (d. 821) who was supported fully by Louis the Pious.[127] What direct impact, if any, Benedict's ideas may have had at Milan is uncertain but a wider climate of reform coupled with the perceived corruption of local bishops such as Anselm and Angilbert I may have provided the immediate context for the issuing of Lothar's first capitularies. Certainly, after a vacancy between October 823 and June 824, Angilbert I was succeeded by his namesake Angilbert II, a very different archbishop who by the end of a thirty-five year pontificate in 859 had become one of the major players in Lothar's government and one of the most interventionist of all ninth-century Italian bishops.[128] Little is known about his background or family connections, but it seems certain that he became bishop with royal approval: the fact of the long vacancy suggests that no candidate was found from within the Milanese clergy as was local custom. Most scholars have suggested he was ethnically Frankish, although there is little positive evidence either way.[129]

In 825 Lothar himself was in Italy once more, and this time he clearly intended to rule in the reforming style of his father and grandfather. He issued a set of more elaborate capitularies from Corteolona in May 825, followed by two further reforming capitularies from Pavia in 832.[130] Archbishop Angilbert

---

[125] For example in a court case of 844 (*MD* 74) it was claimed that Abbot Deusdedit (dead by 835), had purchased land in Balerna in the Sottoceneri.

[126] Sennis, 'Documentary Practices, Archives and Laypeople in Central Italy', pp. 328–30, on customs surrounding the destruction of documents.

[127] De Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 23.

[128] Bertolini, 'Angilberto'; Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 94 and 625–26; Balzaretti, 'The Lands of St Ambrose', pp. 48–49, 53–54, and 148–50.

[129] Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', p. 98.

[130] Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, nos 163, 164, 165; Boretius and Krause, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, II, nos 201, 202; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italiani*, pp. 124–35,

is almost certain to have been present at the assemblies which agreed these documents.[131] Lothar pulled no punches as far as monasteries were concerned. A particularly interesting chapter — significantly preserved only in a few local manuscripts — hints at the exploitation of monastic communities: 'Concerning those disorderly or destroyed monasteries and *xenodochia* which pertain to the palace or to whoever else, it is pleasing that the judgement of those who have not taken notice of the warnings of the bishops should be reserved to our imperial providence'.[132] This may refer to the so-called *Capitula de inspiciendis monasteriis* probably dating to 823, which emphasized the requirement to live according to the Rule of Benedict.[133] The fact that the bishops should determine how monasteries were run referred of course to *loyal* bishops like Angilbert II, not to rebels like Anselm I. Lothar, like his father and grandfather, was trying to use churchmen to rule, something which Lombard kings seem to have done rather less.[134] Yet this was not, as is well known, simply a matter of crude strongman politics but rather of a wholesale Christianizing of political culture. When Lothar arrived in Italy he was accompanied not simply by lay vassals but also by churchmen, even perhaps by Angilbert himself and one of the more important early Carolingian scholars, the Irishman Dungal, whose most famous work was a treatise against the heresy of Claudius of Turin.[135] In the first capitulary of May 825 he appeared as the head of a school at Pavia, which was to be used by clergy from Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui,

---

140–51. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 52–54; West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy', pp. 221–28. Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, p. 29.

[131] He certainly presided over the church Council of Mantua in June 827 (with Peter of Ravenna).

[132] 'De monasteriis et senodochiis inordinatis et destructis ad palatium vel ad quorumcumque iura pertinentibus, qui admonitionem episcoporum contemnunt, placuit nostrae imperialis providentiae iudicio reservari': Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, i, no. 165, ch. 7a; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 130 and 159, n. 31.

[133] Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, i, no. 160; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 118–21. This requirement was hardly new (as De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 56–59, makes plain), but may have had particular resonance at Sant'Ambrogio between the death of Bernard in 818 and the arrival of Angilbert II in 823.

[134] Brown, 'Lombard Religious Policy in the Late Sixth and Seventh Centuries', p. 298, implies that he does not agree that the Lombard state was peculiarly 'secular' and raised this as an issue for continued exploration.

[135] There are excellent concise sketches of his life by Leonardi, 'Dungal, karolingischer Autor'; Ferrari, 'Dungal'; and Ganz, 'Dungal'.

Genoa, Asti, and Como.[136] Over the next few decades more Frankish and Irish scholars arrived in Milan, making it a centre of research and book production (see above, Chapter 1).[137] These included Hildemar, a monk from Corbie who established himself at the monastery of Civate within the diocese of Milan, and the author of an important commentary on Benedict's Rule.[138]

Lothar relied on counts and their officials as well as bishops to put his reforms into practice, something which had long been explicitly stated in local capitularies.[139] For example, the 822 court case involving Sant'Ambrogio was chaired by the local *gastald*, *locopositus*, and *scabinus* rather than the count or archbishop. In that year it is possible that there was no Count of Milan, which may explain why those officials chaired the case, and this might have had something to do with the local fallout from Bernard's rebellion. Donald Bullough showed that there was a count between 824 and 844 in the person of Leo, a close associate of Lothar.[140] His son John had taken over as count by 844 and added Seprio (of Castelseprio fame) to his jurisidiction. Sigeratus, another son and vassal of Louis II, gave land to Sant'Ambrogio in 865.[141] Leo was probably a Lombard and maybe not even aristocratic.[142] Crucially, none of these men as far as we know gave property to Sant'Ambrogio in the early 830s, when Abbot Deusdedit appears in a single charter only, an exchange of land in Cologno Monzese.[143] Bullough surmised, probably correctly, that Leo was associated with some other monastery whose archives have not survived, although as we have seen the gaps in the Sant'Ambrogio archive for this very period might allow us to postulate that Leo *might* have been involved with the community in some respect.[144]

---

[136] Boretius, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, I, no. 163, ch. 6; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 124–29. This suggests that there was no school at Milan, discussed briefly in Chapter 1, above.

[137] Gavinelli, 'Irlandesi, libri biblici greco-latini e il monastero di S. Ambrogio in età carolingia'; Kershaw, 'English History and Irish Readers in the Frankish World'.

[138] Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, pp. 70–71; De Jong, 'Growing up in a Carolingian Monastery' and *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 70–72. His commentary is now available in Latin with English translation at <http://www.hildemar.org> [accessed 26 June 2013].

[139] For example, Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, p. 58.

[140] Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Hlotharium magni loci habebatur*'.

[141] See Chapter 5, below, 'Milanese Lay Elites'.

[142] Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Hlotharium magni loci habebatur*', p. 233; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 55.

[143] *MD* 52, an original (AdSM sec. IX 15) written like the *notitia* of 822 by Iona, *scriptur*.

[144] Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Hlotharium magni loci habebatur*', p. 242, n. 72. Possible local

Angilbert too during the first ten years of his pontificate between 824 and 835 seems to have been hardly involved at all with Sant'Ambrogio which was understandable given that these were extremely turbulent times politically.[145] In 833 Lothar, resentful at the rapid elevation of the future Charles the Bald, son of Louis's new wife Judith, famously revolted against his father Louis the Pious and provoked the crisis of Louis's public penance in 833.[146] In October he granted an estate in the Valtellina to the Frankish monastery of St Denis, at the request of its abbot Hilduin. His stepmother, the empress Judith, accused of adultery with Bernard of Septimania (husband of Dhuoda), was imprisoned at Tortona.[147] Lothar took over as emperor, and Charlemagne's influential cousin Wala fled to the monastery of Corbie. In 834 Louis was reinstated, and Wala went back to Italy where he was elected Abbot of Bobbio (near Tortona) in 834.[148] He died in 836.[149] Angilbert's possible role in all this politicking would be obscure but for an intriguing chapter in Andrew of Bergamo's *Historia* which gives a drammatized account of a meeting between Lothar and Angilbert.[150] It is worth quoting in full:

> At that time Angelbertus was ruling the church of Milan as archbishop. The emperor (Lothar) wished to speak with him so that he might have his advice and the nobles he had sent there sent word to him in grace. But when they came before the emperor he indeed inclined his head somewhat and spoke welcoming words; indeed he refused to dismount on account of the honour due to a churchman.

candidates would be the Monastero Maggiore or even more likely the community at Torba, near Seprio, which was expensively decorated sometime during the ninth century: Bertelli, *Gli affreschi nella torre di Torba*.

[145] Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814–898', pp. 116–19.

[146] De Jong, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society' and *The Penitental State*, esp. pp. 46–50.

[147] 'Quam statim miserunt partibus Italiae in civitatem Tartunam, ibi eam habentes non multo tempore': Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici imperatoris*, ch. 42 (ed. Tremp, p. 230). Ward, 'The Career of the Empress Judith', p. 174, a shrewd discussion of 'why Tortona'; Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*, p. 156.

[148] Bobbio was famously independent of local episcopal control.

[149] Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 121–22.

[150] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*, ch. 7 (Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*, pp. 225–26). The incident is not recorded by Frankish sources although the final chapters of Thegan's biography provide its proper context. Andrew's story it is not totally implausible although he drew on material from the *Life of Ambrose* by Paulinus and the latter's meetings with emperors. The story may be seen as evidence of the claims of the church of Milan to matter in Carolingian politics.

Then the emperor said: 'So you behave as though you were Saint Ambrose!' The archbishop replied: 'I am not Saint Ambrose but neither are you the Lord God.' At this the emperor added: 'Go to my father whose hatred for me you have caused; bring me back to unblemished grace!' Angelbert on hearing this went off to Francia. The Emperor Louis received him with honour. While they were dining at table a question occurred to the emperor who said: 'Good archbishop what ought to be done to a man who is one's enemy?' He replied: 'The lord said in the Gospel: "Value highly your enemies and be generous to those you hate"' (Matt. 5, 44). The emperor said: 'And if I do not do this?' Then the archbishop replied: 'If you do not do this you will not have eternal life and you will die from this hatred.' Then the emperor said angrily: 'If I conquer my opponent shall I not have eternal life?' And immediately he added: 'See Angelbert if you can defend these words!' And having reached this position they shook hands. Having shaken hands the emperor gathered together his advisers to see if they could argue the case against the archbishop. The archbishop said in their presence: 'You know that we are all brothers in Christ?' They replied: 'We know that we pray to one Father in Heaven.' Then he said: 'Therefore if you know that we are all brothers, whether free or unfree, father or son and that John the Apostle said: "Who hates his brothers is a murderer and no murderer has eternal life dwelling in him" (Ep. I, 3, 15), if therefore murder can be ascribed to hatred how can hatred lead to eternal life?' They were convinced by his words. The emperor placing his hand on the ground sought forgiveness and he returned his son to favour.[151]

Whether this meeting actually happened or not, it is clear that Andrew was right to see Angilbert as a key player in Lothar's government, alongside other bishops such as Joseph of Ivrea and Noting of Brescia and laymen such as Eberhard of Friuli.[152] The putative meeting would have to have taken place before September 834, for by then the rebellion had failed. Andrew's chapter also provides a possible context for the events of 835, a year which saw the fortunes of Sant'Ambrogio on the rise once more.

In 835 eight new estates (*curtes*) were acquired from a combination of royal and episcopal gifts.[153] In the decade after, further gifts were made mostly by

---

[151] *AB s.a.* 834 and Nithard, *Historiarum libri IV* I.4. *AB s.a.* 836 reported that Louis sent embassies to Lothar in Italy. If Wala went to see Louis it is possible that Angilbert could also have done.

[152] Kershaw, 'Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian Lay Intellectual'.

[153] *MD* 57, 58, 59, and 60. These diplomata provide good instances of 'diplomas as performative acts' as outlined by Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas*, pp. 52–62, and Keller, 'The Privilege in the Public Interaction of the Exercise of Power', pp. 75–89.

Frankish and Alemannic aristocrats and probably in response to the royal gift-giving of 835, a process which meant that by 845 the monastery was able to embark upon a much more aggressive policy of property acquisition lasting right up to the century's end. Like the charters recording the foundation of the 780s, most of the charters recording the events of 835 were interpolated in later periods which confirms the importance of this period in the community's memory of its own history. Yet there is no reason to doubt the reality of the gifts themselves. Events moved rapidly, for at the start of the year it seems that the community had only one consolidated estate (a *curtis* at Dubino in the lower Valtellina) whereas by May it had a further eight. On 24 January in a diploma issued from Pavia, Lothar gave the fiscal estate of Limonta on the western shore of Lake Como.[154] This grant was made at the request of his wife Ermengard for the sake of the soul of her young brother Hugh who was buried at Sant'Ambrogio, in the *cimiterium* (a rare use of this word in this context and not used in the confirmation charter of 8 May).[155] In March Archbishop Angilbert gave the estates of Campione, Agrate, Capiate, 'Oleoductus', 'Ceresiolla', 'Locus Sinterani', and 'Gattunadum'.[156] Lothar confirmed this grant in May.[157] As 835 was the crunch year in the dispute between Lothar and his father Louis, these three highly politicized gifts seem to have represented an

---

[154] *MD* 57 and Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 23, which has survived in the original as well as an eleventh-century copy.

[155] 'Denique dum dilecta coniux nostra Hirmingardis divinarum sollicita studiosissime nostram sedulo monere procuraret clementiam, ut locis deo dicatis nostra sublimaremus munificentia, occasione accepta ex delatione fratris sui puerili eligantia delati Hugoni nomine instantius hoc suadere decertavit, ut augmentum pietatis nostrae et emulumentum mercedis in loco, quo ipse corpore umatus extitit, cimiterio scilicet sancti Ambrosii, ad decorem luminis et procurationem ecclesiae ornamenta quedam conferremus beneficia pro mercedis nostrae augmento et praefati pueri cumulo beatitudinis' (Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 23, p. 95). Lothar is recorded in the *Liber memorialis* of the Brescian nunnery of Santa Giulia (Geuenich and Ludwig, *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, p. 182), but neither Ermengard nor Hugh are. No evidence has survived that Sant'Ambrogio kept such a memorial book.

[156] *MD* 58. Identification of the final four listed estates has proved elusive.

[157] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 23, another original issued from Pavia. The church was noted as 'locum, ubi beatissimus confessor dei Ambrosius corpore humatus requiescit'. It is also worth noting that Lothar stressed that when a new abbot was required he should be elected from within the existing congregation 'per consensum archiepiscoporum, qui tunc per tempora fuerint'. Another charter issued on 8 May (Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 27) went into greater detail, listing the names of the Limonta dependents transferred in the earlier grant of January.

attempt by Lothar to buy local support from the place which housed the bodies of his ancestors, the earliest Carolingian kings of Italy.[158]

It was almost certainly in response to this series of royal and archiepiscopal gifts that other men who were or who wished to become important donated land to this monastic community. Hunger of Milan (brother of Hernost, the king's *vassus* noted above), bequeathed properties in Gnignano to Sant'Ambrogio in 836.[159] He had been acquiring these over the previous few years with the help of the archbishop's *vicedominus* (lay agent) Gunzo. In 842 Count Alpcharius, brother of another royal *vassus* Authecarius, gave a substantial number of tenanted houses in the Varesotto, centered on the villa of Sumirago.[160] Both these gifts were phrased in terms of pious bequests (*pro remedio*), recalling the language of Lothar's gift of Limonta made for the soul of a young male relative of his wife. It is worth looking at the case of Alpcharius in more depth because it reveals the complexity of patronage at this time.[161] Identified in charters as Alemannic and in all probability from the Linzgau, he had clearly been a trusted associate of King Pippin as he had looked after his daughter Adelaide as her *baiolus*.[162] In 807 Alpcharius paid the very large sum of eight pounds of silver coins for a series of estates including some which produced olives scattered over a large part of northern Lombardy from Draco

---

[158] Evidenced also in a grant of August 836 to Ava, wife of Hugh of Tours, of a fiscal estate at Locate di Triulzi (Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 29, issued from the palace at Corteolona): Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 221–26; Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 71–72. Sant'Ambrogio received no more charters from Lothar. Other monasteries which obtained charters from Lothar were (in the order of the first charter received): Farfa (822, 825, 832, 840), Novalesa (825, 845 twice), Sesto (830), Nonantola (830, 837 twice), San Zeno, Verona (833), Santa Maria Theodota, Pavia (833, 834, 839, 841), Montecassino (835), San Salvatore, Brescia (837, 848, 851), Santa Cristina, Corteolona (838), and Bobbio (843). He also granted estates near Como and in the Valtellina to Saint Denis in 833 and 848. The list is similar to the Italian diplomas of Charlemagne, with the significant additions of the Pavia and Corteolona nunneries. For context, see Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40'.

[159] See Chapter 7, below.

[160] *MD* 70a, twelfth-century authenticated copy (AdSM sec. IX 33), and *MD* 71, an original (AdSM sec. IX 34).

[161] Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, 'Albgaire', pp. 92–93. Borgolte, *Die Grafen Alemanniens*, 'Albgar', pp. 46–48.

[162] For the role, see Bullough, '"*Bauli*" in the Carolingian "regnum Langobardorum"'. Adelaide died in 810 probably aged twelve (Nelson, 'Women at the Court of Charlemagne', table on p. 61).

of Lovernato, a village in the territory of Brescia.[163] Not all the properties can be identified with certainty, but four of those that can — Vergiate, Sumirago, Cislago, and Germignaga — were all in *territorio civitatis sebriense* (Seprio), and two were in the *comitatus* of Stazzona/Angera (on Lake Maggiore). 'Florasse' was beyond the River Po at least one hundred kilometres away. At some point between 823 and 840 Alpcharius went to court in Milan (or to be precise at the *domum basilice sancti Nazarii* just outside its Roman walls) to defend his right to these lands which had been challenged while he was away in Francia on royal business by Ragipert and Melfrit, two brothers from 'Rezano'.[164] The case was heard by Leo, Count of Milan. The brothers conceded because, although they had entered the property with what they thought was a lawful charter while Alpcharius was away, they felt that they could not endure a case which looked like being lengthy. Alpcharius was also, of course, well connected. Eventually he gave the property to Sant'Ambrogio, and at that point, one may assume, all the charters came into monastic possession via the ritual process of 'investiture'. What is most interesting about this case is what it reveals — albeit speculatively — about King Pippin's otherwise obscure relationships with Sant'Ambrogio, for Pippin must have trusted Alpcharius completely if he made him *baiolus* of his eldest daughter. Perhaps it was the king who had encouraged Alpcharius to acquire land with a view to giving it to the monastery? Or perhaps Alpcharius donated it in memory of his erstwhile lord Pippin who really was buried there?

Angilbert II put a lot of effort (which might be called 'reform') into Sant'Ambrogio, to the extent that some have seen this period as one of the 'refoundation' of the community. It is certainly likely that Lothar's substantial grant of 835 and the subsequent benefactions by his aristocratic followers were due to Angilbert's intervention. At the basilica of Ambrose Angilbert had the saint's tomb opened and the remains reburied, in a porphyry sarcophagus,[165] under the (existing) fabulous golden altar,[166] which Angilbert commissioned from the goldsmith Vuolvinus and for which Dungal (probably) wrote the

---

[163] *MD* 40, an original (AdSM sec. IX 5). This charter was drafted in Brescia.

[164] *MD* 68, an original (AdSM sec. IX 31 = Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 45). Wickham, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework', p. 110 n. 6; Padoa Schioppa, 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese nell'età Carolingia'. It is worth noting that Archbishop Angilbert was buried at San Nazaro rather than Sant'Ambrogio as the reference to a *domus* suggests that that church may have been a focus for Angilbert while he was alive.

[165] Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', p. 64.

[166] Foletti, 'Le Tombeau d'Ambroise'. The remodelling of the crypt continued in the tenth century: Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', p. 63.

laudatory verses which were attached to it.[167] The remarkable golden altar cover (or *paliotto*) — which must have cost an almost unimaginable sum — is mentioned in Angilbert's *preceptum* in favour of the monastery dated March 835.[168] The bulk of this now corrupted text is based on the original grant of Lothar (May 835) which indeed mentioned that Angilbert had made a grant in March. Important parts of the existing text are most probably interpolated, especially the passage granting the basilica and *paliotto* to the monks (and not the basilica's clergy, the logical recipients):

> by this *preceptum* I confirm the church and altar, which magnificently I built there recently on account of immense love for Christ's confessor Ambrose, to the care and custody of the above-mentioned Abbot Gaudentius, and it should remain within his perennial jurisdiction and that of his successors without end.

However, the fact that Lothar's diploma referred to the existence of Angilbert's grant (and indeed confirmed it) does make it possible that Angilbert did indeed grant the church and the altar to the abbot. The absolutely genuine inscription on the altar itself — without any reference to monks or clergy — helps to clarify the archbishop's motives:

> This precious reliquary of pleasing design shines outwardly with the glow and splendour of metal, and glitters with inlaid gems, but within it contains sacred bones more precious than any metal. The illustrious and noble prelate Angilbert rejoicing offered to the Lord this work in honour of Saint Ambrose who is buried in this church, and he consecrated it in the time in which he was archbishop. Holy Father, look upon and benignly pity thy servant. By thy mercy, O God, may he achieve the supreme reward.[169]

The altar also represents Angilbert himself offering the work to Ambrose and the goldsmith Vuolvinus (*Vvolvini magist phaber*) who manufactured it.[170] It is possible also that he commissioned the recomposed and certainly ninth-century Life of Ambrose, often attributed to Anspert, a later bishop.[171] The altar,

---

[167] Ferrari, 'Le iscrizioni', p. 154.

[168] *MD* 58 (= AdSM sec. IX 22, an authenticated copy made in the thirteenth century). It has a dubious witness list and other anachronisms.

[169] Hahn, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan', pp. 182–83.

[170] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio*, p. 88, fig. 17.

[171] Tomea, 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli', pp. 183–86, makes a very strong case in favour of Angilbert II on the basis of the highly worked out connections between Ambrose and Martin which this 'Life' displays. Pilsworth, *Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy*, pp. 132–33,

sarcophagus, and its precious relics clearly attracted visitors, alive and dead: numerous prestige burials were to be found near it,[172] including in the next generation Archbishop Anspert and Emperor Louis II.

It is probable that during the next few years Angilbert embarked on a wholesale reform of religious life within the archdiocese beyond Milan, notably at Brescia.[173] Three texts dated between 841 and 843 record as much, although each may have been altered after that period making it unwise to trust every detail recorded, particularly as this sort of 'clerical reform' is usually associated with the later Carolingian period.[174] On 31 May 841 Rampert, bishop of Brescia, translated the relics of Faustinus and Jovitta at Brescia, with the approval of his archbishop.[175] This event and the associated foundation of a monastery dedicated to the two saints was confirmed at a provincial synod which Angilbert called in Milan in 842.[176] Sometime before 843 the body of San Calogero seems to have been moved from Albenga on the Western Ligurian coast to San Pietro in Civate.[177] Angilbert's attempts to

and Vocino, 'Framing Ambrose in the Resources of the Past', pp. 135–36, accept the established dating to the episcopate of Anspert. More generally see Pilsworth, 'Representations of Sanctity in Milan and Ravenna' and Vocino, 'Under the Aegis of the Saints'.

Angilbert may also have appointed Rachinpert as the new abbot of Sant'Ambrogio in 843: *MD* 73, a controversial eleventh-century copy (AdSM sec. IX 35) which might be entirely false. The monks were supposed to elect their own abbot without episcopal intervention according to Charlemagne's diploma of 790.

[172] Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', fig. 29, p. 85.

[173] Violante, 'Introduction', pp. 15–16.

[174] Leyser, 'Review Article. Church Reform', p. 485, discussing Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West* (e.g. pp. 60–61). Cf. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 6.

[175] *CDL* 140, 31 May 841. Bettelli Bergamaschi, 'Ramperto vescovo di Brescia (sec. IX) e la *Historia de translatione Beati Filastrii*'; Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 589–97. Rampert died in 843/44 to be succeeded by Notingus who had already been Bishop of Vercelli and then Verona.

[176] For the proceedings of this provincial meeting with seven local bishops, see *CDL* 148 (Werminghoff, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, I.2, no. 62, pp. 814–15) and Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', p. 104. The text was subscribed by the bishops of Novara, Bergamo, Cremona, Tortona (perhaps), Lodi, Chur (still within the archdiocese at this time), and one unknown other.

[177] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, p. 65. Angilbert may also have appointed Rachinpert as the new abbot of Sant'Ambrogio in 843, and perhaps these two events were connected: *MD* 73, a controversial eleventh-century copy (AdSM sec. IX 35) which might be entirely false. The monks were supposed to elect their own abbot without episcopal intervention according to Charlemagne's diploma of 790.

reform monastic life along the lines of monastic practice north of Alps were strengthened by the arrival of the Frankish monks Leodegar and Hildemar at Brescia in 841. Their presence at Civate in 845 consolidated links with monasticism north of the Alps,[178] demonstrated by the friendship networks recorded in *libri memoriales*.[179] Unsurprisingly, Lothar's direct involvement in Milan was negligible in this period of civil war, and indeed charters issued by Lothar in favour of Italian monasteries declined sharply in number after 843 as his interest in Italy waned.

By the time Louis II appeared in Italy in 844, having been sent there by his father Lothar, Sant'Ambrogio was immeasurably richer than it had been when Lothar himself had arrived in 822. Collaborative patronage by the Carolingian king, his bishops, and vassals had made Sant'Ambrogio into one of the most important monasteries in northern Italy in the space of a generation. It was also essentially a Frankish community at this period, to be compared directly with the nunnery at Brescia in terms of its importance to the royal family. Interestingly, Sant'Ambrogio seems to have received few if any gifts from the less wealthy in local society in the early Carolingian period. This absence appears real rather than the result of imperfect documentation because people from such social backgrounds are recorded in charters throughout the early Carolingian period in this area.[180] These people did not apparently give land

---

[178] De Jong, 'Growing up in a Carolingian Monastery', p. 100, and *In Samuel's Image*, p. 142. For the (possible) Lombard origins of this community, see Spinelli, 'L'origine desideriana dei monasteri di S. Vincenzo in Prato e di S. Pietro in Civate'. Irish monks with high-level Frankish connections had been in this area before: Notker (Notker, *Gesta Karoli magni*, ch. 1, trans. by Ganz, p. 56) claimed that Charlemagne sent one to teach at the monastery of St Augustine at Pavia.

[179] Angilbert was listed, together with Bishop Notingus and his clergy, in the *Liber memorialis* of the nuns of San Salvatore: Geuenich and Ludwig, *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, p. 158. The monks of Sant'Ambrogio do not appear to have been within the nun's friendship networks, which extended north and east rather than west. The Brescian monasteries of San Faustino and Leno were listed in the memorial book of Reichenau; again there is no mention of Milanese houses.

[180] If we confine ourselves to those who were directly party to charters rather than witnesses or boundary owners there are: *MD* 32 (January 792, Walpert of Gnignano); *MD* 33 (793, Walter of Bedero); *MD* 34 (796, Johannes of Saronno, *notarius*, Erminald); *MD* 35 (799, Martinus of Mellano); *MD* 36 (803, Nazarius of 'Tenebiaco', Donatus of Sertole, *negotians*); *MD* 39 (807, Gisepert of 'vico Cornelliano'); *MD* 42 (809, Drachimund and Walderissus of Saronno, Sespald and Trasemund of Bregnano); *MD* 44 (812, Bruning of Milan, *negotians*); *MD* 48 (823, Walpert of Carpiano); *MD* 49 (824, Leo of Sizzano); *MD* 50 (826, Arifret, *clericus* and his brother Alfret of Mornago). Although the identification of these men as 'less

to Sant'Ambrogio although they did use charters to record their own dealings. They were neither afraid of written documents nor unused to dealing in property. In the second half of the ninth century this pattern of 'closed' elite patronage which was the established pattern for at least a hundred years became more inclusive. Existing land was by no means neglected as the monks began systematically to organize their estates, especially the key ones of Campione, Limonta, and Dubino in the north (see below, Chapters 6, 8, and 9), and Cologno Monzese, Gnignano, Carpiano, and Inzago further south (see below, Chapters 7 and 9). As new properties were purchased here and existing land was reorganized into more rational units, the perhaps inevitable consequence was a series of long-running disputes and sometimes acrimonious court cases. Gifts of land in these places stopped. In entirely new areas the abbots and their monks sometimes acquired land by purchase, but more commonly such transfers still came about by gift. Expansion started in earnest in the decade 845–55 when the abbots were buying, selling, and exchanging land with other churchmen and even more with a multitude of laymen, and continued until the last decade of the ninth century. Gradually, the monastery began to expand its social reach, increasing its dependence on urban 'friends' and dealing more and more frequently with locals in the countryside.

These processes can be followed in a series of detailed charters surviving as original single sheets which deal with many different places. In 847 Abbot Andrew bought some tenanted farms in Mendrisio (Sottoceneri) from a local man called Luberinus for sixty solidi which was produced *ex aculis* (*sic*: *ex saculis*), from the monastic treasury.[181] Importantly this sale, enacted at Sant'Ambrogio itself and written by Ambrosius, included among its witnesses Laudebert of Confienza, one of the abbot's vassals. The sale was followed up in August by a formal ceremony on site to 'take possession' of the property in front of local witnesses.[182] In March 848 Abbot Andrew bought more land, this time in Gessate, from Gunzo for a very large sum of cash: thirty *libras* (over

wealthy' or non-aristocratic in these documents is certainly subjective, the chances are good that if the person concerned was a wealthy aristocrat we should come across them in more than one charter, or in other types of evidence. The word 'negotians' could of course carry a range of meanings including merchant, trader, and shopkeeper, so those men could be of varying social status.

   [181] *MD* 80, an original (AdSM sec. IX 40). This seems to be the earliest reference to the monastery's treasury, also mentioned in the funerary inscription for Abbot Peter II (d. 899).

   [182] *MD* 81, an original (AdSM sec. IX 41).

seventy pounds), of silver.[183] This time the witnesses included three *vassi* of Alberic, Count of Milan. In March 851 Abbot Andrew exchanged properties in Gnignano with Gunzo, archdeacon and *vicedominus* of the archbishop.[184] In February 854 Sesepert *praepositus* 'took possession' of property in Lamone which had been sold to the monastery by a certain Benignus.[185] A few months later in May a *libellus* was drawn up by Sesepert with a local man, Laurentio.[186]

In contrast, royal gifts seem to have dried up completely at this time. Louis II (king of the Lombards from 844; emperor 850–75), who spent most of the rest of his life in Italy and had close links in the earlier part of his reign with the great magnates such as Angilbert who had helped his father, gave nothing to Sant'Ambrogio.[187] Angilbert continued to be a very active prelate under Louis II whose coronations in Rome he had attended in 844 and 850.[188] He took a full part in the production of capitularies. He probably took the leading role at the so-called *Capitula episcoporum Papiae edita* of 845–50,[189] and the extended proceedings of the Pavia Synod of 850,[190] both of which continued the by now well-established tradition of lamenting the state of contemporary monastic practice and placing the onus squarely on the bishops to sort it out.[191] It was probably the case that Sant'Ambrogio was whiter than white, given the level of Angilbert's interest in it since the 830s. However, Angilbert had to deal with a case involving one of his own clerics which certainly must have been

---

[183] *MD* 82, an original (AdSM sec. IX 42), and 83, an original (AdSM sec. IX 43), both written by Ambrosius, *notarius*, at Sant'Ambrogio.

[184] *MD* 86, an original (AdSM sec. IX 46), discussed below.

[185] *MD* 91, an original (AdSM sec. IX 51), discussed below, Chapter 6.

[186] *CDL* 186 which is a twelfth-century copy now for some unexplained reason in the archiepiscopal archive (Palestra, *Regesto delle pergamene dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Milano*, doc. 1).

[187] He was a notoriously ungenerous ruler (Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 62). Best survey: Bougard, 'Le Cour et le gouvernement'

[188] Davis, *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes*, p. 80. Count John of Milan was also there in 844. The old notion that Angilbert and the new pope Sergius fell out at this meeting, which was admittedly contentious, has been decisively disproved by Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 481–90.

[189] Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 166–73. The best edition, apparently not used by Azzara and Moro, is Hartmann, *Concilia Aevi Karolini DCCCXLIII–DCCCLIX*, no. 21, pp. 207–15 at p. 210.

[190] Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 182–99; Hartmann, *Concilia Aevi Karolini DCCCXLIII–DCCCLIX*, no. 23, pp. 217–29 at p. 228.

[191] 845–50 Capitulary, chs 8–10; 850 Synod, chs 14–16.

rather difficult. In June 857 Louis issued at Angilbert's request a diploma which effectively provided justice for Anspert, one of his deacons, against a certain Ansprand who had killed Anspert's brother.[192] In May 859 Angilbert presided over a court hearing between Sant'Ambrogio and Lupus of Schianno concerning property in Cologno Monzese.[193] It was inconclusive, and a further hearing took place in June, chaired this time by Anspert, the deacon with whom Louis II had dealt in 857.[194] It is quite possible that Angilbert was ill and so did not take the case forward, for he died in December and was buried in the church of San Nazaro, outside the walls of Milan on the road to Rome.[195]

The see was vacant after Angilbert's death for nearly a year until November 860 when Tado took over. Interestingly there are no charters in the Sant'Ambrogio archive for the period of the vacancy, which may therefore have been a time of political adjustment at the monastery. Tado (860–68) seems to have made little impact upon the monks, although he is admittedly far less well documented than Angilbert.[196] Nevertheless, when he died in 868 he was buried in Sant'Ambrogio.[197] During Tado's reign Abbot Peter II (854–99) can be said to have pursued a policy of rationalization of his monastery's property in

[192] Wanner, *Ludovici II Diplomata*, no. 25, pp. 113–14, an original (AdSM sec. IX 58) = *MD* 98.

[193] *MD* 101, an original (AdSM sec. IX 61) = Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 64. During the case Angilbert was approached for a judgment by representatives of the count of Milan 'in caminata solario eidem domui sancti Ambrosii, ubi ipso domnus Angilbertus arciepiscopus pro hac causa deliveranda residebat'. He was acting on this occasion as the emperor's *missus* (as he had already done in 844).

[194] *MD* 102, an original (AdSM sec. IX 62).

[195] Possibly, Picard (*Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 94) has suggested, as a gesture emphasizing his loyalty to Rome, but maybe this reads too much into it.

[196] Although his only surviving *preceptum* is a forgery of the second half of the twelfth century: *MD* 118 (AdSM sec. IX 78), it is still sometimes cited as a genuine text (e.g Sannazaro, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', p. 44 n. 31, who notes it is dubious and then cites it as evidence). It was defended by Fumagalli (*CDA*, doc. XCVIII, pp. 390–93). It purports to be a confirmation of Sant'Ambrogio's olive groves in Limonta. See Zagni 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–IX', pp. 13–15, for this and previous literature. Tado held a synod in Pavia to discuss the divorce of Lothar II and Teutberga: Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XV, 759, and is referred to in *AB s.a.* 868 (trans. by Nelson, p. 146); Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 445; Airlie, 'Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II'. He also was the addressee of several flattering poems on Easter written by Sedulius Scottus: *PLAC*, III, no. 2, pp. 232–34.

[197] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 95.

Cologno Monzese,[198] and in the vicinity of Como.[199] In Cologno, where the monastery was already well established, this was largely achieved by swapping property with the dominant local family, the Leopegisi. In the subalpine area monastic presence was weaker and needed strengthening by gifts or other support from the powerful. In March 864 Alberic, Count of Milan, chaired a dispute between Sant'Ambrogio and some locals over property in Bissone.[200] In February 865, Sigeratus, vassal of Louis II and son of Count Leo of Milan and Seprio, gave land and tenants in Balerna to the monastery.[201] In March of the same year a dispute involving the monastery was held in Como itself in front of a very friendly panel, packed with the abbot's vassals.[202]

Tado was replaced in June 868 by the most colourful of all early medieval bishops of Milan, the disputatious Anspert.[203] During the first few years of Anspert's reign Sant'Ambrogio continued to acquire new property by gift from the great and the good. In March 870 the community was a beneficiary in the will of Bishop Garibald of Bergamo.[204] In April, properties in the Como area arrived courtesy of Amalricus, *vicecomes* of Milan.[205] There were also a few purchases, in Cologno and its vicinity.[206] Yet by and large this was a period of consolidation, confirmation, and dispute, with Abbot Peter and his monks increasingly flexing their collective muscle. A series of aggressive acts towards dependents is documented: a case of more or less 'private' monastic justice in

---

[198] *MD* 105, 106, 107, 114, 117. Abbot Peter's long period as abbot (forty-five years) is covered by Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 294–96.

[199] *MD* 110, 111, 112, 115.

[200] *MD* 112, an original (AdSM sec. IX 72) = Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 66. Unfortunately this document is full of holes and much of the text is lost, making a complete reconstruction of it impossible.

[201] *MD* 115, an original (AdSM sec. IX 75); Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Hlotharium magni loci habebatur*', p. 238.

[202] *MD* 116, tenth-century copy (AdSM sec. IX 76) = Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 68.

[203] There is a useful sketch of his life by Bertolini, 'Ansperto', and a more detailed discussion by Gorla, 'L'arcivescovo Ansperto e i suoi rapporti con Giovanni VIII'.

[204] *MD* 120.

[205] *MD* 121. Amalricus also appears in *MD* 126 (874) and 133 (876). Whether he was related in any way to the family of the previous counts Leo and John, whose uncle was Amelricus, Bishop of Como and Abbot of Bobbio (840–61), is unclear but perhaps quite likely given the location of the property.

[206] *MD* 129 (16 February 875) and 134 (June 876).

the Valtellina,[207] several 'investitures' (a public 'taking possession' of monastic land in situ),[208] and a couple of 'pledges' whereby individuals agreed to keep their hands off monastic property in response to what were barely concealed threats.[209] Disputes seemed to involve ever more powerful opponents, with the abbot and monks confidently taking on the Bishop of Como (December 874) and the monastery of Reichenau in 880.[210]

Bishop Anspert was himself a local man rather than an outsider who had risen up through the ranks of the Milanese clergy: he seems to have regarded himself as a 'Lombard'. He held land in Biassono, his home village in the Brianza, and a lot of property at nearby Cavenago as well.[211] He also had property within Milan itself and in the vicinity of Lake Lecco.[212] Potentially therefore he was a benefactor of the monastery, but he seems to have given nothing much to it, apart from his Milanese *xenodochium* dedicated to St Satyrus (Ambrose's brother).[213] The community's most important patrons in this period continued to be Carolingian. Louis II, in Capua, issued a single diploma in favour of Sant'Ambrogio on 12 June 873, at the request of his wife Angilberga.[214] By this document the monastery was finally taken under imperial protection and

[207] *MD* 122 (November 870). See below, Chapter 9.

[208] *MD* 125 (April 874, Gnignano), 130 (December 875, Cologno), 139 (November 879, Limonta).

[209] *MD* 127 (January 875) and 128 (February 875).

[210] *MD* 126 (Bishop Anspert presided with Count Boso) and 144.

[211] *MD* 124, an original (AdSM sec. IX 84) by Gervasius, *notarius*; *MD* 131, an original (AdSM sec. IX 91); *MD* 132, an original (AdSM sec. IX 92) also by Gervasius.

[212] *MD* 138, a contemporary copy made by Gervasius *notarius* the scribe of the original (AdSM sec. IX 97), his so-called 'second will'. The 'first will', long taken to be genuine but certainly fabricated (and conceivably a total fake), is *MD* 137 (AdSM sec. IX 96, late ninth- or early tenth-century copy). Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', p. 112.

[213] For the surviving evidence for the Carolingian period building and its decoration, see Peccatori, *Insula Ansperti*, pp. 33–34, 46–48, 66–67.

[214] Wanner, *Ludovici II Diplomata*, no. 60, pp. 183–85 (= *MD* 123), a tenth-century copy. Louis II is discussed by Delogu, 'Strutture politiche e ideologia nel regno di Lodovico II'; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 60–63; Gasparri, 'Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza in Italia in età longobarda e carolingia', pp. 716–20; Balzaretti, 'Debate'; West, 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy', pp. 219, 228–31. Angilberga has been much-studied too: Bougard, 'Engelberga'; La Rocca, 'Angilberga, Louis II's Wife and her Will'; and Cimino, 'Angelberga', with references to the earlier literature. For the political power of late ninth-century queens as manifest through associations with monastic communities, see MacLean, 'Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood'.

granted immunity: 'pro quodam Petro venerabili abbate monasterii beatissimi confessoris Christi Ambrosii, ubi eius sacratissimum corpus venerabiliter humatum est, non longe a muro urbis Mediolani, ut eum pro nostrae mercedis incremento cum universis, qui cum ipso degunt, servis Christi cunctaque venerandi ceonobii substantia sub nostrum mundburdum et immunitas nostrae perptuam tuicionem suscipere dignaremur' (for a certain Peter the venerable abbot of the monastery of Ambrose the most blessed confessor of Christ where his most sacred body has of old been buried, not far from the wall of the city of Milan, so that he, together with those who live with him advancing with universal reward, the servants of Christ and the substance of that venerable monastery have been deemed to receive our guardianship and immunity under our perpetual protection).[215] The charter was precise about the legal status of monastic dependents, against whom it was not possible to take action without the abbot's or provost's consent: 'at verso ipsorum commenditos, libellarios sive cartularios sine abbatis aut prepositi conscientia pignorare aut distringere nemini permittimus' (and against those dependents, whether *libellarii* or *cartularii*, no one is allowed to pledge or detain with the knowledge of the abbot or provost). This applied to those whose relationship to the abbot was documented in writing but also to his vassals, where this was not generally the case.[216] Later in the document, and very tellingly, Ambrose was called 'our protector', the only such reference to a saint in any of Louis's charters and although this wording might have been suggested by the beneficiary, it could also reflect the personal devotion of Louis and his wife to Ambrose. The immunity and protection were renewed by Charles the Fat, Arnulf, Otto I, and Otto III, which makes plain that however much royal documents reiterated the perpetual nature of their grants, political circumstances were such — especially in tenth-century northern Italy — that confirmations from new kings were always

[215] Prior to Louis there had been no hint of royal protection for Sant'Ambrogio in the charters of Charlemagne and Lothar. By the latter part of the ninth century many Italian monasteries had received such grants and some, like Novalesa (granted immunity by Carloman in 770 and Charlemagne in 773) were immune before Sant'Ambrogio was founded (Sergi, *Potere e territorio lungo la strada di Francia*, pp. 96–98). The domination of Sant'Ambrogio by the archbishops in the ninth century possibly explains the relatively late appearance of these rights here. The meaning of immunities (and royal protection) has been much debated in recent years, with the traditional view that they represented royal weakness conclusively challenged. Now they are thought to signify royal power. See Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 12–16; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 109–11; Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 251–59.

[216] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 189–99, on Italian vassalage.

wise.[217] The king's will was only effective if royal officials could enforce it, and, of course, this was often not the case.

When Louis died near Brescia on 12 August 875 Archbishop Anspert engineered his burial in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, where the stone still survives (Figure 10). This staged event was recorded in an eyewitness account by Andrew of Bergamo:

> Moreover it followed that in the month of August Emperor Louis died, on the day before the Ides of August (12th), in the territory of Brescia (875). Indeed Antonius bishop of Brescia took his body and placed it in a tomb in the church of Holy Mary, where the body of Saint Filastrius lies.[218] Archbishop Anspert of Milan sent him his archdeacon[219] so that the body should be returned; this he refused to do. Then he sent Bishop Garibald of Bergamo and Bishop Benedict of Cremona with their priests and all the clergy so that the archbishop's will be done. Indeed the bishops did it and they carried him away. They dragged him across the land and took him to Milan where, after a five day journey, they interred him magnificently in a sarcophagus, with every honour, (singing) hymns and psalms to God. I speak the truth in Christ: for I was there and I took some part and I walked with the bearers from the river Oglio to the River Adda.[220] Therefore his body was taken into the city with great honour and much weeping, and they buried him in the church of the blessed confessor Ambrose on the seventh day. He ruled 26 years (that is 6 whilst his father was alive, and 20 after his death).[221]

This burial was clearly a major and entirely successful political act on Anspert's part, for Brescia was the power base of Angilberga and her family the

---

[217] *MD* 141, 158; *CDL* 599, 939.

[218] Bishop from 863 to 898 (Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 244–46). The cult of Filastrius has been promoted by Bishop Rampertus.

[219] Anselm, eventually his successor as archbishop.

[220] The Adda, a sizeable river, was the natural border between the territories of Brescia and Milan.

[221] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia* ch. 18 (Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*, p. 229); see also *AB s.a.* 875 (trans. by Nelson, p. 187) and *AF s.a.* 875 (trans. by Reuter, p. 77) where the fact of Louis's burial in Sant'Ambrogio is confirmed by a brief notice: 'Meanwhile Louis emperor of Italy [died] and his body was taken to Milan and buried in the basilica of Saint Ambrose.' It is interesting that the author(s) of this part of the Fulda annals, whoever that was, should have recorded the exact place of Louis's burial. His magnificent burial stone with its verse epitaph still survives in the church (although it is probably a late medieval copy). Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', pp. 160–61; Petoletti, '"Urbs nostra"', pp. 25–26, 32, 35.
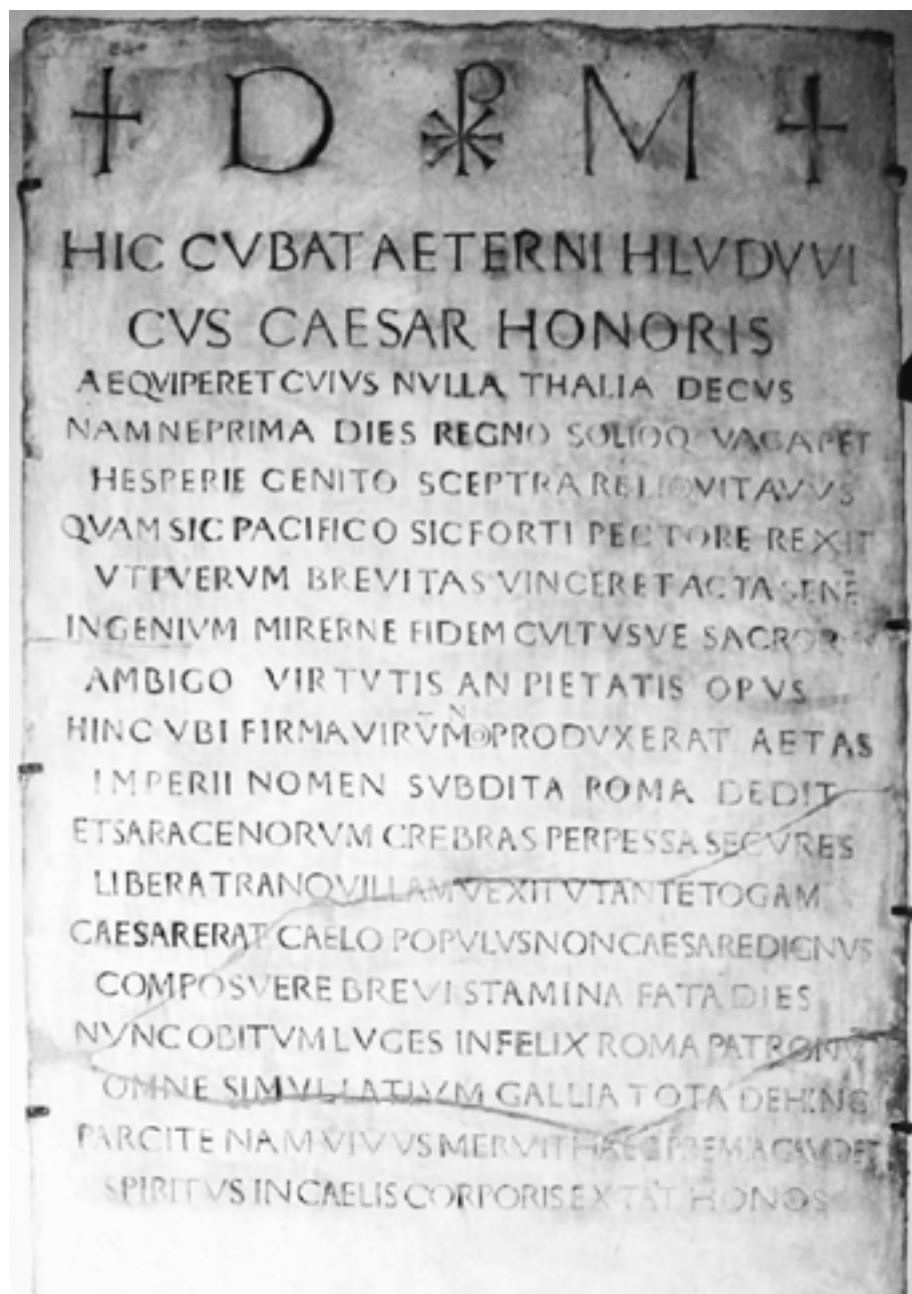
Figure 10. Funerary stone of Emperor Louis II. Milan, Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio.
Photo © Giovanni dall'Orto.

Supponids.[222] It is worth speculating why he did it. The reference to Ambrose as Louis's and Angilberga's *protector* in the diploma of 873 provides one possible reason — genuine piety. The presence of this word in the charter may, given that the version we have is a tenth-century copy made at Sant'Ambrogio, indicate a later interpolation reflecting monastic wishful thinking after the event. However, the actual burial of Louis in the basilica adjacent to the saint's remains, housed under their splendid Angilbertian shrine, may indeed suggest genuine commitment to the saint's cult. Indeed, feelings of mortality while on campaign in the south might just have prompted the charter in favour of the monastery in the first place, especially as there seems no other obvious explanation for its timing in 873.[223] It might be that Anspert knew that the king had expressed a wish to be buried alongside his Carolingian ancestors, Pippin and Hugh, his young maternal cousin whom he might well have known.[224] It could be, of course, that as the senior bishop of northern Italy, Anspert felt he had a duty to bury the emperor and that Sant'Ambrogio was the obvious choice, because it was the main burial site of Milanese bishops. Lastly, it could have been that Anspert wished to send out a message about his role in choosing Louis's successor, given that the couple had no legitimate male heir, although they did have two daughters, one of whom, Ermengard, married Boso of Provence.[225]

We may progress with understanding this event by considering further what Anspert was doing with his land in Cavenago in the 870s. On 3 December 873 Anspert had gone in person to take possession in a formal *vestitura* of properties in Cavenago which he had purchased from Atto of Carimate, Adeltruda of 'Sauriate' (wife of Lanfredus, notary), and Grelinda of 'Sauriate'.[226] The witnesses on this occasion were, as was normal with *vesiturae*, locals rather than outsiders who had accompanied the bishop. The next we hear is that Anspert had received forty hectares of land in Cavenago and Ornago, granted him by Charles the Bald in a diploma dated 26 February 876,[227] just days after he had

---

[222] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 57–58; Bougard, 'Engelberga'; Cimino. 'Angelberga'.

[223] Except perhaps that there was a major famine throughout Italy in this year (*AF*, trans. by Reuter, pp. 71–72).

[224] Louis was born *c*. 825; Hugh died in 835 still a boy; they may well have been exact or near contemporaries.

[225] Bougard, 'Ermengarda'.

[226] *MD* 124, an original (AdSM sec. IX 84).

[227] *MD* 131.

presided over the election of Charles as King of Italy at a great assembly in Pavia, at which Count Alberic of Milan was also present.[228] At this assembly the necessity for probity in ecclesiastical life was reiterated.[229] In April Anspert again 'took possession' of these new lands: he showed the document and its contents were read out to the assembled company, of fourteen witnesses.[230] Of course, the early part of 876 was a turbulent time: with the demise of Louis II without a male heir, the aristocratic world was plunged into crisis (*magna tribulatio* as Andrew of Bergamo put it), in which Archbishop Anspert made himself a key player.[231] Anspert fell out with Pope John VIII over who should succeed Louis. Initially they both accepted Charles the Bald rather than Louis the German,[232] who was favoured by Berengar of Friuli (an Unruoching), Angilberga and her Supponid kin, and Bishop Wibod of Parma.[233] But soon things began to go seriously wrong. The pope wrote to Anspert on 27 February 877 asking him to reinstate an abbot of a royal monastery within his diocese, whom Anspert had deposed.[234] Most scholars have identified this as Abbot Peter II of Sant'Ambrogio and suggested that Peter was deposed because he supported Angilberga and Karlmann, her preferred candidate for the succession, rather than Charles the Bald.[235] Whatever the truth of this deposition, when Charles the Bald died on 6 October 877 there was again no obvious candidate that everyone could agree on.[236] Pope John initially accepted Karlmann, as Anspert did this time, but when Lambert of Spoleto, a supporter of Karlmann, began to threaten Rome itself, John changed sides and went to West Francia to get help from Charles's son, Louis the Stammerer. Then, after Louis had died

[228] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 242; Boretius and Krause, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, II, 220 and 221 (= Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 220–33); *AB*, trans. by Nelson, p. 189.

[229] Boretius and Krause, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, II, 221, ch. 9 (priests must not have women living with them) and ch. 10 (the restoration of illegally appropriated church property).

[230] *MD* 132, an original (AdSM sec. IX 92).

[231] MacLean, '"After his death a great tribulation came to Italy…"' and *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century, pp. 91–92.*

[232] Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 328–34.

[233] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 169; Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 238–58.

[234] Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, no. 35 (pp. 34–35): 'Abbas autem, qui nullo comprobato crimine a regii est coenobii praepositura depulsus, eiusdem piissimi principis permissu, precibus nostris tuae sociatis industrie, revocandus est'.

[235] Gorla, 'L'arcivescovo Ansperto e i suoi rapporti con Giovanni VIII', pp. 37–44.

[236] *AB s.a.* 877 (trans. by Nelson, p. 202); *AF s.a.* 877 (trans. by Reuter, pp. 82–84).

in April 879, he allied himself to Count Boso,[237] who had married Ermengard, daughter of Louis II and Angilberga. Pope John had tried to win over Anspert to his point of view with repeated invitations to meetings, all of which, according to the pope's claims in his surviving letters, he failed to attend. Finally, John snapped and excommunicated Anspert for disobedience in May 879.[238]

In August 879, the fifth anniversary of her husband's death, Angilberga asked John to reprieve Anspert, but he did not do so.[239] This letter is particularly revealing as John remarked that 'the annual commemoration of the rich memory of lord Louis formerly august emperor […] is soon to be celebrated',[240] something which was indeed clearly dear to the recently widowed empress. Given Anspert's role in the king's burial, presumably he was to lead the commemorative Mass and hence Angilberga's intervention on his behalf. Yet John in October wrote directly to the clergy of Milan explaining why he had excommunicated Anspert and asking them to elect a new bishop.[241] John claimed that Anspert had continued to say Mass despite his excommunication and had even consecrated a new Bishop of Vercelli against the wishes of the king, Karlmann. He had also refused to allow papal legates into Milan.[242] Pope John wrote directly to Charles the Fat and to the clergy of Vercelli in the same terms.[243] Anspert seems to have been worried about his own safety, as he had a will drawn up on 11 November 879.[244] This document records his foundation of a *xenodochium* in Milan dedicated to San Satyrus (Ambrose's brother), which he endowed with his own property, including that which he had acquired in Cavenago from Atto of Carimate and

---

[237] MacLean, 'The Carolingian Response to the Revolt of Boso', pp. 21–24.

[238] Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, no. 188 (p. 150) and 202 (pp. 161–62); Gorla, 'L'arcivescovo Ansperto e i suoi rapporti con Giovanni VIII', pp. 86–87, 109.

[239] Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, no. 212 (pp. 190–91).

[240] 'Propter annuam commemorationem dive memorie domni Hludovici quondam imperatoris augusti, que in proxime celebranda est' (translation from <https://epistolae.ctl.columbia.edu/letter/1028.html>).

[241] Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, no. 228 (pp. 202–03); Gorla, 'L'arcivescovo Ansperto e i suoi rapporti con Giovanni VIII', pp. 90–91.

[242] Rennie, *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation*, pp. 96–97 (John VIII and legates).

[243] Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, nos 233 (p. 207) and 247 (pp. 215–16); Gorla, 'L'arcivescovo Ansperto e i suoi rapporti con Giovanni VIII', pp. 91–93. Charles the Fat of course replaced the Bishop of Vercelli himself with Liutward who became his archchancellor and a controversial figure in his own right (MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 178–85).

[244] *MD* 139.

Charles the Bald (above, p. 212). Quite soon John and Anspert were reconciled, although the last few letters he wrote to Anspert suggest that the bishop was having trouble in imposing his authority over the see.

In this turbulent period, Sant'Ambrogio seems finally to have lost its once close royal support, with Charles the Fat alone of all the royal claimants to the Italian throne issuing documents in its favour in March 880.[245] The first of these — in which Liutward of Vercelli was petitioner — confirmed Louis II's diploma of 873, but additionally granted to Abbot Peter the nunnery of Santa Maria d'Aurona (*sub potestate et regimine*), a community which the former Empress Angilberga offered in memory of Louis's soul.[246] This house was physically built into the city wall, and therefore the grant of it to the abbot sent a message to the archbishop about monastic power over urban space. But the key part of the grant was the king's confirmation of Abbot Peter's right over

> that passageway, which the above-mentioned Abbot Peter had petitioned the venerable Archbishop Anspert, Count Alberic and the entire clergy and most devout people, that he might have that passageway for the least fortification of the monastery itself. And equally, considering that the salvation of the monastery and the city are linked, and that the monks cannot stay there to pray quietly, they, consenting together, should give permission to Abbot Peter on behalf of his monastery to enclose that monastery within a cloister.[247]

---

[245] *MD* 141 and 143 (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, nos 21 and 23, pp. 34–36, 38–39). There is also a twelfth-century fake (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 177, pp. 289–93). It should be noted that Karlmann died on 22 March. The charters Karlmann issued in favour of Italian churches make very clear the absence of support for him at Milan: San Sisto, Piacenza (877, 878, 879, Angilberga's foundation), Bobbio (877), Novara (877), Nonantola (877, 879), Belluno (877), Lucca (877), Cremona (878), Santa Cristina, Olona (879), Berceto (879), San Salvatore, Brescia (879) —Kehr, *Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris Diplomata*, nos 5, 16, 27, 6, 7, 8, 28, 9, 10, 12, 21, 24, 26, respectively.

[246] 'Confirmantes insuper monasterium infra ipsam urbem constitutum quod nominatur Aurunae, quod Engilberga olim imperatrix devotissime obtulit in ipsum monasterium pro remedium animae dive memoriae Hluduuuici quondam imperatoris augusti' (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 21, p. 35; Bognetti, *Storia di Milano*, ii, 775).

[247] 'Confirmamus etiam semitam illam, pro qua supradictus Petrus abbas a venerabile antistite Anspertum seu comite Alberico seu cuncto clero et populo devotissimo petit, quia pro ipsa semita minime monasterium ipsum munitum habere potuerat. Under pariter considerantes congruitatem ipsius monasterii et civitatis salvationem, et quod monachi ibidem commorantes quieti manere non valebant, per ipsius omnium consensu Petro abbati a parte ipsius monasteri infra clausura ipsius monasterii claudere licentium dederunt' (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 21, p. 36). Discussed by Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', p. 551.

This formula stands in marked contrast to the standardized formulae of immunity: it is very particular and clearly refers to problems which had been experienced, or were perhaps forseen, concerning the physical safety of the Sant'Ambrogio monks.[248] Abbot Peter may have been trying to exert his independence from Anspert, and in the light of this, Pope John's accusations about Anspert's deposition of Peter, and the probability that Anspert did not himself give any property to the monastery, his relationship with the monastery remains ambiguous.[249] Anspert died in December 881, as recorded on his burial stone, which still survives in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio where, rather ironically perhaps, he was buried near to Louis II (Figure 11).

> Hic iacet Anspertus, nostrae clarissimus urbis
> Antistites vita, voce, pudore, fide;
> Aequi sectator, turbae praelargus egenae,
> Effector voti propositique tenax.
>
> Moenia sollicitus commissae reddidit urbi
> Diruta: restituit de Stilichone domum.
> Quot sacras aedes quanto sudore refecit,
> Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores.
> Tum sancto Saturo templumque domumque dicavit,
> Dans sua sacrato praedia cuncta loco;
> Ut monachos pascant aeternis octo diebus,
> Ambrosium pro se qui Satyrum que rogent.

[248] Abbot Peter's control of the site becomes clearer in a grant made by King Arnulf in 894 of further land near Sant'Ambrogio: 'concedimus quoque et confirmamus supra taxato abbati et successoribus eius omnem integritatem ipsius monasteri usque ad murum eiusdem mediolanensis civitatis sicut modo parietibus circumdata esse videtur, ut nullus comes vel quelibet persona publicum ambulani ingressum exigere presumat' (*MD* 158). The implication is that the fortification of the monastery had been achieved. Sannazaro, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', p. 30 n. 5, demonstrates that it is not yet known archaeologically. As most bishops in the north of Italy had acquired or were about to acquire powers over their city walls, the fact that the archbishops of Milan apparently did not and that the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio acquired some rights to some parts of the wall is very important. Sennis, 'Narrating Places' has interesting reflections on the meaning of 'monastic space' in this period as does Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, pp. 134–64.

[249] Likewise his dealings with Hadericus, abbot of San Simpliciano, the subject of a long letter from John VIII to Anspert in February 881 pointing out that the monastery was under papal protection and therefore Anspert had no right to interfere in its affairs: Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, no. 269 (pp. 237–38). Padoa Schioppa, 'La giustizia ecclesiastica milanese nell'età di Ansperto', pp. 161–62.

Figure 11a. Funerary stone of Archbishop Anspert. Milan, Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio. Photo © Giovanni dall'Orto.
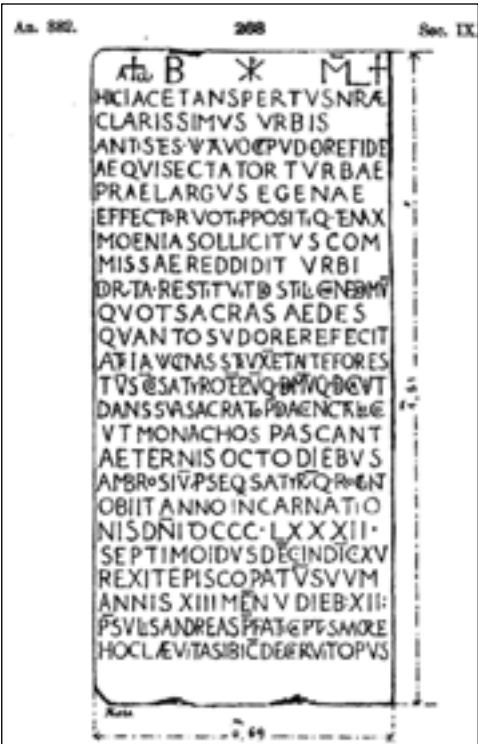
Figure 11b. Funerary stone of Archbishop Anspert. Copper engraving, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, ed. by V. Forcella (Milano: Tipografia Bortolotti di Giuseppe Prato, 1893), no. 268.

Obiit anno incarnationis domini
DCCCLXXXII septimo idus decembris indictione XV.
Rexit episcopatu suum annis XIII, mensibus V, diebus XII.
Praesulis Andreas praefati captus amore
Hoc laevita sibi condecoravit opus'.[250]

[250] Ambrosioni, 'Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores'; Petoletti, 'Copiare le epigrafe nel medio-evo'; and Petoletti, '"Urbs nostra", pp. 22, 32, 36, are by far the best discussions (cf. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, II, 325). The rather forlorn stone is now above the postcard stall immediately on the right as one enters the nave which is not its original position, which was more prominent. The text, given here from Tcherikover, '*Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores*', p. 6, with photograph of the stone, has been printed many times: Forcella, III, no. 268; *PLAC* IV, iii,

[Here lies Anspertus, the bishop of our city,
most distinguished
by his [way of] life, speech, modesty, faith;
an adherent of justice, generous to the
needy masses
a steadfast executor of his vow and plan.

He conscientiously restored the ruined
walls to the city entrusted to him,
rebuilt Stilicho's house;
with much labour he remade so many nearby
sacred edifices,
and built courts before [their] doors.
Then, he dedicated to St Satyrus both
church and *domus*,
giving all his estates to the consecrated
place
to sustain forever eight monks,
who would pray on his behalf to Ambrose
and Satyrus.

He died in the year of the incarnation 882,
on the 7th of the Ides of December,
the 15th indiction.
He ruled his diocese for 13 years,
5 months, 12 days.
The deacon Andreas,[251] for love of the said
bishop,
adorned this monument for him.][252]

Weak Kings and Powerful Abbots, 882–950

Anspert's successors Anselm II (882–96), Landulf I (896–99), and Andreas
(899–906) had to deal with an increasingly difficult political situation until

---

Epitaphia Mediolanensia, p. 1009; Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', n. 68. There is
a twelfth-century copy of the text on parchment in the Archivio Capitolare.

   [251] It is possible that Andreas *laevita* is the same person as Andreas *clericus* de Biassono
where Anspert was from, who appears in *MD* 146a of 882.

   [252] English translation from Tcherikover, '*Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores*', p. 6. An older
translation is by Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, pp. 550–51.

Berengar managed to stabilize his rule in 905.[253] This was the period of the so-called 'kinglets', the point when in traditional historiography the Carolingian family really began to lose its grip on northern Italy.[254] Simon MacLean has rightly pointed out that things were much more complex than that and revolved around the combination of particular political events and long-established notions of Carolingian legitimacy (or otherwise) largely propagated by Carolingians themselves.[255] Historians should always be wary of taking Carolingian claims made about Carolingians by their supporters at face value. A key player in this region was Bishop Liutward of Vercelli (880–900), Charles the Fat's archchancellor and archchaplain, whom the Annals of Fulda loved to hate.[256] The Milanese bishops at this period are colourless figures by comparison with this suffragan. Bishop Anselm was a supporter of Guy of Spoleto, who was elected king in 889 and made himself emperor in 891, even issuing capitularies in the old style.[257] Guy did not, it seems, issue any documents for Sant'Ambrogio, although he did issue documents for several churches within the archdiocese.[258] John VIII had written to Anselm in August 882 complaining about Guy's rapacious activities in central Italy but after that seems not to have written to Anselm again.[259] At the request of Archbishop Anselm in December 890 Guy issued a diploma to Aupald *archpresbiter* in which he conceded part

[253] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 169–71; MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century, pp. 70–79 (Berengar as marquis of Friuli), 180–85.*

[254] *AF s.a.* 888 (trans. by Reuter, p. 115).

[255] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 230–35, drawing on work by Stuart Airlie. Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962* is essential for this period.

[256] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 190–91. The extraordinary account of Liutward's fall from power in 887 supposedly provoked by his abduction of a nun, a relative of Count Unruoch, from San Salvatore in Brescia, seems likely to be exaggerated (*AF*, trans. by Reuter, pp. 101–02). Brescia was still an important political centre at this time. Charles the Fat had issued a diploma to San Salvatore on 10 February 887 (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, 156 (pp. 252–53), and the Bishop of Brescia was still Antonius I, the man who had tried to bury Louis II in Santa Maria in 875.

[257] Boretius and Krause, Capitulari regum Francorum, II, nos 222, 223, 224 (pp. 104–08); Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 232–43.

[258] San Pietro in Lodi, June 892 issued from Milan (Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Guido e Lamberto*, no. XIV); Santa Cristina in Corteolona, June 892, Pavia (Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Guido e Lamberto*, no. XV).

[259] Kehr, *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, no. 310 (p. 269) 'innumeras rapinas depraedationes et mala quamplurima'. He had earlier written to Anselm when he was archdeacon to try to get him to rein in Anspert: *MGH, Epist.* VII, no. 271 (pp. 239–40).

of the city wall to him: 'muro mediolanesis urbis intrinsecus, haud longe sitam pretaxati archiepiscopi domo inter duas turres, quibus subjacet pratum quod Aredei vocatur'.[260] Arnulf, Guy's Bavarian rival, invaded in 894 and in March probably issued a charter in favour of the monastery.[261] Guy died suddenly later in the year, but his son Lambert took his place (and also legislated in 898, the last to do so for many years in this region).[262] On 2 December 894 Berengar I issued a charter to the basilican clergy (a grant of an estate in Cornaredo, in the county of Stazona at the southern end of Lago Maggiore).[263] Arnulf invaded again in 895–96 but became ill and went back north leaving his young illegitimate son Ratold at Milan 'to receive the fidelity of the Italian people'.[264] In October 896 Lambert presided over a court case involving Sant'Ambrogio.[265] Berengar claimed the kingship, and as a result Maginfred, Count of Milan, a supporter of Guy like Archbishop Anselm, was killed by Lambert, and his son Hugh and son-in-law were blinded.[266] In February 898 Berengar issued a diploma from the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio.[267] Lambert died in October

[260] Schiaparelli, 'Il rotolo dell'archivio Capitolare di Novara', pp. 13–14, doc. 4 (= Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Guido e Lamberto*, doc. 3). Below, Chapter 5. On the intercessory roles of bishops, see Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, pp. 125–52.

[261] Kehr, *Arnolfi diplomata*, no. 123 (pp. 180–82) = *MD* 158, surviving in two tenth-century copies. Its authenticity has been often doubted, notably by Bognetti ('Terrore e sicurezza sotto re nostrani e sotto re stranieri', p. 827) who claimed it was a forgery made by the monks to demonstrate their ownership of the estate of *Palatiolo*, still in the possession of the Count of Milan in 900. It is certainly suspect, and may be modelled on the 873 diploma of Louis II. The claims regarding *Palatiolo* are interpolated. However, it is entirely plausible that Arnulf should have alienated rights over the city wall at this time, as this was something being done by rival claimants to the throne elsewhere at this point (Rossetti, 'Formazione, e caratteri della signoria di castello', p. 248). It is also worth noting that the Annals of Fulda (*AF s.a.* 894, trans. by Reuter, p. 127) record that the 'great towns' of Milan and Pavia surrendered to Arnulf at this time.

[262] Boretius and Krause, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ii, nos 225, 230; Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, pp. 242–51. *AF s.a.* 894 (trans. by Reuter, p. 129).

[263] Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario*, no. XIII, an original in the Archivio Capitolare (with a thirteenth-century copy in the State Archive, *MD* 159). The intercessor was Count Ermenulf, the commander of Berengar's army.

[264] *AF s.a.* 896 (trans. by Reuter, pp. 134–35).

[265] *MD* 160.

[266] *AF s.a.* 896 (trans. by Reuter, p. 135); Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 226–29. Maginfred's activities in Milan are examined further in Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', p. 557.

[267] 15 February 898 (Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario*, no. XIII/Cortesi, no. 200),

898 while hunting.[268] This left Berengar as sole king.[269] At the beginning of the year 900 the Hungarians invaded.[270]

These political events suggest that in the 890s Sant'Ambrogio did not do particularly well out of its dealings with kings of whatever origin. As circumstances changed so rapidly it was probably wise not to attach the community too obviously to one side or another. More oddly, relations with successive archbishops also seem to have been rather cool despite the fact that each of these three bishops was eventually buried at Sant'Ambrogio.[271] Anselm *may* have issued a *preceptum* for the community in 893, but the surviving copy is clearly interpolated and may indeed, as most have thought, be entirely false.[272] His successor Landulf chaired one of the monastery's disputes with Reichenau in October 896, before he was actually bishop (*vocatus archiepiscopus* as the document put it), but otherwise there is no genuine record of any association between them. Andreas in his will of 903 in favour of the nunnery of Santa Maria 'Wigilinda' mentioned that he had acquired a small chapel in Milan

'actum Mediolano in monasterio sancti Ambrosii'. The grant of property in Lugano was made to Ermenulf (*dilecti fideli nostro*), after a petition by Archbishop Landulf of Milan. This Ermenulf may be the same man as in the grant of 2 December 894.

[268] Regino *s.a.* 896 (trans. MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe*, p. 220); Liutprand, *Antapodosis* 1.42 (trans. Squatriti, pp. 69–70) claims he may have been murdered.

[269] Berengar's kingship has been reassessed in a more positive light than is common by Rosenwein, 'The Family Politics of Berengar I' and *Negotiating Space*, pp. 137–55. She has reconstructed Berengar's alliances in detail, showing that he did not give away property to all and sundry, as once thought, but to a very 'tight network' of associates. Milan was largely but not completely outside this network as the documents cited in this paragraph show.

[270] *AF*, trans. by Reuter, p. 140, which claims that they killed many Italian bishops.

[271] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 95. Anselm was buried, according to the late medieval espiscopal list, *iuxta altare sancte Marcelline*, possibly situated in the crypt (Picard, p. 97, who argues at pp. 382 and 627 that Anselm started the cult of Ambrose's sister Marcellina). The text of Landulf's epitaph has survived in a sixteenth-century manuscript (see Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 95 n. 272, and *PLAC*, IV.3, 1009–10).

[272] *MD* 157, twelfth-century copy (AdSM sec. IX 116). Natale argued that it does contain some genuine material as does Zagni, 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–IX', pp. 15–17. Anselm II was the dedicatee of the canon law collection known as *Collectio Anselmi Dedicata*: Scaravelli, 'La collezione canonica Anselmo dedicata'. The earliest surviving manuscript is at Vercelli, although written in Milan (Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli, cod. XV. Scaravelli (at p. 48) speculates plausibly that it may have been connected with two bishops of Vercelli: Liutward, whose superior Anselm II was, and Atto, who was clearly interested in such material.

from Abbot Gaidulf.[273] He also chaired a court case involving the monastery in July 905.[274] Indeed throughout the late ninth century the monks were repeatedly involved in disputes, mostly in Limonta but also in Cologno,[275] which can be explained in part by the uncertain political situation but also by the monastery's own increasingly dominant position on the ground in these places. Abbot Peter II continued to organize monastic property dealing with other churches (885, Gerardus, Bishop of Lodi; 885, San Giuliano, near Cologno; 892, San Giovanni, Monza), but also with laymen (882, a purchase in Cologno; 897, an exchange in Gnignano and, surprisingly, a *libellus* in Bozzolo, near Modena). He died in 899, having ruled the monastery for a remarkable forty-five years.[276]

Archbishop Aicho (March 906–September 918), who succeeded Andreas, did not make any direct grant to the monastery although he too was present at several crucial court cases involving the monastery's estates at Limonta in July 905 (as *diaconus* held at the monastery's *villa* in Bellano) and 908 (chaired by King Berengar in Pavia).[277] But his only recorded property dealings are with Petronax *humilis clericus* son of Maternus of Milan, who termed the archbishop his *senior* in the charters.[278] After this the archbishops seem to have had no direct contact with the monastery at all for many decades, for there is not a single charter recording contact between the two sides between the start of Warimbert's pontificate in December 918 and the end of Walpert's in November 970. Abbots Rachibert and Aupald occasionally transacted with deacons and priests from the cathedral and other churches, but not with the

---

[273] *CDL* 402, probably a contemporary copy (although in the older literature usually assigned to the twelfth century). See Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 96 (wrongly citing it as number 302 in n. 275) and p. 376 where he argues that Andreas founded the new *xenodochium* of St Raphael near the cathedral so that the right sort of prayers could be said for him, by the noble cathedral clergy. He discusses the early tenth-century pattern of episcopal foundations of *xenodochia* at pp. 373–85. Cf. Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', pp. 547–50.

[274] Andreas was also the intercessor in a grant (11 March 900) made by Berengar I to Abbess Risinda of S. Maria Theodota: Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario*, no. 30.

[275] *MD* 146 and 146a (882, Limonta); 156 (892, Cologno); 160 (896, Limonta); *CDL* 416 and 417 (905, Limonta).

[276] His epitaph: Forcella, III, no. 270, p. 210.

[277] *CDL* 416 = Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 117; *CDL* 427 = Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 122. Aicho was present in Pavia on 9 June 912 at a case involving the church of Reggio: Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario*, no. 83.

[278] *CDL* 457 (March 915, eleventh-century copy); *CDL* 465 (October 915, also eleventh-century). The inclusion of *senior* is probably due to eleventh-century interpolation.

archbishops in person.[279] Many more of the charters of this period show these abbots dealing with laymen (and more rarely women).[280] Furthermore, none of these mid- tenth-century bishops were buried in Sant'Ambrogio. Obviously, this 'divorce' between the monastery and the archbishops — if that is what it was — needs to be explained.

Warimbert (December 918 – August 921) first appears in the testament of his uncle Archbishop Andreas (11 January 903) as rector of the *xeno-dochium* which Andreas was setting up.[281] He was buried in the baptistry of Santo Stefano *ad fonti*, the font of the ninth-century cathedral of Santa Maria, which may have been situated near the hostel.[282] Otherwise his activities are unrecorded.[283] Lambert (October 921 – June 931) bought land in Niguarda from the widow Adelberga (10 June 929),[284] and featured as something of a villain in Liutprand's *Antapodosis*. In *Antapodosis* III 12–14 Liutprand acknowledged the importance of Milan when he suggested that it was Archbishop Lambert of Milan who invited Hugh — 'the most powerful and wise count of the Provencals' — to invade Italy and take the kingdom from King Rudolf.[285] Liutprand may have been right, as Lambert's role in Hugh's grant in favour of the nunnery of San Sisto in Piacenza on 3 September 926 suggests. This was

[279] *CDL* 923 (May 923), an exchange with Adelbert, *diaconus*; *CDL* 602 (953) and 612 (January 957), with Ambrosius, *presbiter de ordine sancte mediolanensis ecclesiae*; *CDL* 671 (June 963), with Stefanus, *presbiter*.

[280] See below, Chapter 10.

[281] *CDL* 402 (not 302 as in Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 105).

[282] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 104–05, argues that there was no link between Santo Stefano and the *xenodochium* and chapel of San Raffaelo. While this may be topographically true, surely the family link is important? The font is still visible today under the sacristy of the present Duomo.

[283] He is not discussed by Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano'.

[284] *CDL* 531 (an eleventh-century copy): Lambert was described as 'son of Warimbert' in this text, possibly a relative of the deacon Warimbert who appeared in Archbishop Andreas's will of 903 who was himself archbishop between 918 and 921 (the name is rare in these charters). This deacon could also have been the bishop's father. This transaction was presided over by Lanfranc *iudex et missus domni regis* who may be the same man as Lanfranc *nobilis* who petioned Hugh and Lothar on behalf of Garibert *vassus* on 12 May 935. This archbishop was buried in the cathedral of Santa Maria.

[285] Lambert had been intercessor in four of Rudolf's Italian charters: 4 February 922 (in favour of the abbey of Berceto); 3 December 922 (in favour of the church of Bergamo); 12 November 924 (nunnery of San Sisto, Piacenza); and 924 (undated, for Bishop Guy of Piacenza): Schiaparelli, *I diplomi italiani di Lodovico 3. e di Rodolfo 2*, docs 1, 2, 8, and 11.

the king's second Italian charter, and the nunnery was an important site of commemoration of earlier Italian rulers, especially Louis II and his powerful wife Angilberga, but also Hugh's grandfather Lothar II who was buried there.[286] Lambert was also given a prominent role in the fascinating narrative of the *Miracula sancti Columbani* which related how the bones of Columbanus helped to defeat Hugh's local enemies at the outset of his reign in a spectacular ritual perambulation from the monastery at Bobbio to the royal chapel in Pavia and back again.[287] Liutprand even suggested that Archbishop Lambert ('ut erat ingenio callens' 'who was a man of shrewd wit') deliberately allowed Burchard of Swabia — who had arrived in Milan at Rudolf's request to help him — to hunt in his hunting reserve, with a view to having him killed (which in the event happened at Novara instead).[288]

Lambert was buried somewhere in Santa Maria itself, as was his successor Hilduin (June 931 – July 936).[289] Hilduin was appointed to the see by King Hugh (926–47, d. 948) a relative of his who also appointed Rather to Verona at the same time.[290] Arderic (August 936 – October 948) was again imposed on the see by King Hugh. According to Liutprand, Hugh had intended to place his own son Tedbald in the see and had him ordained archdeacon so he could then be elected archbishop.[291] But Arderic lived much longer than Hugh expected, indeed outliving Hugh himself. He was buried at San Nazaro in the chapel of San Lino which he seems to have built for this purpose.[292] Upon Arderic's

---

[286] Cimino, 'Angelberga'.

[287] Bougard, 'La Relique au procès', p. 40; Taylor, 'Miracula, Saints' Cults and Socio-Political Landscapes', pp. 51–112; O'Hara and Taylor, 'Aristocratic and Monastic Conflict in Tenth-Century Italy', pp. 49–50.

[288] Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* III.14–15.

[289] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 102–03.

[290] Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* III.42 (*Opera omnia*, ed. by Chiesa, p. 89); Rather of Verona, in a letter to Pope Agapetus II (October/November 951) outlined the circumstances surrounding Hilduin's appointment to Milan (Reid, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, pp. 224–25). Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', pp. 93–95, on Hugh's appointments; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 507 and 512; Balzaretti, 'Narratives of Success and Narratives of Failure', pp. 190–91.

[291] *Antapodosis* IV. 14 (Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Chiesa, p. 105), a story reproduced by Arnulf of Milan (*Liber gestorum recentium* 2, ed. by Zey, p. 120), who may have known Liutprand's version as the story is not recorded elsewhere.

[292] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 105; Violante, 'Arderico'; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 507–08. Linus was one of the earliest popes, traditionally the second bishop of Rome, and this dedication in Milan which was conceived by

death, Hugh's son Lothar (d. 950) appointed his cousin Manasses who was subsequently supported by Berengar II and Otto I. Manasses had previously been Bishop of Trento and Verona, where he had replaced Rather.[293] His elevation provoked a schism in Milan with the rival election of the Milanese priest Adelmanus, from within the cathedral clergy. Violante argued that this was the result of a backlash by the people of Milan against another externally imposed bishop, picking up on the chronicler Arnulf's later eleventh-century claim that Adelmanus was not an aristocrat. Adelmanus was buried in San Giorgio *ad puteum blanchum* when he died in December 956, no longer archbishop.[294] Walpert (953 – November 970) too was a member of the cathedral clergy, and perhaps for this reason his will of February 961 did not directly involve Sant'Ambrogio.[295]

Hugh, Lothar, and the 'Outstanding City' of Milan

In August 942, while Arderic was still archbishop and Aupald abbot, Hugh and Lothar issued a diploma in favour of Sant'Ambrogio, a *pro remedio* grant for their souls and that of Bertha, Hugh's mother, who was possibly buried in the basilica.[296] It is a particularly solemn charter, its arenga quoting Psalm 86. 6 ('I said: You are gods, and all of you are sons of the most high') and Psalm 48. 13, 21 ('And man, when he was held in honour, did not understand. He has been compared to the senseless beasts, and has become like them'). They granted the community three large new estates: San Germano ('Pasiliano'), Felizzano, and 'Monte' (near Valenza Po), located in the Monferrato between Asti and Casale Monferrato.[297] This was in a far-distant area in which the monastery did

---

many as the second city after Rome could have had some political purpose.

[293] Bougard, 'Manasse'; Leyser, 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona', pp. 798–99, 808–10.

[294] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 106; Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, I, 183–86. The church was destroyed in 1787, but fragments of his burial stone and inscription (Latuada, p. 184; Forcella, III, no. 272) have survived.

[295] Strangely, Picard does not discuss his burial place. Arnulf of Milan suggested that Walpert coped wisely with the schism between Manasses and Adelbert: 'Amidst these currents, Walpert swam cautiously, drawing people to his side like waves of counsel, so that after both (of the candidates) ceded either voluntarily or under compulsion, he might hold the see alone' (*Liber gestorum recentium* I.4, trans. by North, p. 7).

[296] Forcella, III, no. 271: 'Hic Bertae reginae ossa'. This is probably not authentic, however. Marrocchi, 'Lotario II Re d'Italia'. Lothar was the great-great-grandson of Lothar I.

[297] *CDL* 570 = Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario*, no. 64, pp. 189–93, surviving in

not already have property. Lothar's connection with the community is worth exploring further in the light of a little-noticed event recalled by Liutprand of Cremona in *Antapodosis* V 28:

> Lothario denique Mediolanium petente rex Hugo Papia omni cum pecunia egressus Italiam deserere atque in Burgundiam cogitavit. Sed res eum ista retinuit, quoniam, dum misericordia inclinati Lotharium in ecclesia beatorum confessoris et martyrum Ambrosii, Gervasii et Protasii ante crucem prostratum erigerent regemque sibi constituerent, quam mox post Hugonem dirigunt nuntium, cui se iterum super eos regnaturum promittunt.

> [Then, while Lothar made his way to Milan, Hugh left Pavia with all his money and prepared to abandon Italy and go to Burgundy. One thing however stopped him. When Lothar prostrated himself before the cross in the church of the blessed confessor Ambrose and the blessed martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, the people were seized with compassion for him, and raising him up proclaimed him as king, while they also sent a messenger immediately after Hugh, promising that he should rule over them again.][298]

This event is important because Lothar went to the extramural church of Sant'Ambrogio rather than to any other church in Milan to pray, presumably because of the enormous spiritual power represented by Ambrose (and the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius), but also perhaps because his Carolingian forebears were buried there. If the archbishops were the sole focus of power in Milan, as much of the historiography of tenth-century Milan would have us think, why did he not go to the cathedral? Liutprand provided the answer in his previous chapter: Archbishop Arderic had already invited Berengar, Hugh and Lothar's rival, to Milan. Liutprand reveals in a way that Arnulf's account of the same period never does that in addition to the well-known mid-century archiepiscopal schism, there may well have been other rival spaces of authority in Milan at this time.[299] The point is reinforced because no archbishop of Milan was buried at Sant'Ambrogio in the tenth century (with the exception

---

an eleventh-century copy (AdSM sec. X 45/185). Schiaparelli defended the authenticity of this document both in terms of diplomatic and content (p. 191). S. Germano and Felizzano had been inherited from Berta. Rondini, 'L'espansione territoriale del monastero di S. Ambrogio di Milano nella zona pedemontana', pp. 429–30. Cf. Vignodelli, 'La competizione per i beni fiscali' (not discussing this particular diploma).

[298] Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Chiesa, p. 140; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 190–91.

[299] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* and Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano'. See also the acute commentary of Ottonian activities in Italy in MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, pp. 95–126, which makes substantial use of Liutprand's evidence.

of Andreas, who died in 906), whereas most of them had been in the ninth century. Further, Lothar himself was buried in Sant'Ambrogio when he died in November 950 in the middle of the ongoing schism. He was laid to rest alongside his illustrious Carolingian royal predecessors Pippin and Louis II, and perhaps Bernard and his own grandmother Bertha, in the chapel dedicated to Mary, Jacob, and George which he had built there, as is clear from a grant made to the monastic community by Otto I in February 952, at the request of his new wife Adelaide, Lothar's widow.[300]

Before considering the monastic community in more detail, it is worth making further comparisons between Liutprand's and Arnulf's accounts of tenth-century Milan. Liutprand's account is, of course, only implicit in his *Antapodosis*. He seems to have known a fair bit about the city and, as might be expected from a son of nearby Pavia, was fairly hostile to it. Like Arnulf he was mostly interested in the activities of the city's bishops, although in fact he referred to only four of the nine archbishops he dealt with in the period covered by his work: Lambert, Hilduin, Manasses, and Arderic, each shown to have taken a full part in the unstable politics of the time.[301] Lambert, who was at the forefront of the rebellion against Berengar I, had resentfully paid King Hugh over the odds to become archbishop (*Antapodosis* II 57),[302] and may have been implicated in the death of Burchard, Duke of Swabia, father-in-law of Rudolf of Burgundy (III 14). Hilduin, a relation by marriage of Hugh of Provence, was made archbishop by Hugh when Rather was made Bishop of Verona for the first time (III 42).[303] Liutprand remarks that Hilduin was a monk, perhaps a pointed comment given that archbishops of Milan were generally not monks but drawn from the cathedral clergy and often deacons like himself.[304] Manasses and Arderic were both supporters of Berengar of Ivrea

---

[300] *CDL* 299 = Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 145 (pp. 225–26), preserved in an eleventh-century copy: 'pro remedio animae quondam predecessoris nostri regis Lotharii in prefato monasterio ius et dominium omne transfundimus et delegamus, ut in capella quae est in honore beatae Mariae et sancti Iacobi apostoli atque sancti Georgii martyris consecrata infra dictam beati Ambrosii ecclesiam, in qua iam dictus Lotharius humatus quiescit, a predicti monasterii monachis cottidiana luminaria reparentur et ecclesiastica officia iugiter celebrentur'.

[301] Cf. Leyser, 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona' for the argument that being a bishop at this time was a career (e.g. at p. 816).

[302] Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Chiesa, p. 58: 'non parvam ab eo rex Berengarius contra sanctorum instituta patrum pecuniam exigebat'.

[303] Gnocchi, 'Ilduino'.

[304] Ordained monks were on the rise across Europe in this period: Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 90–91.

(who had once been Count of Milan). Liutprand made his views about the money-grabbing Manasses very clear both here and in the *Historia Ottonis*.[305] Berengar, because of his love (*amor*) for Arderic, did not appoint Manasses's associate Adelard to be Bishop of Como, as he had earlier promised. Alongside the bishops, Liutprand set the powerful body of free men (or citizens), as evidenced by his use of *Mediolanenses* on two occasions. In *Antapodosis* I 24 he claimed that the *Mediolanenses* sent an embassy to Arnulf of Bavaria to persuade him against attacking the city.[306] In III 14 Burchard of Swabia hoped to defeat the *Mediolanenses* by using the great extramural imperial church of San Lorenzo as a fortress. How should this word be interpreted?[307] Does it mean 'the people of Milan', 'the Milanesi', the 'chief men of Milan'? Whichever meaning is chosen, by using this noun Liutprand clearly wanted to suggest some sort of collective activity on the part of the male inhabitants of Milan.[308]

   Liutprand therefore seems to have regarded kings, archbishops, and the inhabitants of Milan as the main actors in the city's life. Turning to Arnulf who wrote his *Liber gestorum recentium* over a hundred years later in the 1070s, it is clear that he looked at the city's history in exactly the same terms.[309] Book I of Arnulf's episcopal history covered the years 926 to 1018, from the episcopate of Lambert to that of Arnulf II.[310] This was a time before Arnulf was alive, and he had to compile his account from other written sources and local memory. In Chapter 10 he discussed the rebellion of the *cives* of Milan against Archbishop Landulf II (December 982 to March 998). In order to re-establish himself as bishop Landulf had to give property to these men in 983: 'quamobrem ecclesie facultates et multa clericorum distribuit militibus beneficia' (for which reason he distributed much church property to the clergy and benefices

[305] Leyser, 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona', pp. 807–10; Bougard, 'Manasse'; MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, p. 136.

[306] Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera omnia*, ed. by Chiesa, p. 21; Gandino, *Il vocabolario politico e sociale di Liutprando*, p. 282.

[307] Cf. Houghton, 'The Vocabulary of Groups', pp. 453–56, and Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe*, pp. 158–68.

[308] Cf. Genoa: Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, p. 106. 'Citizens' of Mantua (*cives*) are referred to in a charter of Lothar II (Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario*, no. 16); Houghton, 'The Vocabulary of Groups', p. 472.

[309] Stock, *The Implications of Literacy*, pp. 163–74; Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, pp. 21–29.

[310] Demarchi, 'Il Libro di preghiere di Arnolfo II come compendio di milanesità', pp. 135–40, on the peculiarly Milanese qualities of this bishop's prayer book.

to the *milites*).[311] This short sentence with its reference to *milites* ('knights'?) has been extensively discussed in the literature, in complete contrast to Lothar's visit to Sant'Ambrogio, recorded only by Liutprand. An earlier generation of historians did this because Arnulf's phrase was seen as reporting on the development of feudalism within the city,[312] and Arnulf was a 'reliable' historian rather than a Liutprandian 'gossip'. Violante devoted ten pages this issue.[313] However, there is an obvious problem with Arnulf's evidence (and Landulf Senior's, also used in this way, whether or not he was contemporary of Arnulf, as Jörg Busch has argued or a later writer):[314] it was written about a hundred years after the event in the context of the late eleventh century. There are in fact no contemporary local charters recording such benefices in Milan during Landulf's twenty years as bishop, even though around forty charters have indeed survived for this period.

Violante (and Hagen Keller also) concentrated their discussions on the relationship between the archbishops and their lay followers — the *capitanei* and the lesser ranking *valvassores* (both eleventh-century terms). Neither group was homogeneous, as Keller showed, and during the eleventh century they helped to create a 'political community covering the whole city territory'.[315] But scholars have neglected the abbots and monks of Sant'Ambrogio in their characterization of 'feudal Milan', sometimes drawing overly crude distinctions between 'lay' and 'ecclesiastical' in the process. The monastery of Sant'Ambrogio interacted with people from a wide range of social groups, and as the case studies in the following chapters demonstrate, both village and family politics were vital in the transfer and exploitation of land at this time. This must have been the case for the bishop and other great magnates too, although in the case of Milan these processes are unfortunately far less well documented. Higher up the social scale clienteles were formed. The abbots worked hard to maintain their relationships with the powerful: they did not lease out property in the late tenth century as the archbishops *may* have done and did not lose property as many other churches did at this time. They had many vassals to support and protect them, mostly city dwellers in the tenth century (merchants, judges) rather than those

[311] Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. by Zey, p. 131. Cf. Keller, *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien: 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, pp. 26, 50, and Fouracre, 'The Use of the Term *beneficium* in Frankish Sources', pp. 68–74.

[312] Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, pp. 199–204.

[313] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 178–89.

[314] Busch, 'Landulfi senioris *Historia Mediolanensis*'.

[315] Keller, *Signori e vassalli nell'Italia delle città*, pp. 281–95. The quotation is from Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 523.

who lived exclusively in the country, which had been the case in the ninth.[316] Crucially, the archbishops seem to have ceased to support the monastery as they neither made any major grants to the community nor were buried there in the tenth century as had been the case in the ninth century. Additionally — as Violante did discuss — many tenth-century archbishops founded new monastic communities: Santa Maria 'Gisonis', Santa Maria 'Wigilinda' and San Celso, to which they gave their support.[317] In contrast, royal interest in Sant'Ambrogio as a royal church continued, as the confirmations and new grants of Hugh and Lothar, Berengar, Otto I, and Otto III show.

The evidence therefore suggests that the abbots of Sant'Ambrogio may have freed themselves from the bishop's institutional power during the tenth century. After the demise of Manasses (in 962 or 963) both the abbots and bishops were drawn from within the local church, rather than imposed from outside as had happened under the Carolingians and their tenth-century successors. But still many monks were priests, perhaps with pastoral roles in local society. Abbot Aupald (936–64) was perhaps the most successful in this period,[318] and he became Bishop of Novara in 964.[319] He appeared in eighteen local charters, mostly overseeing further consolidation of monastic property. He was the recipient of two diplomas from Otto I confirming royal protection and immunity.[320] He had plenty of vassals, especially the latter part of his tenure (a pattern found by Sergi for other abbots 'feeling their way', as he put it).[321] Some *vassi* were judges (Petrus, Heberundus, Giselbert 'Getzo') or merchants, and some transferred their loyalty from one abbot to the next. They tended to witness documents in groups, but only charters where the abbot was directly and personally involved. It can therefore be suggested taking all this evidence together that abbots and monks were fully involved in Violante's 'new society'.

---

[316] Sergi, 'I rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari', pp. 145–60, and Keller, *Signori e vassalli nell'Italia delle città*, pp. 271–75. The abbots of Sant'Ambrogio seem to have had unusually large numbers of vassals (Sergi, p. 144).

[317] Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 691–93, considers how relationships between bishops and such churches changed over time.

[318] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 298–301.

[319] In 972 Otto I and Otto II confirmed the immunity of the bishopric of Novara (Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 414, pp. 565–67) to 'Aupaldus Novariae civitatis venerabilis praesul nosterque dilectus fidelis'.

[320] Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, nos 138 (pp. 217–18) and 145 (pp. 225–26).

[321] Sergi, 'I rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari', p. 158.

Ottonian Milan

On 10 October 951 Otto I, who had only recently become King of Italy, issued a charter of immunity to Sant'Ambrogio from Pavia.[322] This was done at the request of Otto's brother, Brun, his powerful chancellor and with the consent of Manasses, his arch-chancellor.[323] The following year on 15 February 952 Otto granted rights to the Milan market — right in the city centre — to Sant'Ambrogio.[324] Again this was done at the request of Brun, and this time also of Queen Adelheid.[325] Manasses again consented. Otto ruled northern Italy in part through Berengar II, who occasionally made his presence felt in the city. Archbishop Walpert of Milan, along with other magnates, fled from persecution by Berengar to Otto in 960, according to the accounts of both Liutprand of Cremona (*Historia Ottonis*, ch. 1) and Adalbert of Magdeburg (Continuation, s.a. 960).[326] Otto issued only those two charters for Sant'Ambrogio, but he also wrote to Walpert (perhaps in 969) advising him to call a synod in Milan to implement the decision of a recent Roman synod to merge the diocese of Alba with that of Asti. Bishop Liutprand of Cremona was to be sent to Walpert as Otto's representative.[327] On 30 July 972 Otto was in Milan with his seventeen-

---

[322] Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 138 (an original); Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 169; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 515–16.

[323] Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, pp. 99–114, pointing out that Brun was the principal intercessor under Otto I (p. 39).

[324] Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 145 (an eleventh-century copy); Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 516.

[325] Uhlirz, 'Die rechtliche Stellung der Kaiserinwitwe Adelheid'; Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, pp. 33–35, 114–24; MacLean, *Ottonian Queenship*, p. 109.

[326] 'Waltbert archbishop of Milan, Waldo bishop of Como and the *marchio* Otbert also approached the king in Saxony as fugitives from Berengar. But almost all the other counts and bishops in Italy sent letters or messengers to Otto, entreating him to come and liberate him' (trans. MacLean, *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe*, p. 260); 'Waldpert, the venerable archbishop of the holy church of Mian, having escaped half-dead from the mad rage of the aforesaid Berengar and Adalbert, sought the powerful protection of [...] Otto [...] declaring he could not longer bear or submit to the cruelty of Berengar, Adalbert and Willa, who contrary to all human and divine law had appointed Manasses Bishop of Arles to the see of Milan. He said that it was a calamity for his church thus to intercept a right that belonged to him and to his people' (Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis*, ch. 1, trans. by Wright, *Works of Liudprand*, p. 215).

[327] 'Liutprandum Cremonensem episcopum nostrum nuncium' (Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 374).

year-old son Otto when they were present in person at a court hearing held in the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio,[328] and issued a confirmation to the abbey of Bobbio of its existing rights.[329] Otto II did not issue any diplomas in favour of Sant'Ambrogio, but once again at the very end of the tenth century his son Otto III did.

Otto III's reign in Italy is of course much discussed by modern historians, but locally in Milan he seems to have made relatively little impact.[330] The Milanese Arnulf's account of his reign is focused entirely on Rome.[331] Nevertheless, the adolescent Otto (b. 980) issued two (or possibly three) diplomas in favour of Sant'Ambrogio. The first (8 February 997) was issued in the presence of Archbishop Landulf II, and confirmed the monastery's possession of the three estates donated by Hugh and Lothar.[332] A second document (ostensibly 5 January 998) was made at the intercession of Duke Otto (probably Otto of Carinthia) but is probably a fake.[333] The final document (undated, as the date clause is missing from the original, but probably *c*. 998) took the monks under Otto's protection, because the community had fallen on hard times (*multa infortunia sustinerent*).[334] The king also confirmed the estates of Pasiliano and Monte first granted by Hugh and Lothar.[335] He additionally

[328] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, II, no. 171, pp. 120–22: 'Dum in Dei nomine ad monasterio sancti Ambrosii, ubi dominus Otto et item Otto imperatores preerant, in laubia copate Reges eclesie, per data licentia domni Arnulfi archiepiscopi sancte Mediolanensis eclesie'.

[329] Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 412: 'actum Mediolani in monasterio sancti Ambrosii'.

[330] Althoff, *Otto III*, pp. 59–65, 72–86, 108–31. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 438, makes the point that each of the Ottonian rulers were fairly ineffectual in Italy.

[331] Arnulf, *Liber gestorum recentium*, I.11–14.

[332] Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 237, pp. 652–53 (an original). Bishop Peter of Como subscribed as Otto's arch-chancellor. This will have no doubt been agreed while Otto attended the Synod of Pavia held earlier in February.

[333] Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 265, pp. 682–83 ('of dubious validity' according to the editors). According to this text the king took the monks under his protection and confirmed in detail Sant'Ambrogio's rights over Limonta and neighbouring estates. The level of detail in the text suggests later interpolation to increase the monks' power over its tenants. It seems to have used the following document as its model.

[334] Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 266, pp. 683–84 (an original). Bishop Peter of Como again subscribed.

[335] 'cum castellis et capellis duabus, unam in honorem sancti Eusebii dicatam, alteram in honorem sancti Vigilii confessoris et cum rupibus et vallibus piscationibus aquarumque decursibus molendinis pascuis pratis silvis paludibus coltibus campis et incoltibus omnibusque rebus

confirmed Limonta, the villa called Alba, two *mansi* in Quarto, Cavenago, *Verederio*, and *Oleoducto*.

During the long period of Ottonian political supremacy in Italy there were only four abbots of Sant'Ambrogio, of whom the best documented remains Aupald (who ceased his office in 964). Peter III, Gaidoald, and Odelricus are less well evidenced than him,[336] partly because the types of charter preserved in this collection change in the latter half of the tenth century. Transactions in which both parties were 'lay' increase significantly in number, and these *apparently* did not involve churches at all. This could indicate that the monastic community lost political importance at this time — which might be the 'hard times' mentioned by the monks in Otto III's final charter in favour of them — and that benefactors had turned their attentions elsewhere, notably to urban churches. It could equally mean that Sant'Ambrogio's position was in fact very strongly established and there was less need to acquire new land. 'Hard times' could also be the monks deliberately casting themselves as victims for some political gain.

Otto and his family appear to have focused their patronage on bricks and mortar rather than land.[337] The ancient Ambrosian basilica seems to have attracted them as a site of intense holiness just as it had attracted Carolingians in the century before.[338] Parts of the interior were embellished, notably the impressive *ciborium* covering the golden altar which was completely remodelled in this period, with splendid stuccos.[339] The interpretation of these has proved controversial. Percy Schramm made the interesting suggestion that the four lay figures were Hugh, Lothar, Bertha, and Adelheid, but this has not been generally accepted. Carlo Bertelli, who oversaw the restoration of the ciborium

---

ac familiis ad predictas pertientibus in integrum cortes' (with fortifications and two chapels, one in honour of Saint Eusebius, the other in honour of the confessor Saint Vigilius, and with the rocks and valleys, fishing and water rights, mills, pastures, meadows, woods, marches, fields cultivated and uncultivated, and everything else, and those servants pertaining to those estates).

[336] Once again suffragans could be better evidenced: MacKie, 'Warmundus of Ivrea', which gives a good idea of the extent of one bishop's patronage of liturgical manuscripts.

[337] McClendon, 'Church Building in Northern Italy around the Year 1000', pp. 227–30, discusses the very late tenth-century rebuilding of the east end of Sant'Ambrogio to make it more contemporary in style, with comparisions with the churches and free-standing baptisteries of this period at Agliate and Galliano north of Milan. These initiatives came from within the Milanese church rather than as a result of royal patronage.

[338] Bertelli, 'Sant'Ambrogio da Angilberto II a Gotofredo'.

[339] Foletti, 'Il ciborio di Sant'Ambrogio tra passato (e futuro)', pp. 101–05 for images.

in the late 1970s, has argued that the scenes represent the power of the arch-
bishops of Milan rather than the Ottonian family, but given the lack of interest
shown by the bishops in the charter evidence this may be an unconvincing con-
clusion.[340] In the opinion of Paolo Tomea, expressed in a very thorough study,
the four scenes represent (1) the enthroned Christ giving the keys to Peter and
the laws to Paul (facing west, the congregation);[341] (2) Ambrose being made
bishop, together with Saints Gervasius and Protasius, and two clerics, prob-
ably the archbishop, who is presenting a model of the *ciborium* to Ambrose,
and a deacon (facing east, the clergy and the apse);[342] (3) a bishop, crowned
by the hand of God, with two lay figures, probably Otto I and Otto II (facing
south);[343] and (4) the Virgin Mary, with two female figures, possibly Adelheid
and Theophanu (facing north).[344] Two scenes may therefore represent Otto I
and Otto II, and Adelheid and Theophanu.[345] There is ongoing dispute about
who commissioned them as well, but the likelihood is a combination of royal
and episcopal patronage given the quality and cost of the work. Other new
embellishments were made to the presbitery at this time and continued into
the first years of the eleventh century.[346] Further evidence of Ottonian patron-
age is provided by several costly ivory objects produced in Milan in *c.* 979–80,

[340] Bertelli, *Il Ciborio della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*. Cf. Bougard, 'Du centre à
la périphérie'.

[341] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro* di Sant'Ambrogio, p. 139, fig. 28; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e
coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 553.

[342] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro* di Sant'Ambrogio, p. 140, fig. 30; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e
coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, p. 554.

[343] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro* di Sant'Ambrogio, p. 139, fig. 29; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica
e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 553–54. Bertelli has seen these as two generic
monarchs.

[344] Capponi, *L'altare d'oro* di Sant'Ambrogio, p. 142, fig. 31; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e
coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 555–58. Some have identified these two figures
as monks.

[345] There is a good brief account in Capponi, *La Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*,
pp. 45–47 (by S. Lomartire), which follows Adriano Peroni's dating of the images to between
968 and 973 under Archbishop Arnulf I. Tomea's lengthier discussion is less certain about that
but clear that the work is Ottonian: *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel
medioevo*, pp. 550–79; as is Little, 'From Milan to Magdeburg' and 'Avori milanesi del x secolo'.
The views of Valenziano, '"Sublime altare tuum"', pp. 134–42, based on a liturgical interpreta-
tion of the iconography, are interesting but make some assumptions which seem hard to prove,
in particular that the object is definitely connected with the monks of Sant'Ambrogio.

[346] Rossi, 'Maestranze pittoriche lombarde agli inizi dell'xi secolo', p. 272.

two *situlae* (ceremonial buckets) including the 'Basilewsky' and another commissioned by Archbishop Godefred for the coronation of Otto II in 980, and a plaque representing Otto *imperator*, Theophanu, and his son Otto before Christ, together with Mary and St Maurice.[347] All three objects are stylistically related, and probably they were produced in Milan for the visit of Otto II and his family in 980.[348] A whole new Ottonian story has been suggested by recent archaeological work at San Lorenzo Maggiore demonstrating significant tenth-century structural additions to that church, which can probably also be attributed to Ottonian patronage.[349]

Looking back over the 250-year time span covered in this chapter, there is clear evidence that some Lombards made donations to those who serviced the great basilica church of Ambrose, which is good evidence that the Carolingian foundation of a monastic community alongside the church did not come entirely out of the blue. Even so it can be argued that the story of patronage considered in this chapter really begins with the moment of Charlemagne's intervention in favour of the monks of Sant'Ambrogio in 790, as from then on the community was patronized in various ways by successive kings. This meant that Sant'Ambrogio was the richest monastic community in Milan throughout this period and the only one with meaningful *Königsnahe*. The burial of Pippin in the basilica in 810 must have added lustre to this established connection, whereas the (possible) burial of Bernard after his execution for treason would certainly not have done. Another turning point, perhaps as significant as the initial foundation, came in 835 when Lothar granted the community some notably valuable estates from the fisc which it continued to exploit for centuries to come. After this, royal donations lessened but the connection with kings continued to develop. In the year 873, the monastic community finally became a royal monastery, immune and under the protection of Louis II and his wife Angilberga. Two years later when the emperor died in August 875, the pull of this site of memory was such that Louis was buried in the basilica. The author of this event, Archbishop Anspert, was buried there too when his turn came in 882. After the death of Louis, rival kings continued to show interest in

---

[347] Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, figs 19, 20, and 21 between pp. 558–59.

[348] See the Victoria and Albert Museum database entry for the Basilewsky situla at <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O93850/the-basilewsky-situla-situla-unknown/> [accessed 27 June 2013].

[349] Fieni, 'Indagine archeologico archaeometrica sulla basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano', pp. 71, 77.

the community, but the level of their patronage lessened as their interests lay elsewhere, to the east or south of Milan and its region.

The monks' landed patrimony, much of it achieved with the donations and political help of Frankish and other northern royal *fideles*, existed alongside the increasingly lavish cult of Ambrose, exemplified by the donation of the golden altar by Angilbert, the reburial of the saint's relics in a late antique sarcophagus, and the rewriting of the saint's life to conform to contemporary political and spiritual agendas. The basilica church as a burial place of saints and kings functioned as the principal burial place for Milanese archbishops — notably the domineering Anspert — in the ninth century, but in the tenth this ceased, perhaps as the bishops became more politically powerful and in some senses less dependent on their association with Ambrose. Kings in that period still confirmed estates and granted protection, and Ottonian rulers once again gave lavishly for the decoration of the basilica church. All this shows that Sant'Ambrogio and its monks played a vital role in helping to create a political community across the city and beyond, although equally it could at times due to its multiple associations with the powerful be a divisive institution in local society. Relationships with the political elite are only one part of the story, of course: easily as important were the links which developed with the rest of society. These links are the subject of the remaining chapters.

Cityscape

Defining the City

Milan is likely to have been one of the largest settlements in early medieval Europe, with perhaps twenty thousand inhabitants *c.* 950.[1] Tenth-century Rome may have been only a little larger,[2] with Constantinople probably a lot larger.[3] Towns in the Islamic world are thought to have been larger still, above all Baghdad.[4] A considerable economic infrastructure is necessary to support even a population of twenty thousand, and that infrastructure is investigated and its functioning explained at some length in Part III. In my opinion, the charters are unambiguous in showing how significant a part the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio played in facilitating connections across the large area of Milan's hinterland.[5] It can be assumed that other churches (without many charters for the most part) were also important in making a complex economy work so that thousands of people could live an urban life in Milan. Before those complexities are addressed, the urban character of Milan in this period needs to be established, especially as many scholars (especially archaeologists) have denied it. In

---

[1] Pinto, 'Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del xvi secolo', p. 23. Above, Introduction to Part I.

[2] Twenty-five thousand: Wickham, '*The Romans According to their Malign Custom*', pp. 162–64.

[3] *c.* one hundred thousand around 900: Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 349.

[4] *c.* five hundred thousand in the ninth century: Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome*, p. 320. Tenth-century Córdoba was also very large.

[5] Sennis, 'Monasteries and Cities' underplays this aspect.

Chapter 3 it was argued that there was some level of urban continuity at Milan throughout Late Antiquity up to the time when the Carolingians defeated the Lombards in the late eighth century.[6] For the ninth- and tenth-century city, the source base changes, and the increased number of charters allows for greater insight into what may be termed Milan's cityscape.[7] Details emerge about Milanese inhabitants, their homes, and livelihoods. While this evidence is still skewed in favour of clergy and monastics, it is nevertheless clear that Milan within its ancient walls was not an empty space filled only with churches and little else. Instead there can be little doubt that the evidence discussed in this chapter, significantly from diverse sources, suggests that Milanese society was complex, a 'large' world rather than a 'small' one.[8] The explanations for this are in some respects straightforward. Milan had a unique past as a formal political capital of a huge empire. It was, as Krautheimer once suggested, one of 'three Christian capitals' alongside Rome and Constantinople. Yet, while few would doubt that Rome and the 'new Rome' of the East were genuine cities throughout the period addressed in this book, almost nobody has argued, as is argued here, that Milan was also a real city.[9] The problem is essentially twofold, both top-down and bottom-up: an apparently cataclysmic political history and problematic archaeology. The former has already been questioned in Chapter 3. Most early medieval writers who commented on politics in this period as in others had clear agendas, and exaggerating the evils of 'barbarians' was common among those who clung to the civic ideals of the Roman past. Much harder to dismiss is the small amount of positive archaeological evidence relative to the scale of the intramural area at Milan which has so far emerged in favour of urban continuity. The crucial point to make here is that the fundamental damage to the city's historic stratigraphy which has come about because of modernity when coupled with the relatively small number of urban excavations makes archaeological evidence secondary in understanding

---

[6] Classically, Ward-Perkins, 'The Towns of Northern Italy', 'Urban Continuity?', and 'Continuitists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy'.

[7] La Rocca, 'Perceptions of an Early Medieval Urban Landscape', pp. 427–30; Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re'.

[8] Cf. La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, the state-of-the-art volume.

[9] For an excellent summary of definitions of 'the town', see Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 92–96. Ward-Perkins, 'Continuitists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy' is a clear survey of the range of opinion about early medieval urbanism. Verhaeghe (with Loveluck and Story), 'Urban Developments in the Age of Charlemagne' makes a good comparison for north of the Alps.

urbanism at Milan.[10] Although archaeological research at Milan has certainly greatly progressed in the last few decades to the point that significant evidence for the early medieval period now exists, an overall archaeological synthesis is still some way off.[11] Once that is possible, things will be different, but for now written evidence remains important and this chapter is focused on it.

Contemporary writers working at different points in its medieval past would have found modern scepticism strange as they did not doubt that Milan was a city.[12] For them Milan was 'wondrous' (Ausonius, *c.* 388), a *metropolis* (*Versum de Mediolano Civitate*, *c.* 739), and an 'outstanding city' (Arnulf of Milan, *c.* 1077). Few early medieval cities were the subject of such praise during this period, and most of the others were also in Italy.[13] Such vocabulary fits well with the phrase 'town as idea' which was a fashionable way to conceptualize early medieval urbanism in the 1990s.[14] While the belief of contemporaries in its civic character was certainly important, such beliefs could well have been deluded. Other observable urban characteristics therefore matter easily as much as literary opinion, notably evidence for Milan's economic role as a centre for consumption sustained by a large region and its role in supplying services to that region with its own smaller centres of consumption.[15] A complex web of economic interactions had clearly been sustained in and around Milan throughout its period as capital of the Roman Empire (AD 286–402), with its 'region' effectively being the whole western empire.[16] Once this imperial status had been lost, its economic role undeniably changed, reducing dramatically in scale and altering in character. That transformation does not necessarily mean it was no longer a city, just no longer a Roman-style monumental city supported

[10] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, I, 25. An important article on 'missing stratigraphy' is Macphail, 'The Reworking of Urban Stratigraphy by Human and Natural Processes', using British examples including London.

[11] The last attempt, Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, although an essential work, was flawed and is now more than twenty-five years old.

[12] In general, Occhipinti, 'Immagini di città'.

[13] Frugoni, *A Distant City*, pp. 58–68 (Verona, Modena, Naples).

[14] Carver, *Arguments in Stone*; Halsall, 'Towns, Societies and Ideas'; Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins, *The Idea and Ideal of the Town*; Brogiolo and Gelichi, *La città nell'altomedioevo italiano*.

[15] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 105–08; Brogiolo, Gauthier, and Christie, *Towns and their Territories*.

[16] Fibiger Bang, 'Trade and Empire', pp. 49, 54, on the tributary nature of the late Roman economy.

by empire-wide exchange. The local region became its lifeblood, its immediate hinterland grew in importance, and the horizons of its inhabitants became directed at a region which they came to think of as Milanese. Map 3 shows the main physical structures documented in Milan between AD 800 and 1000, including the Roman-period walls with their gates (the site of much early medieval settlement), the centre focused on the old Roman forum, a market and the main roads, and the considerable number of documented churches, most of them with late antique origins.

The Urban Population from the Late Eighth to the Tenth Centuries

A good starting point is to explore the nature of the local population throughout the early medieval period. This becomes possible from the early eighth century courtesy of the surviving charters which record the names and occupations of many local residents.[17] There is no existing historical study of these names.[18] Some people were designated 'of Milan' ('habitator Mediolani or de civitate Mediolani'),[19] and these can be assumed to have resided in the city.[20] Others were located with reference to other named places (other towns and villages), and these can be assumed to have lived there rather than in Milan. They were presumably visiting the city at the time they were recorded witnessing charters drafted in Milan itself. There is a significant number of people who are named in charters without any location being attributed to them, and these *might* have lived in Milan. They were certainly there for the purposes of witnessing a transaction recorded in a charter. Looking through all the recorded names of those who might have resided in the city (around 250 people across the period 720–1000) it is obvious that only a small percentage are female (under 10 per cent), meaning that the sample is definitely unrepresentative of the population as a whole where a rough gender balance can reasonably be assumed. The

---

[17] Before that we have to rely on the patchy evidence of inscriptions.

[18] Corrarati, 'Nomi, individui, famiglie a Milano nel secolo XI' examines eleventh-century personal names in Milan, but there is no systematic study of names before that. Arcamone, 'I nomi di persona a Milano e a Como prima del Mille' is a linguistic analysis of first names rather than nicknames or surnames.

[19] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 309–16, argued convincingly that these designations were topographical rather than juridical.

[20] De Angelis, 'Cittadini prima di cittadinanza' deals throughly and judiciously with the thorny question of 'citizens' in this period and region.

overall number may seem small, but as they are recorded in the documents kept by a single ecclesiastical institution among many, the figures certainly do not represent the entire urban population at any point.

Quantity is not the only issue. Some people are designated with specialized occupations, and for any society that says something profound about its economic and social organization as only societies which produce or have access to significant amounts of surplus food can sustain occupations unrelated to food production. From 796 onwards the Milanese charters document traders and artisans both as witnesses to transactions but also as those who transacted. Importantly and perhaps surprisingly, the most commonly attested were *negotiatores* ('merchants', 'traders', 'dealers', or 'shopkeepers'):[21] 796 (Dominicus and Johannes),[22] 804 (Petrus),[23] 812 (Bruning),[24] 850 (Romanoni, Teodoald, and Rachifrit 'Fredolo'),[25] 861, 863, 865, 875 (Cristianus),[26] 863 (Gisempert),[27] 892 (Trasebert 'Traso'),[28] 897 (Andreas),[29] 897 (Lantzarus and Marinus),[30]

---

[21] Niermeyer, pp. 716–17, citing *negotium* as 'merchandise' but with no entry for *negotiator* (a Classical Latin word for trader). Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 51–87, for these merchants. For merchants elsewhere, see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 614–17 (Carolingians), 618–30 (southern Italy), 630–36 (northern Italy), 639–69 (Francia). McCormick makes a good case for their importance as middlemen across the Carolingian world. Trying to distinguish different sorts of merchant is hard from this sort of material. Kings certainly gave special protection to merchants who worked on their behalf (Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, p. 88).

[22] *MD* 34: Dominicus, *civis Mediolani*; Johannes, *da quinque vias* in Milan. Witnesses to a transaction between laymen.

[23] *MD* 37: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a gift to the oratory of San Zeno, Campione.

[24] *MD* 44: *de Mediolano*. Exchanged land in Carpiano with Hernost, a vassal of King Bernard.

[25] *MD* 85: each *de Mediolano*. Witness to the testament of Scaptolad of Sumirago in the Varesotto.

[26] *MD* 105, 110, 117, 128, 129: *de Mediolano*. Witness to five documents involving Abbot Peter and property in Cologno Monzese.

[27] *MD* 109: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a dispute involving Abbot Peter.

[28] *MD* 155. Witness to an exchange involving Abbot Peter.

[29] *MD* 161: *de Mediolano*. Witness to an exchange involving Abbot Peter.

[30] *MD* 162. Both witnessed to a *libellus* involving Sant'Ambrogio. Both signed their own names.

912 (Ambrosius),[31] 912 (Lupus),[32] 926 (Andreas),[33] 931 (Ambrosisus),[34] 941 (Petrus),[35] 941 (Ursus 'Atzo' and Boniprand),[36] 955 (Leo 'Azo'),[37] 965 (Arduin),[38] 970 (Lupo),[39] 974 (Odelprand),[40] 988 (Augifred),[41] 993 (Arnulf).[42] It is clear that from the 860s (but not before) there is a pretty strong correlation between these *negotiatores* and monastic communities in these charters. It is reasonable to suppose that such men were involved in business on behalf of these communities, as well as witnessing some of their transactions.

Other specialized roles, mostly artisans and craftsmen, included *argentarius* (silversmith): 870 and 874 (Leo),[43] 920 (Dagibert);[44] *monetarius*: 765 (Martinaces),[45]

---

[31] *CDL* 446: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a *libellus* with Abbot Sigifred.

[32] *CDL* 447: *'iusto' clamatur*. Witness to exchange between Abbess of S. Maria Gisonis and Ingelberto, Milanese priest.

[33] *CDL* 517: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a sale between two lay brothers and a priest of San Giorgio.

[34] *CDL* 538: *de Mediolano*. Witness to an exchange involving Abbot Anselbert.

[35] *CDL* 558: *abitator civiate Mediolani*. Appears in court as owner of land in Trivulzio. His father, Peter, had lived in 'Caput Vici' not Milan.

[36] *CDL* 564: *de Mediolano*. Witness to an exchange between Abbess Sigelberga and the archdeacon Ambrosius.

[37] *CDL* 608: *de civitate Mediolano*. Exchanged land in *Buornaco* (where his father was from) with land in Milan held by Abbot Aupald.

[38] *CDL* 690: *abitator civitates Mediolani*. Father of Megenza who was married to Zeno *monetarius*. Megenza and her husband sold a farm in Trivulzio to Ingo.

[39] *CDL* 719. Exchange with Abbot Peter.

[40] *CDL* 753: 'Habitator prope basilica sancti Ambrosii qui dictitur in Solario' (exchange with Abbot Peter).

[41] *CDL* 842. His son Romenio was exchanging property with Archbishop Landulf.

[42] *CDL* 880: *abitator prope locus pertuso de fora dicitur*. He had previously sold a house near San Satiro to the priest Paul.

[43] *MD* 122, 126. Witness in two dispute cases.

[44] *CDL* 488: *de Mediolano*. Witness to an exchange involving Abbot Peter.

[45] *MD* 17. The number of moneyers is significant and engendered considerable discussion in the 1950s (e.g. Lopez, 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages'; Lopez, 'Monetà e monetieri nell'Italia barbarica'; Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 58–61). Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 97–102, examining Frankish moneyers, make the point that 'they would need some source of livelihood when no minting was being done' (p. 100). Rovelli, '774. The Mints of the Kingdom of Italy' demonstrates the continuity of the Milanese mint throughout our period but has little to say about moneyers there. However, in 1991 it was possible to state that 'Milan has not produced any

804 (Dominus, Petrus),[46] 839 (Petrus, Dominicus),[47] 840 (Adelbert),[48] 847 (Aribert),[49] 885 (Ambrosius),[50] 909 (Ambrosius),[51] 912 (Warinus),[52] 923 (Gedeoni 'Atzo'),[53] 936 (Benedictus 'Rotzo'),[54] 941 (Benedictus 'Rotzo'),[55] 956 (Gaidald),[56] 972 (Remedio),[57] 975 (Johannis 'Franco'),[58] 993 (Petrus);[59] *pelleglarius* ('tanner'): 847 (Rachifrit);[60] *faber* (carpenter): 876 (Walpert),[61] 980 (Gisederius);[62] *ferrarius* (blacksmith): 876 (Simplicianus),[63] 940 (Paulus);[64] *sartor* (tailor): 882

numismatic material which can be dated between the sixth and the tenth centuries' (Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, III.2, 91). The excavators expressed surprise at this fact. Subsequently at least one Lombard coin has been found (1/8 *Siliqua* of Grimoald, at the Roman amphitheatre excavations) (Arslan, *Repertorio*, p. 74).

[46] *MD* 37: *de Mediolano*. Witness to gift to oratory of San Zeno, Campione.

[47] *MD* 65: *de civitate Mediolani*. Witness to a testament.

[48] *MD* 67: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a *promissio* involving Sant'Ambrogio.

[49] *MD* 80: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a purchase by Abbot Andreas.

[50] *MD* 152: *de intra civitate Mediolani*. Had bought an olive grove and chestnut wood near Lake Como for eight pounds of silver.

[51] *CDL* 429: *de intra Mediolano*. In his testament had transmitted small land plots in Trenno to priests at the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio.

[52] *CDL* 446: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a *libellus* involving Abbot Sigifred.

[53] *CDL* 502: 'magister monetae civitate Mediolani'. Witness to an exchange in involving Abbot Rachibert of property in Cologno Monzese. There is a possibility that Gedeoni ('Gideon') was Jewish.

[54] *CDL* 547: *de civitate Mediolano*. Exchange with Abbot Aupald of fields *in braida Aurune* (near the nunnery of Santa Maria d'Aurona).

[55] *CDL* 558: 'magister monetae'. One of the panel in the comital court. Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), p. 162.

[56] *CDL* 614: *de Mediolano*. *Extimator* in an exchange involving Benedict, abbot of San Vincenzo near Milan.

[57] *CDL* 732: *de Mediolano*. Took out a rental for a house within Milan near the Basilica of San Sebastiano.

[58] *CDL* 768. His two sons were witnesses to the testament of the priest Walpert.

[59] *CDL* 880. Two sons of Petrus witnessing the testament of the priest Paul.

[60] *MD* 80: *da Porta Ticinensis*. Witness to a purchase by Abbot Andreas.

[61] *MD* 133: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a sale between laymen.

[62] *CDL* 800: *de Mediolano*. Sold land in Milan near the public mint to Richard of Milan.

[63] *MD* 133: *de Mediolano*. Witness to a sale between laymen.

[64] *CDL* 556. Witness to a rental agreement involving Abbess Sigelberga for property in Novate. He lived in Novate, but the charter was drafted in Milan where the other witnesses lived.

(Gregory);[65] *pistor* (baker): 964 (Ambrosius);[66] *sudor* (cobbler): 964 (Bernefred);[67] *bacilario* (basin-maker?): 972 (Dominicus 'Bonizo');[68] *calegarius* (bootmaker): 980 (Madelbert).[69] The range of occupations is quite wide and not exclusively devoted to the production of luxury goods.

The activities of laywomen and their social networks are less well evidenced than the equivalent roles for men. It is striking, however, that no women is attributed with a specialized occupation in any charter despite the fact that in the course of the tenth century there was a significant increase in the numbers of women recorded, for reasons which remain unclear.[70] This absence certainly has a lot to do with southern European legal restrictions on women acting in public. Therefore, these references have to be analysed in a different way, more anecdotally. Of women who definitely resided in Milan, a few examples stand out. Gumperga 'free woman' who lived at 'Compodo' was given usufruct rights over some land in Tavazzano by Archbishop Walpert in February 961,[71] after which the property passed to her brother and sister before ending up with the nunnery of San Salvatore 'Wigilinda'. In April 964 Bertilla 'Beza' and her husband Ambrosius 'Amizo' sold an oak wood in Trivulzio to a priest of the church of S. Giorgio near the Porta Ticinese.[72] The property was probably hers as two brothers and a nephew witnessed the deal. Bertilla reappeared in April 972, now widowed but betrothed to a new husband, Johannes, selling two fields in Bolgiano to another priest (of S. Damiano).[73] In October she sold a farm and further land there for seven pounds of coined silver to Ingo, another Milanese resident.[74] Ingo had earlier in 964 bought another farm in Bolgiano from

[65] *CDL* 312 (Pandolfi IX, 6): *de civitate Mediolano*. Witness with his son to a clerical testament.

[66] *CDL* 683: *habitator civitate Mediolani*. Witness to a gift by a priest to a layman.

[67] *CDL* 683: *habitator civitate Mediolani*. Witness to a gift by a priest to a layman.

[68] *CDL* 972: *de civitate Mediolano*. Witness to a sale between two laymen. The reference to a *bacilario* is unique in this corpus and seems to be a very rare medieval usage for a maker of basins or dealer in them. It is not recorded in either Du Cange and others, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* or Niermeyer.

[69] *CDL* 800.

[70] Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria*, pp. 32–39, highlighted cloth-making as women's prime area of work in this period. Cf. Jewell, *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe*, ch. 4. It is, of course, likely that wives assisted their husbands in some sorts of craftwork.

[71] *CDL* 649 (a contemporary copy).

[72] *CDL* 682 (an original).

[73] *CDL* 735 (an original).

[74] *CDL* 739 (an original).

Megenza and her husband Zeno, a moneyer. Megenza was a merchant's daughter. Another woman — Meginza, the daughter of Ingo of Trivulzio — with her husband sold for ten pounds of coined silver properties in Milan, and in Bolgiano and Trivulzio, to Bonus 'Bonizo', the priest of S. Michele *subtus domo* in December 1000. Meginza had acquired the land from her mother, Cristina, who together with Ingo (significantly *qui fuit de loco Treburcio*) the following year sold property in Bolgiano to the same man for the large amount of one hundred pounds of coined silver. It would seem that this family was raising cash in order to be able to move into Milan.[75] These charters show that by the later tenth century urban women could be fully involved in transacting property, mostly in the countryside. The mediation of priests in a significant percentage of these transfers is clearly worth noting, as it demonstrates the complexity of property transfer within the city and the importance of churchmen in facilitating connections between city and countryside. Each one of these transactions brought city and country closer together.

Neighbours, Homes, and Gardens

All of the people discussed in the last few pages lived somewhere in Milan, and some of them were certainly neighbours and surely acquainted with each other. A clear sense of neighbourliness does in fact emerge from these documents. Personal nicknames are reported and become more common in tenth-century documents.[76] These included 'Fredolo', 'Iusto', 'Trazo', 'Atzo', 'Rotzo', Getzo', 'Tado', 'Beza', 'Amizo', 'Bonizo', 'Rezo', and 'Punno'. These monikers suggest both a sense of familiarity ('everyone knows old Rotzo') but also a need to distinguish between people with the same name when the pool of male Christian names was quite small. This naming pattern, found in charters from other towns (e.g. Como, Monza, Bergamo) but only rarely in those dealing with the countryside, is further evidence of a complex society, where distinctions and markers of various sorts were a necessary part of effective social life.[77] Other names suggest some social diversity: 'Nortemannus' ('Northman'?) was

---

[75] Cf. Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 151–57, on these Ingonids.

[76] See note 17, above.

[77] Compare other cities, notably Naples, and even small towns like Gaeta and Amalfi: Skinner, 'Urban Communities in Naples', *Family Power in Southern Italy*, and *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora*. Cf. Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*.

perhaps a Viking and 'Gedeon', master of the mint, just possibly Jewish, although that is not specified anywhere.[78] Similarly, the fairly frequent attributions of ethnicity to men recorded as witnesses (especially as Alemans and Franks),[79] raise the possibility of an ethnically mixed world, although such ethnic attributions probably need to be treated with caution.

It is possible that people knew each other because settlement was concentrated into preferred neighbourhoods. This raises interesting questions about the spatial distribution of homes within the old walled circuit which the surviving charters shed some light upon, albeit rather dim. Some residents of Milan appear to have lived in neighbourhoods which others would recognize as these are noticed alongside their names. Porta Argentea (777, 822, 832),[80] *quinque vias* (796),[81] *colomna orfa* (776, 804),[82] Porta Sant'Eustorgio (814),[83] Porta Ticinensis (847, 997),[84] and Porta Sant'Eufemia

---

[78] *MD* 155: witness. *MD* 160: panel in court case. Gedeon, note 52, above.

[79] Evidence collected in Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*. Cf. Zironi, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio*.

[80] *MD* 25: Garibald, f. Placitus, witness; *MD* 47: Theolomeo and Autpert, panel members in the Milanese court; *MD* 53: Aldo, witness to a *libellus*. The Porta Argentea was probably the Roman name for this gate on the road east towards Gorgonzola. The origin of the name is not certain (Olivieri, p. 438) but may derive from the local dialect. It was on the site of the current Porta Venezia (former Porta Orientale).

[81] *MD* 34: Johannes *negotiator* and Theodoraces, witnesses to a loan agreement between two laymen. The modern Cinque Vie (where five streets converge) is about fifty metres northwest of the old Roman forum (Piazza San Sepolcro).

[82] *MD* 24 (twelfth-century copy): reference to 'casa Teodori in the bounds of a terrola intra civitate Mediolani iuxta columpa que dicitur orphana'. *MD* 37 (original): Trasoald *da colomna orfa*, witness to gift to oratory of San Zeno, Campione; document drafted in Milan. The current 'orphaned column' is an isolated Roman column to be found near the entrance to the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. However, whether this is the same one mentioned in these two charters is uncertain, as knowledge of the site had disappeared by the time Giulini was writing in the 1760s: Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia* (1st edn), part 1, book II, p. 77: 'ora di questo sito non v'è più, ch'io sappia, alcuna memoria'.

[83] *MD* 45: property of Rotfrendo of *Wattingo* (Valtellina) *super ponte Sancte Eustorgio*.

[84] *MD* 80: Rachifrit a tanner, witness to a purchase by Abbot Andreas. *CDL* 929: Constantia widow of Ido gave a substantial amount of property to Anselm and his son of the same name, residents of Milan. This included a plot of land 'cum muras et aliquantas alias edificias casarum super abenta iuris nostris [...] qui reiacet intra hac civitate Mediolani non longe da porta qui dicitur Ticinense et prope domus abitacionis nostre' (with walls and other buildings and houses upon it under our jurisdiction [...] which it sited within this city of Milan not far from the Porta Ticinense and bear our own residence). The two Anselms already owned adjacent property. The

(882).[85] The clustering near gates may be significant as these could have provided building stone from plundering the old Roman walls or some sense of security if those walls were still largely intact.[86] They were also obvious sites for exchange or even trading to take place. They might even have been desirable for social reasons as prestigious addresses to be noticed by visitors. However, the charters do not really provide answers to these speculations.

Nor do charters help much with visualizing the homes in which these people lived. For that, archaeological research is much better for this time period.[87] This has certainly proved to be the case in Rome where recent archaeological excavations have uncovered a series of structures convincingly identified as domestic buildings (or homes).[88] Published reconstructions of these suggest comfortable homes with loggias and courtyard gardens, making some use of *spolia*.[89] There is nothing equivalent for Milan, although houses similar in scale to those found in Rome might well have existed there given that Roman *spolia* must have been available in considerable quantities just as elsewhere.[90] Charters certainly report a range of building types. The most common term

current Porta Ticinese is of eleventh-century date (much restored but nonetheless potentially close in time to this document). The earlier one is likely to have been on the same site, in the immediate vicinity of the Basilica of San Lorenzo. This area may have been associated with tanning as in addition to the reference in 847 there is reference in 997 to *terra* and *buscalia* (shrubby land) sited 'not far from Milan' in *bativaca*, a toponym meaning 'cow-beating' and suggestive of leather production (*CDL* 936, a gift to the priests at San Lorenzo nearby). The ancient Basilica of San Lorenzo only appears rarely in the Sant'Ambrogio charters, but recent work on the construction of the church has suggested that the tenth century saw much restoration work: Fieni, 'Indagine archeologico archeometrica sulla basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano', p. 71, and Brogiolo, 'Architetture e technice costruttive in età longobarda', p. 231.

[85] *CDL* 312: Hildeprand, witness to a gift between clergy. The Porta Sant'Eufemia was on the site of the Roman Porta Erculea, now Porta Nuova in the north-east of the city.

[86] Other gates: Porta Romana on the road to Rome near the ancient church of San Nazaro (*domus* associated with San Nazaro in 840, *MD* 68) and 'casa extra hanc civitate Mediolanum non longe a Porta Romana' in 879, *MD* 138); Porta Comacina on the road to Como (a small group of houses inside the city in 941, *CDL* 564).

[87] Cf. Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re', pp. 145–53, especially good on Ravenna.

[88] Coates Stephens, 'Housing in Early Medieval Rome'; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedievo*, pp. 31–51; Santangeli Valenzani, 'Residential Building in Early Medieval Rome'; Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo*.

[89] Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedievo*, pp. 34–35. The contrast with Galetti, *Abitare nel Medioevo*, which deals with rural settlement, is very marked.

[90] Greenhalgh, *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages*.

by far is simply *casa* ('house'), usually as part of a formulaic phrase such as 'casa una cum area ubi extat cum pristino inibi abente et curticella seu puteum' (a house with its ground, a mill [or bakery], and a small courtyard with a well), without any further qualification other than that it was inside Milan near the basilica San Sebastiano.[91] Sometimes the house of a particular person or one sited near a known building or in a named neighbourhood is recorded.[92] There is no reference to what these houses looked like or what they were made of, in marked contrast to formulae in documents from Verona and Piacenza.[93] Quite frequently *casa* is qualified by *solarium* (a two-storey dwelling or possibly 'balcony' or 'terrace'),[94] or *sala* (a large house or 'hall').[95] These are clear indicators of elite residences. The other important term is *domus* (also 'house' but rather grander than the norm).[96] Notwithstanding the view of Petracco Sicardi that this word referred only to the bishop's residences in Milan, it is quite clearly used more generally to mean 'the house of an important person'.

The discussion of neighbourhoods associated with named individuals revealed a pattern of clustering near six named gates in the city walls. When this is broadened to consider all houses mentioned within Milan including those referenced in boundary clauses the pattern is similar to that for the documented intramural churches in this period. In addition to the various city gates just mentioned, there were significant residential clusters in the city centre around the old Roman-period forum and early medieval mint (now Piazza San Sepolcro, see Map 3, no. 12), the cathedral (the current city centre, Piazza Duomo, see Map 3, no. 22), and the main road going south from there (via Torino). Isolated references away from these clusters are as important, however, because they raise the possibility that settlement within the walls may have been more complete than a minimalist reading of the charters implies, especially as the documents produced by most

[91] *CDL* 732 (February 972): a rental agreement whereby Remedio *monetarius* rented this house from the Abbot of Sant'Ambrogio on a ten-year lease for an annual rent of four solidi due on the feast of St Agatha. San Sebastiano is in via Torino close to the Piazza Duomo. For 'the early medieval house', see Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 9–14, and Galetti, *Abitare nel Medioevo*, pp. 39–43.

[92] Above, note 68.

[93] La Rocca, '"Dark Ages" a Verona'; Galetti, *Una campagna e la sua città*.

[94] Niermeyer, p. 976. Cf. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, pp. 59–60, and De Jong, 'Charlemagne's Balcony'.

[95] Galetti, *Abitare nel Medioevo*, pp. 41–42.

[96] Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, ch. 2.

intramural churches — a significant number — have not survived. Importantly, that includes those associated with the cathedral church.

The site of the Roman forum has been extensively studied by archaeologists in recent years.[97] These studies have focused on Late Antiquity, and some continuity of public use in this area has been suggested. However, the period after that has not been much studied, although some indications of residential settlement and cultivation in the early medieval period were found in excavations in the early 1990s.[98] While this indicates that the 'public' function of this area had diminished, as might be expected given the overall shift in political focus from the Roman imperial state to the local bishop and important monasteries in other parts of the city, and although archaeologists have interpreted these finds in terms of decline, in fact finds of 'posts, wells, drains and the foundations of pillars' fit well with the documentary evidence.[99]

Settlement near the old forum/mint site is presented by the charters as a late ninth- or early tenth-century development, although this is probably simply a quirk of the patterns of documentary survival. The first clear reference is in the controversial 'second will' of Archbishop Anspert, and may therefore refer to the period when the current text was copied rather than the ostensible date of the charter (10 September 879), namely up to a few decades later.[100] The formulation is particularly interesting: 'casas illas solarietas et salas, qua sunt pistrina iuris mei, cum areis, curte et puteo et omnibus edificia inibi constitutis [...] intra hac civitatem Mediolani non longe a foro publico quod vocator assemblatorio' (those two-storey houses and halls, those mills [or bakeries] I own, with the ground, courtyard and a well and all those buildings there [...] within this city of Milan near the public forum called the *assemblatorio*).[101] A small house is recorded here in the version of this will which has greater claim to be genuine: 'casellam [...] intra hanc civitatem iuxta foro publico non longe a moneta cum areas curte

[97] Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana' and 'Milano: Indagini nell'area del foro'.

[98] Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana', pp. 108–10. The dating was simply 'early medieval' rather than anything more exact.

[99] Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana', p. 109.

[100] *MD* 137 (AdSM sec. IX 96, an unauthenticated copy of the late ninth/early tenth century). For verdicts on this document, see Ambrosioni, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', pp. 112–13; Ambrosioni, 'Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores', pp. 43–44; Petoletti, 'Copiare le epigrafe nel medioevo', who argues convincingly (p. 96) that the clauses relating to property are genuine as they are found in the version dated 11 November 879.

[101] Wickham, *Sleepwalking into a New World*, p. 28, points out that urban assemblies in this period were normally ad hoc affairs. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 188, for Milan.

terra et accessiones suas' (a small house [...] within this city next to the public forum near the mint with ground, land and right of access).[102] The area is documented again in the late tenth century: in 975 ('sala et area [...] prope moneta publica'),[103] 980 ('terrola [...] ubi muro de solario da parte mane super se abente iuris mei quod abere visus sum intra suprascripta civitate non multum longe da moneta publica'),[104] and 1000 ('de terra, quod est solario, cum in qua extat juris nostris, quam abere visus sumus, infra hac civitate Mediolani prope moneta publica istius civitatis').[105] These last three charters document the presence of artisans in this part of town, including a *faber* which can mean 'carpenter', 'builder', or even 'goldsmith' (Vuolvinus *faber* made the golden altar at Sant'Ambrogio in the 830s). Coupled with the high proportion of two-storey buildings in this area, it is likely that the neighbourhood by the mint was a desirable area in which to live.[106] The use of 'public' in these charters is also significant, even if it were only a memory of the ancient functions of this part of town.

Another cluster was to be found a few blocks away around the chapel dedicated to Saint Satyrus (see Map 3, no. 23) which was built for Archbishop Anspert. This has been dubbed the 'insula Ansperti' in recent scholarship because of its association with this controversial figure.[107] Anspert's funerary inscription of 881 (displayed in Sant'Ambrogio, see Figure 11, above) stated that a *domus* was next to the *templum* of Satyrus: 'Tum sancto Saturo templumque domumque dicavit' (he dedicated a church and *domus* to Saint Satyrus).[108] The use of *domus*

---

[102] *MD* 138 (AdSM sec. IX 97, contemporary authenticated copy by the original scribe Gervasius).

[103] *CDL* 766. This 'hall and land near the public mint' was owned by Gisla and Andreas, a couple from Imbersago on the Brianza, who sold it to Walpert, a priest from the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. The property was bounded by others owned by Gisederius *faber*, Maginerius, and Dominicus. Violante, 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese', p. 697.

[104] *CDL* 800. Gisederius *faber* sold this property to Richardus of Milan, whose widow appears in *CDL* 978. The property was bounded by property owned by Richard, Gisederius, Madelbertus *calegarius*, and a street.

[105] 'Land, which is a sunny plot, with that which is under our control and we are seen to have, within the city of Milan near its public mint'. *CDL* 978. Roperga, widow of Richardus, and her son Adam sold this land to Erempert of Milan. The property was bounded by ones owned by Sant'Ambrogio and by Maginerius who appeared in the charter of 975, as well as streets (*vias*). Adam had been a witness to that transaction.

[106] Parallels in Naples: Skinner, 'Urban Communities in Naples', p. 285.

[107] Peccatori, *Insula Ansperti*.

[108] Porter translated *domus* as 'monastery' which stretches its meaning too far even in the Latin of this period.

here seems to suggest a clerical community as well as a physical building: clerics had to live somewhere.[109] This reference is supplemented by Anspert's two wills of 879 which refer to houses which the bishop owned nearby: 'casas illas tam solarietas quam et salas intra hanc civitate Mediolanum, que fuit domus habitonem meae, ubi ego in propria clausura mea in honore Dei et sancti Christi confessores Satyri et Silvestri pape et beate Ambrosii episcopus basilicum a fundamentis edificavi' and 'casas, solariatas, salas' (those houses both two-storied and hall houses within this city of Milan, which formed my residence, where I in my own enclosure had a basilica built which it dedicated in honour of God and the holy confessors of Christ, Satyrus, Pope Silvester, and the blessed bishop Ambrose; obtained from the monastery of Nonantola) and 'areas, curtes, ortos, puteos, clausuras ac pistrina' (areas, courtyards, gardens, wells, enclosures, and ponds). This *cella sancti Satiri* (under the control of the monks of Sant'Ambrogio) was recorded with houses near the church of San Sebastiano in 972 (see Map 3, no. 11).[110] Other late tenth-century charters document further homes in its vicinity. In 991 'terra et casa [...] prope cella sancti Satiri, prope locus ubi puteo Borelli dicitur; terras, casa, curtecella; casa';[111] and 993 'casa, solariata, sala, pristinum, curtis, puteus' which was described as 'prope locus ubi pertuso de fora dicititur'.[112] The cell at San Satiro seems to have been the focus for a small productive estate or urban garden, unlike what appear to be more built-up properties near the mint.

The area around the cathedral can at this period reasonably be termed a clerical quarter. The official archbishop's residence was almost certainly here. An *episcopium* is mentioned in a court case of 874: 'in civitate Mediolanum in episcopio sancte Mediolanensis ecclesia'.[113] Although this charter survives only in a twelfth-century copy and some have argued on this basis that the reference is to a twelfth-century building, use of the word *episcopium* to mean 'bish-

[109] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 285–94 on clerical residences.

[110] *CDL* 732.

[111] 'Land and a house [...] near the cell of Saint Satyrus, near the place called Borelli's well; lands, a house, a small courtyard, a house'. *CDL* 859. An exchange of properties between Abbot Gaidoald and Bertericus *iudex* of Milan. Three other lay owners were noted in the bounds.

[112] 'A house, a two-storied house, a hall, a pond, a courtyard and a well [...] near the place known as *pertuso de fora*'. *CDL* 880. The testament of the priest Paul of Santa Maria Berterade. It had previously been owned by the Milanese merchant Arnulf.

[113] 'In the city of Milan in the bishop's house of the holy church of Milan'. *MD* 126 (AdSM, sec. IX 86, an authenticated copy of the twelfth century). *Episcopium* was the usual late Roman term for a bishop's residence: Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, ch. 1.

op's residence' was fairly common in ninth-century texts, notably Carolingian capitularies.[114] The bishop's house is likely to have been directly south of the so-called summer cathedral (*ecclesia estiva*) dedicated to Mary (see Map 3, no. 22), on the site of the current palace which dates from the sixteenth century.[115] The two other references to this area relate to just north of this: 'casas [...] intra hac civitate Mediolani non longe ab ecclesia estiva [...] cum areas, curte, orto, puteo' (879) and 'casa [...] non multum longe ab ecclesia, qui dicitur estiva, et prope monasterium que vocatur Wigelinde' (903).[116] There is, as already seen, relatively little surviving of the episcopal archive, and had this been preserved more would undoubtedly be known about this area in this period. There has also been no significant archaeological excavation here to my knowledge.

Further homes are recorded at sites which can no longer be identified: 769, a 'casa et curtecella intra Mediolano';[117] 863, a *casa* belonging to Peter the cleric near a *clausura* and *terra* owned by Sant'Ambrogio, inside Milan;[118] 879, *casas solarietas* near S. Giovanni *ad conca*;[119] 952, property near the *publicum merca-tum* belonging to the crown and *domus et casa* of Arduin near these;[120] 968, an unlocated 'sala una et capite uno de solario dirupto da parte montes cum area in qua extat et curte et ortalos seu accessione ad puteum et per porta in via ubi abitare videor';[121] 992, a 'casa et area et curtis intra ac civitate prope locum ubi

[114] Niermeyer, pp. 376–77.

[115] Latuada, *Descrizione di Milano*, ɪɪ, 68–69. Ennodius claimed that Archbishop Laurentius had restored this *domus*.

[116] 'Houses [...] within this city of Milan not far from the summer church [...] with areas, a courtyard, garden and well' and 'a house [...] not far from the summer church and near the monastery called Wigilinda'. *MD* 138 and *CDL* 402. These houses are respectively described as the residences of Archbishops Anspert and Andreas, and may therefore be same building as the *episcopium* or more probably close to it. Cf. Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', pp. 547–49.

[117] *CDL*, ɪɪ, doc. 231 (tenth-century copy from the Monza archive). The property belonged to the deacon Grato who lived in Monza.

[118] *MD* 109.

[119] *MD* 138, once again owned by Archbishop Anspert. Also 'houses near the house of Peter the priest' in the vicinity.

[120] Kehr, *Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris Diplomata*, doc. 145 (= *CDL* 599).

[121] 'A hall and on the northern side a derelict two-storey building with the land on which it stands and a courtyard, gardens and access to a well and the door on the street in which I live'. *CDL* 709. Sold by Ambrosius of Milan to the church of San Dionigi. Cf. Violante, 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese', p. 696.

macellum dicitur', 'casa a quinque vias', and 'casa a Calegaria' (not located).[122] From these scattered references it is evident that not all housing was focused around the few central clusters identified above — forum/market, S. Satiro, cathedral — but rather was dispersed more widely across the intramural area. The diploma of 952 implies a distinction between the *domus* and *casa* owned by the same man (Arduin). The testament of 968 suggests that by then some people were living in houses entered by a front door from the street ('per porta in via ubi abitare videor').[123]

It has sometimes been argued, mostly by archaeologists, that because large parts of the intramural areas of early medieval towns were apparently occupied by open space rather than built up, these supposed 'towns' were not really urban at all.[124] This is unconvincing as open space, especially gardens (and parks), is desirable for city dwellers.[125] Even today there is plenty of green in the centre of Milan.[126] It may be that some archaeological 'dark-earth' represents this sort of land use which is evidenced in charters from other cities.[127] The most common word which denoted cultivated plots was simply *terra* ('land'). This meaning can be deduced from the fact that *terra* was invariably close to buildings and small in area, as was *area* ('surface area'), used in a similar sense but including the land underneath buildings. Some plots were explicitly enclosed (*clausurae*), and others were kitchen gardens (*orti*). Such plots were bought and sold just as similar plots were outside the city. *Terra* referred neither to sites where abandoned buildings could be found nor to the land upon which buildings stood. The information is set out below, with the relevant size and location when known.

[122] 'A house, land and courtyard within the city near the butcher's' (not located). *CDL* 868. The lengthy testament of Peter, a priest from San Vittore. The *macellum* was contiguous with the old forum and a toponym signifying the meat market: Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana', p. 113.

[123] Loseby, 'Reflections on Urban Space'.

[124] Brogiolo, 'A proposto dell'organizzazione urbana nel medioevo', 'Città altomedievali e archeologia', and 'Milano e il suo territorio alla luce di archaeologia'.

[125] La Rocca, 'Le piazze di Verona nell'alto medioevo', pp. 14–22; Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re', p. 153; Goodson, 'Garden Cities in Early Medieval Italy'.

[126] Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, p. 137, tav. XVII. The late Giorgio Ausenda (long resident in Milan) once told me how open fields came close into the city in the 1950s, a fact confirmed by the map of the city in the *Atlante Zanichelli* (1947): Lampugnano, Lambrate, Vigentino, and Niguarda were all bounded by fields then.

[127] Ceresa Mori, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana', p. 106. Cf. Skinner, 'Urban Communities in Naples', p. 283; La Rocca, 'Le piazze di Verona nell'alto medioevo'; and Goodson, 'Garden Cities in Early Medieval Italy', p. 345.

Table 7. Land plots within Milan*

Date	Description	Size	Proximity to Buildings
776	*terrola*, near *colonna orfana*	unknown	yes
863	*clausura*	50 tav/1382.7 m²	*casa Petri*
	terra	9 tav/248.8 m²	*casa Petri*
871	*terra*	100 tav/2767.4 m²	S. Maria Podone, *quinque vias*
880	*terra*	unknown	bishop's *domus*
894	*terra*	10 tav/276.5 m²	ruined *sala* near Porta Nova
941	*terra*, near Porta Nova	unknown	ruined *sala* on this land
952	*terra*	unknown	*mercatum, cloaca, stationes*
968	*area/ortalus*	unknown	*sala, solario*
975	*area*	unknown	near the mint
980	*terola*	unknown	near the mint
991	*terra*	9 tav, 1 ped/251 m²	San Satiro
997	*terra*	unknown	San Giorgio
997	*terra*	unknown	Porta Ticinensis, *domus*
997	*area*	unknown	Porta Ticinensis, *domus*
1000	*terra/area*	21 ped, 10 unc/50 m²	near the mint

*Abbreviations: tav = *tavole*; ped = *pedes*; unc = *unciae*

Table 7 shows that such land was associated with buildings, most probably as gardens for vegetables and fruit, storage space, or land for animals. A different set of words, *curtis*, *curticella*, and *cella*, most probably indicates either a courtyard or some more definite agricultural use. Only two of these references involve buildings, the *curs ducis* and the *cella* of San Satiro. The latter appears for the first time in 972, prior to which only the *templum* or *basilica* of San Satiro is recorded.[128] It is associated with both a *curtis* ('estate' or 'farm') and a *curticella* ('farmyard') in the 990s.[129] It was certainly an estate of some sort,

---

[128] *CDL* 732 (an original): 'casa una cum area ubi extat, cum pristino inibi abente et curticella seu puteum ibi insimul tenente aliis cella sancti Satiri [...] qui pertinet cella ipsa [...] intra eadem civitate Mediolani prope basilica sancti Sebastiani' (a church now destroyed). 'Pristino' may mean 'pond' in this context.

[129] *CDL* 859 (an original). By now the well had a name: *puteo Borelli dicitur*.

because the charter of 972 is a rent agreement (*libellus*) in which a certain Remedio, a moneyer, petitioned the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio to lease the farm for ten years for an annual rent of four solidi. It seems likely that this farm complex was part of Archbishop Anspert's property, which became a *xenodochium* under the direct control of Sant'Ambrogio as a result of his will of 879. In this will there is an interesting reference to some properties in the vicinity of San Satiro which Anspert had acquired from the distant monastery of Nonantola in the eastern Po Valley. A document preserved in the archive of that monastery records that in October 885 Simplicianus a Milanese *negotiator* made an agreement (*in precario nomine*) with the monastery of Nonantola to pay a render of twelve denarii annually in March 'in curte vestra civitate Mediolani'.[130] It is probable that this estate was in the same area of Sant'Ambrogio's *cella*. This area seems to have been the focus of monastic farming activity within the city, presumably providing fresh food in season for monks and the paupers and pilgrims who used the services of the *xenodochium*. In a similar way the archbishops had some *curtes* in the cathedral quarter.

A glance at one of the many plans purporting to show Milan in the early medieval period shows that the city had many churches and, as has been shown, houses near these.[131] However, many gaps in the urban fabric are still visible, especially to the north-east of the cathedral as far out as the Porta Nova and between the Porta Ticinensis and the Porta Romana to the south. Nevertheless there is only one definite reference to an uncultivated space within the city walls from 890 when the 'pratum quod Aredei vocatur' is mentioned (although even meadows are to a degree 'cultivated').[132] Perhaps significantly this was at the periphery of the city and is the only reference to a meadow in a two-hundred-year period. However, for the suburbs the situation was certainly different, as here words are found which never appear in the intramural context.

---

[130] *CDL* 333 (an original, cf. Tiraboschi, *Storia dell'Augusta Badia di San Silvestro di Nonantola*, ii, no. 48, pp. 62–64). Violante erroneously substituted Sant'Ambrogio for Nonantola when discussing this text even in the third edition (*La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 47, 56–57). The charter demonstrates that Nonantola had property in the vicinity of Milan near Lodi to administer. Another charter (Tiraboschi, no. 61, p. 83) shows the community also had property near Pavia. For that community, see Uggé, 'Il monastero di Nonantola'.

[131] The best plans are still to be found in Brogiolo, *Archaeologica Urbana in Lombardia*, p. 136.

[132] Chapter 4, 'Weak Kings and Powerful Abbots', and later in this chapter.

Table 8. Land plots in Milanese suburbs

Date	Description	Size	Proximity to Buildings
806	San Vincenzo 'in Prata' (SW of the Porta Ticinensis)	Not known	Yes (church)
903	Two *prati* near San Simpliciano	Not known	Yes (church)
970	'vinea et campo foris et non multum longe ab ac civitate Mediolanum ad locus ubi sala et felegazo dicitur et prope fluvio Wepra'[i]	(large, counted in *jugera*)	No
974	'tres camporas et gerbo et buscalias foris et non multum longe ab Mediolanensium urbem, in loco et fundo ubi Sancto Siro ad Vevrio dicitur'[ii]	*c.* 32,776 m^2	No
997	'terra et prate buscalia, foris ac non multum longe ad ac civitate Mediolanum ad locus ubi Bativaca dicitur'[iii]	*c.* 79,645 m^2	No

[i] *CDL* 722: 'a vineyard and field outside and not far from Milan in the place known as *sala et felegazo* and near the River Vepra'. Cf. Violante, 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese', p. 697.

[ii] *CDL* 752: 'three fields and shrubby land outside and not far from Milan in the place called San Siro at the Vepra'.

[iii] *CDL* 936: 'land and a shrubby meadow outside and not far from Milan in the place called *Battivaca*'.

Table 8 shows that the part of the city outside the wall was more rural in character than that inside, which is exactly as we should expect. It is more significant that there is no reference to houses near these plots, in complete contrast to intramural sites where *terra* is mentioned. They are significantly larger plots too. Although arguments from silence are not wise, it seems likely that at least one plot of this size and type within the walls would have been mentioned at least once in two centuries had it existed.

Milanese Lay Elites

Elites were always an important part of urban life.[133] In Milan lay elites owned some of the intramural land and buildings already discussed. An especially significant and powerful group within Milanese society were the lay holders

[133] La Rocca, 'Residenze urbane ed élites urbane tra VIII e X secolo in Italia settentrionale'; Bougard 'Lo stato e le élites fra 888 e 962'. For urban palaces and the urban activities of monarchs, see Rollason, *The Power of Place*, pp. 171–78.

of offices, the agents of central government on the ground (in an older histo-riography), or the locally powerful (in more recent work).[134] The principal office was the countship of Milan (also at times of neighbouring Seprio) which generally appeared in formal records of public events such as court cases, as well as some narrative sources. Count Leo (*missus* of Lothar I) presided over a court case in the church of San Nazaro ('in domum basilice sancti Nazarii') sometime between 823 and 840,[135] and his son Sigeratus (a vassal of Louis II) gave some land in Balerna to the monks in February 865.[136] In April 844 John, Count of Seprio, had chaired a case 'in clausura sancti Ambrosii' about disputed property in Balerna.[137] In March 848 several vassals of Count Alberic witnessed a purchase made by Abbot Andreas.[138] Alberic himself is recorded in 864,[139] 865,[140] 874,[141] and 880.[142] The 865 case took place 'in curte duca-tus in laubia' (at the ducal court in the loggia). This was the count's official residence (thought to be on the site of the current Piazza Cordusio). In 892 Count Maginfred chaired a case about property in Cologno,[143] which also took place 'in civitate Mediolanum curte ducati infra laubia eiusdem curtis'. The *laubia* was a loggia, a term first found in the Latin of this period, and

[134] Airlie, *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe*, Essay V, 'The Aristocracy in Service of the State'.

[135] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 45 (= *MD* 68), discussed by Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Holtharium magni loci habebatur*' and Castagnetti, 'Il conte Leone (801–47) e i suoi figli'.

[136] *MD* 115. Among the witnesses to this donation were Natalis and Leoprando *de Cugingo*, who witnessed several of Abbot Peter's own charters at this time.

[137] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 48 (= *MD* 74). This is an early reference to the ninth-century monastic cloister of which no archaeological trace has yet been found.

[138] *MD* 82, Teodericus (a Frankish *sculdasius*) and Teotcarus and Autcarus, both Alemans (and witnesses to *MD* 83).

[139] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 66 (= *MD* 112) chairing a dispute over prop-erty in Bissone which Sant'Ambrogio won.

[140] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 67 (= *MD* 114) a dispute about property in Cologno which Sant'Ambrogio won.

[141] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 78 (= *MD* 126), a case about Campione. Count Boso was also present.

[142] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, Inquisition 8, pp. 581–85 (= *MD* 144), about Limonta.

[143] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 100 (= *MD* 156, an original). For Maginfred's political career, see above, Chapter 4, 'Weak Kings and Powerful Abbots'.

a common feature of Italian architecture.[144] In 901 Count Sigifret chaired a case (once again 'in laubia curia ducis') in which he himself was famously one of the parties.[145] In February 941 Count Berengar of Milan presided over a meeting where Peter, a merchant, had his charters authenticated by the process known as 'ostensio cartae'.[146] Thereafter counts, like courts, became much more infrequent in the city as political behaviour changed. Only two cases were heard in the city between 950 and 1000. Otto I sent in January 968 his vassal (*fidelis*) Adelgisus 'Azo' to chair a case 'in the mansion of Ambrose "Bonizo" in Milan by his permission' ('ad mansionem Ambrosii qui et Bonizo de civitate Mediolano per eius data licentiam').[147] In July 972 the Marquis Adalbert chaired a case in the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio itself, with both Otto I and Otto II present.[148] It should be stressed that because few counts had documented connections with the community of Sant'Ambrogio the amount of incidental evidence about them in its charters testifies to their importance in urban life here.

Counts were assisted by other officials who are evidenced here as across Italy and other parts of the Carolingian world.[149] There is evidence for *vice-comites*, effectively the count's deputy: Amalricus in 870, 874, 876;[150] Rotherus

---

[144] Niermeyer, p. 584: 'lodge, penthouse, gallery, arcade, portico'. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, p. 63, discussing a similar structure in the bishop's palace in late tenth-century Piacenza.

[145] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, nos 110 and 112 (= *MD* 163 and *CDL* 396). Cf. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 109, and Tabacco, *I liberi del re*, pp. 90–94.

[146] *CDL* 558 (an original), held 'in curte ducatus intus caminata magiore, qui et iusta laubia'. Hearth rooms are dicussed by Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, pp. 63–64.

[147] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, II.1, no. 159. For comparative examples of north Italian elite residences, see Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, pp. 76–77. *Mansiones* can be seen as typically rural elite residences: Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re', p. 150, arguing that case for tenth-century Ravenna.

[148] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, II.1, no. 171; a better edition is Cortesi, no. 128, pp. 206–97 ('ad monasterio Sancti Ambrosii [...] in laubia nuncopate reges ecclesiae, per data licentia domni Arnulfi archiepiscopi sancte Mediolanensis ecclesiae'). The reference to the 'permission' given by Archbishop Arnulf for the use of this building is interesting in terms of the relationship between the office of bishop and the monastic community at this time.

[149] Estey, 'The Scabini and the Local Courts'. Cf. Nehlsen-von Stryk, *Die boni homines des frühen Mittelalters* and West, 'The Significance of the Carolingian Advocate'. Castagnetti, *La società milanese nell'età carolingia*, pp. 101–24 (*lociservatores*), 125–64 (*gastalds* and *locopositi*), 165–208 (counts and viscounts).

[150] *MD* 121: Amalricus son of Walderricus and Gersinde donated land to Sant'Ambrogio for the souls of his parents. *MD* 126: Amalricus on a panel for a court case heard in Milan. *MD* 133: Amalricus presided over a sale of land in Cologno Monzese by two underage brothers.

in 892 and 918.[151] Minor officials appear quite frequently: *loci servitor* (777 Inguald) and *locopositus* (822 Aribert, 833 Walchis).[152] *Gastalds* (*gastaldi*): Gausarius (822, 835, 842, 855, with his vassals who lived in Milan);[153] Rotteri (of Seprio, 842);[154] Walcharius (844, 859, and 863, as *gastald* and *vicecomes*, 864);[155] Walderic (865).[156] *Scabini* are recorded in 822 (Johannis),[157] 836, 839, 844, 859 (Werolf),[158] 823/40 (Donusdei, Podo, Petrepert of Milan),[159] 844 (Leo, Leo, Alos, Assolf (also a witness in 847)),[160] 864 (Averulf, Ambrosius, Gundelassius).[161] Alongside these men, the main group which appeared in formal courts were 'judges' (*iudices*) of whom a large number are noted in charters, especially after the middle of the ninth century (844, Paul, Stabelis; 859, Ratfred; 864, Rafred, Simpert, Lupus; 865, Adelbert, Leo, Ratfred, Simpert; 870, Ambrosius (x2) of Milan).[162] Equally numerous were the notaries (discussed above, Chapter 1, 'Charter Forms').

All of these people had to live somewhere, but exactly where they lived and what these houses were like is not particularly well evidenced. There is certainly no reference in charters to the existence of a royal palace within the city walls in the early medieval period.[163] Many theories have been proposed as to the location of the Roman palaces and if they continued in use during the early Middle Ages.[164] A reference of 988 records the church of San Giorgio 'intra hac civitate

---

[151] *MD* 156 and *CDL* 475, both occasions on a panel.

[152] *MD* 25, 47, and 54 (presiding over a sale made by a woman). Cf. Castagnetti, 'Locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a Milano in età carolingia'.

[153] *MD* 47, 61 (an *inquisitio*), 71, 93.

[154] *MD* 71.

[155] *MD* 74, 101, 109, 112.

[156] *MD* 114.

[157] *MD* 47.

[158] *MD* 62, 64, 74, 101.

[159] *MD* 68.

[160] *MD* 74.

[161] *MD* 112.

[162] See notes 139–43 for the relevant documents. Cf. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence*, pp. 37–67.

[163] In general, Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 158–73.

[164] Brogiolo, 'Capitali e residenze regie nell'Italia longobarda', pp. 140–41 (evidence is inconclusive for the Lombard period), and Augenti, 'Luoghi e non luoghi', pp. 20–21 (fig. 4, plan of the late antique palace site in Via Brisio).

Mediolanum prope locus ubi palacio dicitur'.[165] Although much has been made of the designation of San Giorgio as 'at the palace', given the meaning of the modern Italian *palazzo* (grand house) this toponym does not necessarily refer to the old imperial palace. There is evidence of royal property (houses, land plots, wells) within the walls in the tenth century, but none of this is situated in the context of a palace.[166] The idea that the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio was used as a sort of palace complex is more promising in the light of comparisons elsewhere in Carolingian Europe (see below).[167]

There are several references to the *curs ducis* (see Map 3, no. 15),[168] located generically as within the *civitas* but traditionally identified with Piazza Cordusio on toponymic grounds alone. However, this identification is not impossible, being in the north and away from both the forum and the area dominated by the bishops.[169] That it was a considerable building is shown by the fact that it had a *laubia*, a portico where several court cases were held. It is the only evidence that the counts of Milan actually had any property in the city at all. It is certainly possible, given the absence of reference to other owners in this area, that the counts controlled the northern part of the city, especially since their other lands were in Brianza and Como, easily accessible by the Roman road which left the city through the Porta Comacina,[170] the nearest city gate to Cordusio. Certain buildings and some roads were termed *publicus*, including the forum and the mint which were, as usual in Italian cities (cf. Lucca, Pavia), very near each other: in 879 a house was located 'intra hanc civitate iuxta foro publico, non longe a moneta'.[171]

[165] *CDL* 842. Fundamental are Caporusso and Ceresa Mori, 'Milano'; Lusuardi Siena, 'Milano' and 'Topografia della zona di via Torino'. More recently: Augenti, 'Luoghi e non luoghi', pp. 20–21, 28, 32, and the useful summary by Piras, 'L'edificio romano in via Brisa'.

[166] *CDL* 599, dated 952, in which Otto I gave properties around the market area to Sant'Ambrogio (although this diploma is not above suspicion in its details). Philip Grierson spoke of a 'central palace workshop' when discussing Carolingian minting in Milan ('Money and Coinage under Charlemagne', p. 514).

[167] Airlie, 'The Palace Complex', pp. 263–65.

[168] Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 173–74.

[169] *MD* 114 and 156. For the place name, see Olivieri, p. 194. There has been almost no excavation in this heavily built-up part of the modern city.

[170] Carminati and Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense', pp. 49–52, which argues convincingly that two roads left this gate, one for Como and one for 'Isola Comacina', namely the district around Lecco.

[171] *MD* 138, bearing in mind the technical problems posed by this charter.

Urban Clergy and their Churches

Like laypeople, clergy appear as parties to charters and as witnesses. These charters document the existence of many churches in Milan in the ninth and tenth centuries which probably needed a considerable staff of clerics to run them as was normal in towns across Italy and Europe.[172] It is likely that these churches were already organized into urban parishes, especially given the presence of a sizeable urban population as argued above.[173] Closest to home were the clergy based at the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, a reasonably documented group whose importance can be attributed principally to their custodianship of the body of Ambrose (albeit a 'right' much disputed with the nearby monks). In the eighth century, as already seen, they dealt in land to the west and south-west of the church in 'Brisconno', 'Torriglas', Parabiago, Abbiategrasso, Lampugnano, and Milan itself.[174] In addition they benefitted from a small oil render from the estate of Toto in Campione. Throughout the rest of the period land to the west of the city remained the focus of their property interests, and the researches of Ambrosioni showed that this was still the case in the twelfth century.[175] They also acquired property in the ninth and tenth centuries in other areas close to the city: Carpiano (823, first reference), Novate (844), Vanzago (864), Trenno (877), Paderno (877), 'Mellesiate' (882), 'Cremellina' (887), Cornaredo (894), Bustes (922), Agello (955), and Assiano (992).[176] This is mapped

---

[172] Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re', p. 154, cites Ravenna, Cremona, and Padua as other examples. A significant amount of archaeological research now exists about the ninth- and tenth-century phases of many of these churches which can be accessed via Fieni, 'Indagine archeologico archaometrica sulla basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano'; Greppi, Bugini, and Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale'; and the many articles of Lusuardi Siena, notably 'Tracce archeologiche della "deposito" dei santi Gervasio e Protasio negli scavi ottocenteschi in Sant'Ambrogio'. There is not space to do it justice here.

[173] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, ch. 10, deals with the formation of parishes including those in towns. For Italian examples, see Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy*, ch. 3, and Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 86–91, 393–408. By the twelfth century there is a detailed description of urban processions, which attributes a key place to the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio: Magistretti, *Beroldus* (e.g. pp. 43, 91, 113 archiepiscopal Mass on Holy Saturday) and Bailey, 'Ambrosian Processions of the Saints'.

[174] *MD* 11, 28 (Brisconno), 17, 26, and *CDL* 1001 (Torriglas). *MD* 22 (Parabiago, although this document is suspect), 23 (Abbiategrasso), and 24 (Lampugnano and Milan).

[175] Ambrosioni, *Le pergamene della Canonica*, map on p. xli.

[176] *MD* 48, 62 and *CDL* 1003 (Carpiano); *MD* 87, *CDL* 269 (Novate); *CDL* 233 and 244 (Vanzago); *CDL* 269 and 429 (Trenno); *MD* 153, *CDL* 931 (Paderno); *CDL* 312, 684 ('Mellesiate'); *MD* 153 ('Cremellina'); *MD* 159 (Cornaredo); *CDL* 498 (Bustes); *CDL* 371, 868, 974 (Assiano); *CDL* 766 (Agello).

in Map 4. Eighth-century charters document deacons (742, Aunemundus;[177] 776 and 789, Fortis[178]), priests (765, Ambrosius;[179] 776, Andreas, Ropaldus, Ursus[180]), clerics (776, Letus and Quintus),[181] and the cellerer (781, but a suspect charter).[182] Mid-ninth-century texts record priests, but now with the specific titles of 'decumani', 'officiales', and 'custodes', all later to be resolved as 'canons': 864 *decumani* (not named),[183] 867 *officiales* (individuals not named),[184] 877 *officiales* (two named),[185] 877 *custodes* (two named),[186] 882 *officiales*,[187] 887 *officiales* (seven named).[188] There were at that time twelve canons in the 'college'. Tenth-century charters continue this pattern: 909 *custodes* (four named),[189] 922 *officiales*,[190] 964 *officiales* (five named),[191] 975 *decumani/officiales* (Walpert).[192] The first certain reference to a group of canons here (the *canonica*) dates to 1029, but it is likely that this had formed earlier in the eleventh century.[193]

---

[177] *MD* 11 (twelfth-century copy).

[178] *MD* 24 (twelfth-century), 30 (thirteenth-century copy), but both problematic texts (see above, Chapter 4).

[179] *MD* 17 (an original): *presbiter et custus*.

[180] *MD* 23 (twelfth-century copy).

[181] *MD* 24.

[182] *MD* 26 (late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century).

[183] *CDL* 233 (Pandolfi IX, 3) lumps the *decumani* of Sant'Ambrogio, San Vittore, San Nabore, San Felice, and Santa Valeria together.

[184] *CDL* 244 (Pandolfi IX, 4), a division of property between the *officiales* of Sant'Ambrogio and those of San Vittore, San Nabore, San Felice, and Santa Valeria.

[185] *CDL* 269 (Pandolfi IX, 5): reference to property held by these priests with their *consortes* may mean that they were married.

[186] *MD* 135 (authenticated twelfth-century copy).

[187] *CDL* 312 (Pandolfi IX, 6).

[188] *MD* 153 (twelfth-century) = *CDL* 339 (Pandolfi IX, 8). There are two surviving copies.

[189] *CDL* 429 (Pandolfi X, 1).

[190] *CDL* 498 (Pandolfi X, 2).

[191] *CDL* 684 (Pandolfi X, 9). This recorded that the basilica and its properties belonged to the archbishopric.

[192] *CDL* 766, 768. Cf. Violante, 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese', pp. 697–98.

[193] Ambrosioni, *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale*, pp. 159–60. Cf. Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, pp. 223–27. It is unclear what rule this community may have followed before this period and indeed whether clergy lived in common here.
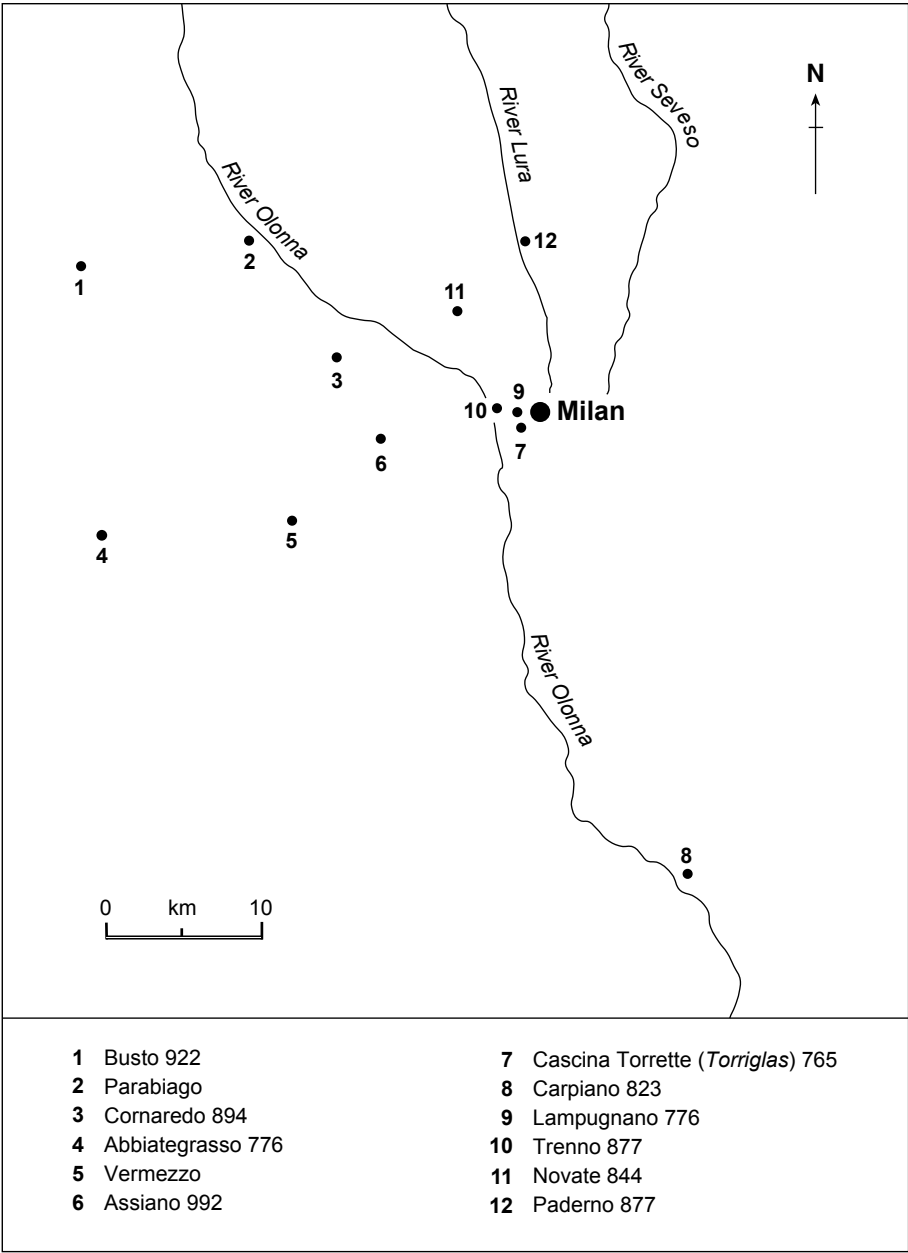
Map 4. Properties owned by the clerics of the *basilica sancti Ambrosii*, 765–*c*. 1000 AD.
Drawn by Elaine Watts.

The archbishop's clergy are also reasonably documented. The *vicedominus* (essentially an advocate who was an ecclesiastic) played an important role in some property transactions. The role is first documented here in March 777 in the testament of Toto of Campione (Martinus *vecedomnus* as witness).[194] The office was occupied for a long period by Gunzo, a deacon (833, 836, 839, 840, 844, 851 as archdeacon, and 856).[195] In 859 it was the deacon Giso,[196] and in 865 Anspert who subsequently became archbishop.[197] In 882 the deacon Ariprand was *vicedominus*, and he was possibly the nephew of Anspert.[198] Archpriests are recorded in 839 (Rachinpert)[199] and 890 (Aupald).[200] Priests not attached to a specific church appear in 789,[201] 832 (Rachinpert),[202] 839 (Rumoald),[203] 864 (Grecorius),[204] 876 (Raifred, Aribert, and Johannes),[205] 941 (Andreas),[206] and 968 (Liuprand).[207] The lower grades are also recorded: 777 (Odelpert subdeacon),[208] 806 (Benedict subdeacon),[209] 836 (Gunzo and Hermesindus deacons),[210] 839 (Gunzo and Hermesindus),[211] 857 and 859 (Anspertus deacon),[212] 874 (Gundelasius subdeacon),[213] 903 (Radingone and

---

[194] *MD* 25 (an original).

[195] *MD* 54, 55, 62, 64, 67, 74, 86, and 94.

[196] *MD* 101.

[197] *MD* 114 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 67).

[198] *MD* 146/146a.

[199] *MD* 65, *vir venerabilis archpresbiter*.

[200] *CDL* 342. The reference to Datheus archpriest in 789 is probably fabricated (*MD* 30).

[201] *MD* 30, thirteen listed as witnesses (but this list may be fabricated).

[202] *MD* 53. He later became archpriest and abbot of Sant'Ambrogio.

[203] *MD* 65.

[204] *CDL* 233, his testament.

[205] *MD* 134.

[206] *CDL* 564, archbishop's *missus*.

[207] *CDL* 706, archbishop's *missus*.

[208] *MD* 25.

[209] *MD* 38.

[210] *MD* 62.

[211] *MD* 64.

[212] *MD* 48 and 102.

[213] *MD* 125.

Petrus subdeacons),[214] 905 (4 deacons *de cardine*),[215] 912 (Ingelbertus custodian of basilica S. Petri),[216] 923 (Adelbertus son of Anselm of *Sertole*, deacon),[217] 941 (archdeacon Ambrosius),[218] 953 (Adelbert subdeacon, 'primicerius notariorum de ordine sancte mediolanensis ecclesiae' and *missus* of the archbishop),[219] and 957 (Liuprand subdeacon and *missus*).[220]

Witness lists also report numerous clergy without obvious affiliation: priests (822, Rachibert, panel in court case);[221] Petronax (915, donor);[222] arch-priests (851, Andreas 'misso da parte sancti Ambrosii');[223] archdeacons (859, Petrus court panel; 859, Rachinardus; 912, Adelard; 941, Ambrosius);[224] sub-deacons (833, Allechis; 848, Tado (twice); 863, Adelprand; 864, Andreas; 903, Petrus);[225] clerics (784, Theodoratus; 830, Dachibert; 833, Paulus, Senoald, Landulf, Johannes; 836, Paulus; 844, Gumpert (twice), Johannes, Cunibert; 847, Clarus; 848, Paulus; 849, Jordanes; 856, Adelbertus; 859, Jordanus, Magnus, and Aribert panellists; 861, Ursus, Jordanus, and Paulus; 862, Magnus and Jordanus; 863, Petrus; 863, Adelbertus; 875, Maribert; 909, Leo; 915, Amelbertus; 923, Adelbertus and *notarius*).[226] It is clear that there were far fewer clerics witnessing tenth-century charters than earlier ones and many more *iudices* and notaries. The explanation for this is unclear.

A certain amount of land is recorded as having belonged to individual clergy in Milan: 879 (Petrus priest, *casa*);[227] 882 (Leopertus, *clericus*, lived near

---

[214] *CDL* 402.

[215] *CDL* 416.

[216] *CDL* 447, exchanging land in Valede/Novate with Abbess Adelberga.

[217] *CDL* 502, exchanging land in Cologno Monzese with Abbot Rachibert.

[218] *CDL* 564.

[219] *CDL* 602.

[220] *CDL* 621.

[221] *MD* 47.

[222] *CDL* 457.

[223] *MD* 86. Cf. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 334–45.

[224] *MD* 101, *CDL* 447, 564. Cf. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 49–51.

[225] *MD* 55, 82, 83, 109, *CDL* 233, 402. Cf. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 47–49.

[226] *MD* 28, 52, 55 (these four clerics all signed their own names), 62, 75, 76, 80, 83, 84 (a signature), 96 (a signature), 101, 105 (three signatures), 106 (two signatures), 109 (signature), 110 (signature), 128 (signature), *CDL* 429, 460, 502.

[227] *MD* 138.

San Lorenzo);[228] 909 (Petrus *clericus*, land in Trenno);[229] 915 (Petronax, land in Trezzano).[230] One document records clergy donating land to their own churches (853).[231] A few clerics were also identified as notaries (826, Ingoald).[232] Several problematic documents — clearly altered after the events reported in them — list large numbers of clergy anachronistically: 784, 787 and 789, 843, 852 ('primicerius presbiteri decumani'), 871, 896/98.[233] In the tenth century more clerical office holders are evidenced in genuine documents, including canons at the cathedral and also at the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio. Thirteenth-century disputes between these canons and the monks of Sant'Ambrogio, studied in depth by Ambrosioni,[234] clearly resulted in significant tampering with earlier charters to prove rights of various sorts. It is difficult, therefore, to trust the information we now have about the organization of clergy at Sant'Ambrogio before the eleventh century.

Other urban churches are also evidenced particularly from the mid-ninth century onwards, as set out in Table 9. Given that this information about Milanese clerics is contained within charters mostly preserved by the monks of Sant'Ambrogio and concerning that institution's interests, it is likely that this represents just a little of what was there. A considerable number of churches are evidenced (located on Map 3, above) which had clerics who maintained them and presumably said Masses for their parishioners both dead and alive, although there is little evidence in the charters of this period about such relationships.[235] The archbishop's church administered these urban churches, presumably supplying them with staff and maintaining these men. Clerics were fully involved in transacting property both with other clerics and with laypeople.

---

[228] *CDL* 312.

[229] *CDL* 429.

[230] *CDL* 457.

[231] *MD* 90. Two clerical brothers were establishing a hospice in 'Octabo' with this transaction. The *xenodochium* was to pass into the control of the Sant'Ambrogio monks after their deaths.

[232] *MD* 50.

[233] *MD* 28, *CDL* 61, *MD* 30, 73, 87, *CDL* 252 (parchment now lost), 371.

[234] Ambrosioni, *Le Pergamene della Canonica* and Ambrosioni, 'Controversie tra il monastero e la canonica'.

[235] Cf. Anglo-Saxon England where the nature of contemporary pastoral care is better evidenced at this period: Blair, 'Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England'; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*; Blair and Sharpe, *Pastoral Care before the Parish*. The forthcoming doctoral thesis of Michele Baitieri (University of Nottingham) addresses precisely this issue for the archdiocese of Milan.

Table 9. Churches within Milan

Date	Church	Clergy
864, 867, 992, 1000	San Vittore	Presbiteri decumani; 992, 1000 Petrus, p.d. property
864, 867, 992	San Nabore	Presbiteri decumani; 992 property
864, 867	San Felice	Presbiteri decumani
864, 867	Santa Valeria	Presbiteri decumani
871, 974	Santa Maria Podonis	871 presbiteri decumani; 974 Johannes p.d.
879	San Satiro	Xenodochium
903	San Raffaello	Aureliano priest in charge; Warimbert deacon; 12 priests
915, 997	Santa Maria Hiemalis (cathedral)	Recipient of donation; 997 Andreas p.d. property
926, 955, 964, 970, 988 (twice), 992, 995, 997, 999	San Giorgio	926 Petrus p.d.; 955 property; 964 Waldevert p.d.; 970 Richard p.d.; 988 property; 988 Walpert p.d.; 992 property; 995 property in Cologno; 997 property in Milan; 999 Adelbert p.d.
950	San Martino in Compodo	Ragipert p.d.
963	San Donato	Garibald p.d.
964, 994	Santa Tecla (old cathedral)	Ambrosius p.d.
968, 992	San Dionigi	Bonipert p.d.; 992 property
972	San Damiano	Bonipert
972, 993	Santa Maria Beltrade	Paulus p.d.
975	San Giovanni quatru facie	Adelbert archpresbiter
993	San Nazaro	None

Urban Monks and Nuns

Although Sant'Ambrogio is by far the best-documented monastic community in the region owing to the survival of its charters, other Milanese monasteries and nunneries without genuine early medieval charters are evidenced from a few documents which have survived within the Sant'Ambrogio corpus.[236]

---

[236] Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re', pp. 155–57, cites Pavia and Ravenna as other cases of significant urban monasticism.

Four other communities are mentioned in ninth-century sources: the monasteries of San Vincenzo in Prato and San Simpliciano, and the nunneries of Santa Maria d'Aurona and the Monastero Maggiore. The foundation dates of each remain uncertain, although often attributed to the Lombard period. The earliest recorded is the Monastero Maggiore ('the greater or main monastery') mentioned in the bounds of a charter relating to Carpiano in 823, having possibly originated in the late Lombard period.[237] In a charter of 853 two clerical brothers, Deusdedit and Senator, set up a hospice (*xenodochium*) in 'Octavo' (San Cristoforo Occhiate, near Cologno) for the poor and pilgrims according to the provisions of the Roman *Lex Falcidia*. Sant'Ambrogio was to adminster it. They hoped this act of charity would save the souls of themselves and other family members including two sisters who seem to have been nuns ('monachas monasterii magiore') and required annual returns of produce to help feed the poor and lights to be constantly lit in the building including at night ('luminaria per nocte').[238] The sisters retained control over it while they lived. This use of private property was not strictly allowable under the terms of most monastic rules of this period, but was apparently a common practice. The only other reference to property of this nunnery is in an exchange of June 967, where land in Novate is noticed once again in the bounds.[239]

San Vincenzo is first noticed in 835 in the (dubious) diploma issued by Archbishop Angilbert which confirmed many of Sant'Ambrogio's estates to Abbot Gaudentius who was, apparently, abbot of both monasteries.[240] Already in 806 Archbishop Odelpert had given his oratory of San Vincenzo *in Prata* to Abbot Arigausus of Sant'Ambrogio in usufruct.[241] It is likely that this formed the focus for the monastic community. More reliable is the information (from

---

[237] *MD* 48 (an original), 'terra de monastero maiore'. The adjacent owners were, significantly, the king and one of his vassals, Hernost, which is likely to mean that the land was acquired from the fisc. The monastery was built into the Roman wall, which is well preserved here and later became the church of San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore. The problematic origins of this community are examined by Occhipinti, 'Appunti per la storia del Monastero Maggiore di Milan in età medioevale' and Occhipinti, *Il contado milanese nel secolo XIII*, p. 18 n. 6.

[238] *MD* 90 (a contemporary copy). Two copies of the agreement were made, one for Sant'Ambrogio, the other for the family. The surviving text is unfortunately damaged. For the economic significance of *luminaria* in the Frankish world north of the Alps, see Fouracre, '"Framing" and Lighting', pp. 311–12 for Italy.

[239] *CDL* 704 (original), 'de monasterio qui dicitur magiore'.

[240] *MD* 58 (authenticated thirteenth-century copy).

[241] *MD* 38 (original).

a *testamentum* of July 850) that an estate in Sumirago in the Varesotto given by Scaptoald to his sister Gisalberga would pass to the 'monasterii sancti Vincentii prope civitatem Mediolani' if she died without issue.[242] In July 885 a similar reference ('monasterii sancti Vincentii, fundatum foris hac civitate Mediolani') occurs in a *pro anima* bequest made by the moneyer Ambrose for his soul and that of his friend (*amico meo*) Abbot Peter of Sant'Ambrogio.[243] An exchange of May 956 between Benedict, San Vincenzo's abbot ('humilis abba monasterii Christi levite et martyris Vincenci'), and a local man reveals that the monastery had indeed acquired Sumirago property as its land filled the boundary clauses of this transaction.[244] Benedict had his own *missus*, Rotardus ('priest, monk and missus'). A similar document involved Abbot Garibald in May 992.[245]

San Simpliciano was, of course, adjacent to one of Ambrose's basilicas which may well have been therefore the site of a long-established clerical community.[246] Its monastery is first mentioned only in the 880s in a (now fragmentary) exchange between the priest Rezertum and 'Hadericus peccator et humilis abbas'.[247] The document was drafted 'in monasterio sancti Simpliciani'. The monastery was mentioned again in the property bounds of Archbishop Andreas's will in 903,[248] but after that disappears from the record until 992.[249] The nunnery of Santa Maria d'Aurona, probably in existence during the eighth century, was on 21 March 880 confirmed as a possession of Sant'Ambrogio by Charles the Fat. It had been given by the former Empress Angilberga to the monastery in memory of her late husband Louis II, of course buried there.[250] In March 885 Abbot Peter II exchanged land with the Bishop of Lodi,

---

[242] *MD* 85 (original). Discussed with a translation of the charter by Balzaretti. 'The Curtis', pp. 100–102.

[243] *MD* 152 (original).

[244] *CDL* 614 (original).

[245] *CDL* 867.

[246] Little is known archaeologically of the basilica let alone any monastic buildings between the eighth and the eleventh centuries: Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', pp. 52–56, with bibliography.

[247] *CDL* 316 (original), see above, Introduction to Part 1.

[248] *CDL* 402, above, Chapter 4.

[249] *CDL* 868, the recipient of a bequest of Milanese property.

[250] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 21: 'Confirmantes insuper monasterium infra ipsam urbem constitutum quod nominatur Aurunae, quod Engilberga olim imperatrix devotissime obtulit in ipsum monasterium pro remedium animae dive memoriae Hluduuici quondam imperatoris augusti, cum familiis promiscui sexus et etatis et omnibus que ad eum

and the latter's property in *Levania* was intended for the 'monasterio sancte Marie que dicitur Auruni, quam ipso monasterio sancte Marie pertinere videatur de sub regimine et potestate predicto monasterio sancti Ambrosii'.[251] The nuns already had property there, and also in Rossate (in the Lodigiano) which Peter was exchanging. In November 936 the nunnery was mentioned in several boundary clauses of land near its own buildings 'a locus ubi sancto Grecorio dicitur'.[252] According to this charter this area was known as the 'Aurona suburb' (*in braida Aurune*). It is the only one of these monastic communities with high-quality physical remains, suggesting considerable wealth and the aristocratic status of its occupants.[253] During the tenth century the Aurona nunnery was joined by three others, all in this northern part of town: Santa Maria Gisonis,[254] San Salvatore 'Wigilinda',[255] and 'Datheus'.[256] Although it is likely that all these institutions were much smaller than Sant'Ambrogio and the nunneries tiny by

pertinent rebus tam mobilibus quam inmobilibus cum universis cohortibus et casis massariciis e aldionariciis et cunctis pertinentiis earum in iure et potestatem iam dicti monasterii ad integrum praesentaliter taxamus et stabilimus, ut habeat ea atque possideat fruaturque iure quieto' (We confirm in addition that monastery set up within the city called 'Aurona', which Angilberga the most devout former empress bestowed on the monastery [of Sant'Ambrogio] for the sake of the soul of Louis of blessed memory and once the august emperor, with six common servants for their lifetimes and everything both mobile and immobile which pertained to it with all estates and the houses of tenants and the half-free and everything pertaining to those we fix and establish from the present under the jurisdiction and power of the aforementioned monastery [Sant'Ambrogio], so that it should have and possess it and the fruits from it free of legal challenge).

[251] *MD* 150 (original).

[252] *CDL* 547 (original), *res monasterii Aurune*. See Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*, figs 2 and 3. Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', p. 563.

[253] Dianzani, *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano*, e.g. the pilasters in plate XIII.

[254] 912 (*CDL* 447) Adelberga, abbess; 940 (*CDL* 556); 941 (*CDL* 564) Sigelberga (abbess); 963 (*CDL* 674) Maria (abbess); and 967 (*CDL* 704) Godeltruda (abbess). Cf. Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', pp. 558–63.

[255] 903 (*CDL* 402, a will of Archbishop Andreas) Gariberga, abbess; 961 (*CDL* 649, a will of Archbishop Walpert). Cf. Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', pp. 547–50.

[256] 903 (*CDL* 402) Ameberga *monacha*, the niece of Archbishop Andreas. This is a rare reference to a nun: there is another ('Rimflada Deo dicata monacha') in *MD* 135 (June 877) who, together with her son Gunzo, had bequeathed property in Paderno to the clerics at Sant'Ambrogio. Milanese property was bequeathed by the priest Petrus to this institution in 992 (*CDL* 868).

comparison with the royal nunnery of Santa Giulia in Brescia, nevertheless the existence of eight monastic communities in Milan by the early tenth century was a significant presence on the urban scene. Late tenth-century documents mention other two monastic churches, San Celso and Santi Gervasio e Protasio, founded at the start of a new phase of monastic life in the city.[257]

The Suburban Community of Sant'Ambrogio

The monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio was sited just outside the city to the south-west adjacent to the ancient basilica of Saint Ambrose. Founded in the 780s, the style and extent of the monastic complex has proved hard to reconstruct from surviving material evidence (as seen above, Chapter 3, 'Sant'Ambrogio: From Mausoleum to Monastery').[258] Nothing like the Plan of St Gall or the startling excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno in Molise has survived.[259] Those places were perhaps 'monastic cities' (in the Hodges model) whereas Sant'Ambrogio was a monastery in a city, and urban communities across Europe tended to be physically smaller than rural ones. Even so, the Sant'Ambrogio community was probably well appointed if the substantial so-called 'monks' tower' (Figure 12) generally thought to be a ninth-century structure is anything to go by.[260]

Excavations carried out in the 1980s and 1990s in the courtyards of the Catholic University of Milan (near the presumed site of the early monastery of Sant'Ambrogio) turned up some early medieval material, albeit difficult to date with much precision.[261] Perhaps the most interesting find was evidence of gold-

---

[257] *CDL* 868. San Celso was bequeathed land by Archbishop Landulf of Milan in November 997 (*CDL* 937).

[258] Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', pp. 61–64, a good recent overview with bibliography.

[259] Horn and Born, *The Plan of St Gall*; Sanderson, 'The Plan of St Gall Reconsidered'; Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*.

[260] Capponi, *La Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano*, p. 24; Greppi, Bugini, and Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale', pp. 104–05. The base of the tower used Roman stone *spolia*, the remainder brick, much of it also late Roman. Its date is in dispute: Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', p. 63.

[261] Reported by Lusuardi Siena, Rossignani, and Sannazaro, *L'abitato, la necropoli, il monastero*, pp. 149–76 (main entry by Eliana Sedini). The early medieval history of the nearby basilica of Saint Ambrose is also still fairly obscure: Lusuardi Siena, Neri, and Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano', pp. 62–63.

Figure 12. 'Monks' tower'. Ninth century (?). Milan, Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio.
Photo © BAMS photo Rodella/Jaca Book, <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/
architetture/schede/LMD80–00137/>.

smelting which the excavators tentatively associated with artisan activity perhaps in a monastic workshop.[262] A few shards of locally manufactured early medieval pottery were discovered along with two tenth-century silver denarii, both minted in *Mediolanum*, one in Hugh and Lothar's reign and one either Otto I's or Otto III's.[263] As already mentioned there is reference to the monastic cloister (*clausura*) in April 844, and a reference dated March 880 hints that the site was by then in some way fortified.[264] Such lack of evidence makes the important gendered rereadings of monastic space undertaken by Lynda Coon using the examples of Corvey and Fulda impossible for this site, although the general point made is certainly relevant to this as to other Carolingian monastic institutions.[265] Unsurprisingly the charters to a degree illustrate the human composition of the community at different points in time. Abbots, provosts/priors (*praepositi*), and monks (including monk-priests) all appear, but it is impossible to guess the overall size of the community at any point given the inconsistent nature of its documentation. Inevitably there is more information about some abbots than about others, a pattern which may of itself be significant as effective abbots probably left behind more documents than ineffective ones. It is possible to construct a fairly complete list of known ninth- and tenth-century abbots, but their backgrounds are much less easy to investigate, and almost nothing is known about the family origins of any abbot of Sant'Ambrogio in this period.[266] The full list of Sant'Ambrogio abbots discussed in this book is Benedict (?784–806),[267] Arigausus (806–14),[268] Deusdedit (814–35),[269] Gaudentius (835–42),[270] Rachinpert (843–44),[271] Andreas (844–51),[272]

---

[262] Perhaps to be associated with the production of the golden altar? Comparison with the well-known workshops at San Vincenzo are worth bearing in mind (Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*, pp. 94–101).

[263] Lusuardi Siena, Rossignani, and Sannazaro, *L'abitato, la necropoli, il monastero*, p. 175.

[264] Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', p. 551.

[265] Coon, *Dark Age Bodies*, pp. 134–64.

[266] The best discussion is Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio' whose new datings replace the traditional ones which I adopted in my thesis, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', pp. 305 and 327, n. 49.

[267] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 290–91.

[268] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 291.

[269] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 291–92.

[270] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 292.

[271] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 293.

[272] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 293–94.

Peter I (854),[273] Peter II (854–99),[274] Gaidulf (903–06),[275] Sigifred (912–13),[276] Rachibert (915–23),[277] Anselbert (931–32),[278] Aupald (936–64),[279] Peter III (966–74),[280] Gaidoald (985–91),[281] and Odelricus (1000).[282] The fact that we know so little about these sixteen men and their personal connections is suggestive of their religious probity: perhaps they did indeed not hold any personal property as the Rule of Benedict (Ch. 33) required.[283] Transactions often mention that land was given to the abbot and his successors (*successores*), meaning the office of abbot rather than the individual. However, this does not mean that they did not deal on the monastic community's behalf in the outside world, and in this context they appear to have exercised considerable personal power outside of the monastery. Benedict's Rule was, of course, not especially clear on the details of this aspect of monastic life and practice.

Abbot Arigausus, for instance, seems to have leased the *oratorium* dedicated to San Vincenzo and its associated estate (*curtis*) called *Prata* (i.e. 'meadow') from Archbishop Odelpert in 806.[284] This property was certainly designated for his own use and not that of the community as a whole, for the document stipulated that control over it was to revert to the archbishops upon the abbot's death. Abbot Gaudentius was probably abbot of both Sant'Ambrogio and the *monasterium* of San Vincenzo, but this link too appears to have died with him.[285] The current church of San Vincenzo in Prato (Figure 13) conserves

---

[273] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 294.

[274] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 294–96. The identification of Peter as Frankish here has no basis in the evidence, and his supposed temporary deposition (see above, Chapter 4, 'Acquisitions and Disputes') is equally problematically recorded.

[275] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 296–97.

[276] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 297.

[277] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 297.

[278] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 297–98.

[279] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 298–301, an important discussion.

[280] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 302.

[281] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 302–03.

[282] Tagliabue 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 303.

[283] Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, pp. 122–23.

[284] *MD* 38, AdSM sec. IX 3 (an original). Above, Chapter 2, 'Premodern Ambrose'.

[285] *MD* 58. In *MD* 152, a grant to Sant'Ambrogio made by Ambrosius f.q. Ado, a *monetarius* of Milan, 'pro anima mea et anima Petri vir venerabili abbas monasteri sancti Ambrosii amico

Figure 13. Basilica of San Vincenzo in Prato, Milan.
Photograph taken in 1908. Public domain.

some early medieval elements despite being much restored in the last two centuries. Abbot Rachinpert is interesting as he might have risen through the ranks of the church of Milan under the patronage of Archbishop Angilbert II, who possibly appointed him as abbot.[286] From the little evidence we have, none of the abbots in office before 855 appears to have been anything other than dependent on the archbishops. After 855 the abbots were much more independently active, at least in the arena of property management. Abbot Peter II

meo', Ambrosius states that if the terms of the grant were not carried out fully the property was to go to the monastery of San Vincenzo. It is unclear if the link between the two communities had been broken by this date or not. Certainly this had happened by 956, for in that year Benedict was Abbot of San Vincenzo (*CDL* 614) whilst Aupald was Abbot of Sant'Ambrogio.

[286] The document which records that Rachinpert was made abbot 'per consensum sacerdotum nostrum' (*MD* 73, a *preceptum* of Angilbert's dating to *c*. 843) was interpolated in the eleventh century precisely at this point, so this information may be spurious. Rachinpert may be the 'archpresbiter sancte Mediolanesis ecclesia' recorded in 839 as the recipient of property in the village of Gnignano as a result of a will made in his favour by a certain Teutpald. Tagliabue's certainty on these points seems misguided ('Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 293).

is evidenced in thirty charters in the course of a very long abbacy of forty-five years.[287] Royal *diplomata* refer to him with respect, and he seems to have been an important political figure, although we cannot be certain in the absence of detailed narrative sources. The only other abbots evidenced in anything like this detail are Aupald, who presided over the final stages of the Limonta dispute and became Bishop of Novara in 964 (until 993), and Gaidoald, who had some dealings with Otto III.[288]

How far the archbishops intervened in monastic elections to promote particular individuals is not really knowable, despite the occasional hint in royal *diplomata* that more than the regulation election by the monks was taking place. Charlemagne's 790 diploma was insistent that the monks should elect their abbot: 'et quandoquidem divina vocatione abbas ex ipso monasterio de hac ab luce ad Dominum migraveris, licentia habitat monachi de ipso monasterio sancte Dei ecclecie mediolanensium vobisque per omnia fidelium super se secundum ordinem sanctum et regulam sancti Benedicti eligendi abbatem'.[289] But Lothar's grant of May 835 makes clear the involvement of the archbishop by then: 'et si qui quando quidem abbas ex eodem monasterio decesserit, secundum suam institutione licentium habeant per consensum archiepiscoporum, qui tunc per temporum fecerint, de ipsa congregatione elegendi talem abbatem, qui eis secundum regulam et iustitiam praeesse prodesse possit'.[290] Royal documents could distinguish between 'the monastery' as a collectivity (Charlemagne, Lothar, Hugh/Lothar, and Otto I), specific abbots (Louis II, Charles the Fat, and Arnulf to Abbot Peter II, and Otto I to Aupald), and 'the monks' (Charles the Fat and Otto III).

Benedict in his Rule had made clear the various roles in the monastery. Monk-priests were allowed but cautioned to follow the Rule and not to question their abbot (Ch. 62).[291] Priors, who clearly had a powerful position which approached that of the abbot, were yet more problematic for Benedict and had to guard against pride all the time (Ch. 65).[292] Priors (and the occasional monk)

---

[287] *MD* 94, 95, 96, 101, 102, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 112, 117, 122, 123, 125, 128, 129, 134, 139, 141, 143, 146a, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 160, 161.

[288] Aupald: *CDL* 547, 559, 573, 578, 596, 599, 602, 608, 609, 611, 621, 624, 652, 637, 642, 669, 670, 671, 679; Gaidoald: *CDL* 826, 832, 834, 845, 846, 859, 860.

[289] *MD* 31.

[290] Above, Chapter 4, 'Acquisitions and Disputes'.

[291] Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, pp. 200–201.

[292] Venarde, *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, pp. 210–13.

are reported at Sant'Ambrogio from 822 on (perhaps even earlier).[293] The first was Nonio ('monk and prior') who acted for the community in a court case against some of its *servi* in the Valtellina.[294] By 826 Sunderarius ('priest and prior') seems to have taken over.[295] In 842 Aripert ('priest and monk') took formal possession of property in Sumirago.[296] In 844 Martino ('humble priest and prior') took possession of property in Gudo.[297] In 847 Magiorino ('priest and monk') undertook the same function in Mendrisio.[298] In March 848 a monk named Ermoald is mentioned in an agreement (*conventio*) between the abbot and Gunzo as having at some earlier time given land in 'Nebioni' to the monastery.[299] In 854 Sesepert ('priest, monk and prior of the cell of San Zeno in Campione') took charge of property in Lamone.[300] Sesepert reappeared later in 854 as party to a rent contract with Laurentio of Cadro,[301] and again in June 856 (as Sespert *presbiter*) with property in Gudo.[302] He took charge in March 862 of a division of property between the monastery and Gaidulf of Cologno.[303] Another prior featured in a case of 864.[304] Peter ('prior') appeared in court in January and in March 865.[305] In 870 Leo ('priest and monk') took part in a case with Magnefred of Delebio, a monastic dependent.[306] Gaidulf ('deacon and monk') took possession of a house in Cologno in December 875.[307] By 913 the office of prior was qualified with the addition of the role

[293] In May 859 a prior of the monastery (Donumdei, a monk) was mentioned during a court case concerning land in Cologno Monzese which had been given to Sant'Ambrogio many years earlier: *MD* 101 (an original).

[294] *MD* 47 (an original). See below, Chapter 8.

[295] *MD* 50 (an original). He was buying a farm in Biandronno, nr. Varese, from two local brothers. The document was written at 'Scogalo' outside Milan.

[296] *MD* 70a (twelfth-century authenticated copy).

[297] *MD* 76 (an original). He was accompanied by Nithard, a vassal of Abbot Rachinpert.

[298] *MD* 81 (an original).

[299] *MD* 83 (an original).

[300] *MD* 91 (an original).

[301] *CDL* 186, a twelfth-century copy in the archiepiscopal archive.

[302] *MD* 95.

[303] *MD* 106 (an original).

[304] *MD* 112 (a damaged original).

[305] *MD* 114 (an original), 116 (tenth-century copy).

[306] *MD* 122 (late ninth-/tenth-century copy).

[307] *MD* 130 (an original). Gaidulf may have become abbot in 903.

as the Abbot's *missus* when in June of that year Rachinald ('priest, prior, and monk') took that role in an exchange of land in Inzago.[308] Thereafter the abbot tended to appear in documents himself without a prior being present, although his *missi* often appeared with him.[309] This is especially noticeable under Abbot Aupald. During his twenty-eight years as abbot five men are recorded as representing him in property transactions, a number which suggests significant continuity of personnel.[310] In particular, Garibald ('deacon and *missus*') fulfilled this role between 955 and 963, and continued under Aupald's successor Peter III.[311] Thereafter the number of references to such officials declines as the number of monastic charters tails off,[312] perhaps indicative of the 'hard times' which the community suffered then (as reported in Otto III's diploma of 998, above, Chapter 4).

Also directly connected with the monastic community were lay advocates who represented its legal interests in courts and elsewhere.[313] The earliest reference is to Ansolf of Lucernate in a case of March 864 regarding property in Bissone.[314] In 865 the advocate was Jordannis, *scabinus*.[315] In 874–75 it was Adelbert of Lampugnano, who also witnessed the monastery's charters.[316] In a case concerning the estate of Limonta (October 896), the advocate was

---

[308] *CDL* 451 (an original = Natale & Piano, doc. 11).

[309] For example, *CDL* 488 (920), Peter 'deacon and monk'; *CDL* 539 (May 931), Giselbert priest and Angelbert deacon.

[310] 936 (*CDL* 547) Herembert and Giselbert priests, Angelbert deacon; 941 (*CDL* 559) Angelbert again; 943 (*CDL* 573) Esembert and Angelbert priests; 946 (*CDL* 587) Maternus deacon; 953 (*CDL* 602) Maternus priest and *missus*; 955 (*CDL* 608) Herembert priest and monk; 955 (*CDL* 609) Garibald *missus*; 955 (*CDL* 611) Maternus *missus*; 957 (*CDL* 621) Garibald deacon and *missus*; 957 (*CDL* 624) Garibald *missus*; 960 (*CDL* 637) Garibald *missus*; 963 (*CDL* 670) Garibald *missus*; 963 (*CDL* 671) Garibald *missus*.

[311] 966 (*CDL* 694) 'monk, deacon, and prior'.

[312] By 970 Garibald seems to have been replaced by Stefanus 'monk, priest, and *missus*' (*CDL* 719). He is recorded again in 973 (*CDL* 748) and 974 (*CDL* 752, 753). In 987 Abbot Gaidoald's *missus* was Fulcheroardus (*CDL* 832, 834, 848), and again in 991 (*CDL* 859).

[313] Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 328–38, and the important article by West, 'The Significance of the Carolingian Advocate'. Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century*, pp. 230–41, discusses relationships between monks and the laity more generally.

[314] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 66 (= *MD* 112).

[315] *MD* 114 and 116 (tenth-century copy).

[316] As witness: 870 (*MD* 122). As advocate: 874 (Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 78 = *MD* 126), 875 (*MD* 127).

Anselm, also a notary.[317] In 905 it was Adelricus, 'notary and advocate',[318] and in 908 Boniprand, 'the king's judge and advocate'.[319] In 918, it was Giselbert 'judge from Inzago'.[320]

The monastery's close social networks also encompassed vassals (*vassi*) and other 'friends' (*amici*).[321] Vassals are explicitly named as witnesses in many charters from the year 830 onwards (Table 10). They usually can be found supporting the monastery in disputes at court and visting newly acquired property with associated witnessing.

Table 10. Vassals of Sant'Ambrogio

Date	Vassal	Role
830, 847	Laudebert of Confienza, vassal of Abbot Andreas	Witness
844 twice	Nithard	Witness
870	Rodebert and Adelgisus	Court panelists
875	Lubedei	Witness
882	Bonus and Adelgisus	Court panelists
885	Andreas and Petrus; Lauderic son of Lubedei and Amempert	Witnesses
885	Leoprand and Lauderic; Amempert	Witnesses
896	Noteramn, Giselbert, Giso	Court panelists, vassals of Abbot Peter
897	Nortemannus and Ilderatus	Witnesses
903	Grimpald, Hilderatus	Witnesses
912	Grimpald	Witness
913	Nortemannus, Grimaldus, Petrus	Witnesses

The monks and abbots of Sant'Ambrogio hardly ever saw the kings, emperors, queens, and empresses whose patronage they occasionally received.[322] Meetings

---

[317] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 101 = *MD* 160.

[318] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 117 = *CDL* 416.

[319] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 122 = *CDL* 427.

[320] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, no. 129 = *CDL* 475.

[321] Sergi, 'I rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari' is a very thorough study.

[322] However, some monks appear to have travelled far outside Milan. Five — Adelperto, Faroaldo, Donato, Peredeo, and Thome — are recorded in burial inscriptions found at

probably took place at court cases when the king was present or if the royal family stayed in the monastery's guest quarters (assuming the monastic complex had these, which is archaeologically unproven). Even the archbishops, whose support was crucial to the community's well-being throughout the ninth century, were apparently less frequent visitors as the tenth century progressed. Instead, the people who really mattered on a day-to-day basis were the other city dwellers, clerical and lay, rich and poor discussed in the first part of this chapter.

Conclusion

The overriding argument of this chapter has been that Milan was a real city throughout the early medieval period. The charters which evidence both buildings and people at Milan certainly have parallels across Italy, including Piacenza, Verona, Lucca, and Naples among many others.[323] Milan was different from those towns because of its late imperial past which conditioned its urban form throughout the medieval period and beyond, as happened at Rome to a much greater degree. Parallels with Ravenna are also relevant.[324] As has been seen, charters provide good evidence for contemporary perceptions of the urban space ('town as idea').[325] Location clauses demonstrate that the perception of proximity was essential to contemporaries' understanding of settlements described as *urbs*.[326] References to distance in these charters nearly always mention nearness or proximity: *prope*, *iuxta*, *non multum longe*; there is no usage equivalent to 'a long way off'. If the very formulae used by scribes to produce charters give the impression of physical crowdedness, this was probably at the least a 'realistic' (if not necessarily 'real') perception. The same phrases, because they appear in documents where the precise description of property was essential to the meaning of the record, evidence real density of settlement within some parts of the admittedly intramural area, as argued above. When specific

Montecassino: Pantoni, 'Documenti epigrafici sulla presenza di settentrionali a Montecassino', pp. 103–07. Pantoni assumed they had died accidentally at Montecassino where they may have gone as pilgrims.

[323] Cf. Galetti, *Una campagna e la sua città*; La Rocca, '"Dark Ages" a Verona'; Skinner, 'Urban Communities in Naples'.

[324] Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re'; Herrin and Nelson, *Ravenna*.

[325] Balzaretti, 'History, Archaeology and Early Medieval Urbanism'. Cf. Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra* and Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins, *The Idea and Ideal of the Town*.

[326] Skinner, 'Urban Communities in Naples', discussed by Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 75–76.

houses can be plotted these were generally surrounded by other unnamed houses, churches, or streets. Such properties must have been owned by other people or institutions no longer, if ever, documented. It is much less common for land plots to be used to locate houses, and within the walled circuit it was rare for land to be bounded solely by other land, in complete contrast to the normal pattern of the rural sites Sant'Ambrogio dealt with and discussed in Chapters 6–9. The close proximity of settlement is further supported by the evidence that land plots in the city were always small, which again contrasts with the situation in the countryside.

It is an obvious point that there was a clear concept of an urban space which was physically divided from the non-urban space which surrounded it.[327] In most of the charters a clear distinction is made between property sited in the city and that outside it: only infrequently is property described as 'at Milan' without further qualification. Significantly, this less exact usage occurs mostly in documents written up a long way from the city, for example, a charter written in 814 in the Valtellina, a mountain valley some fifty miles north-east of Milan, referred to property *in Mediolano*,[328] and one written in *Scogolo* near Lake Varese in 826 refers to 'monasterium sancti Ambrosii sida [*sic*] Mediolani'.[329] *Civitas* and *urbs* are the two main terms used to mean 'the city', with little apparent distinction made between them except that the first is more common in the ninth century and the second in the tenth. As a means of topographical location, both words meant simply 'the area within the wall'. Common descriptions are 'terrola intra civitate Mediolani' or 'prope/foris civitate Mediolani'.[330] From the middle of the ninth century references to suburbs occur, *non longe ab* or *in suburbium*, although the earlier usages continue. A typical example from 870 is 'monasterium beate levite et martyris Vincentii, quod situm est non longe ab urbe Mediolanensium; monasterium [...] sancti Ambrosii fundatum in suburbium civitate Mediolanensis'.[331] Notably those places described as outside or near to the city remained outside throughout the period, suggesting that there was no expansion of the area encompassed within the walls. This contrasts with the known expansions of the Roman and late medieval periods (above, Chapter 3, 'From Imperial Capital to Metropolis'). However, the occurrence of *suburbium*

---

[327] Jones, *The Italian City-State*, p. 69.

[328] *MD* 45. The property ('res meae') was specifically *super ponte sancti Eustorgii*.

[329] *MD* 50.

[330] *MD* 24.

[331] *MD* 120 (an original).

as a new term in this corpus after 870 probably does indicate some real modest growth.[332] It also indicates a different and possibly new perception of space.

Urban space was walled space, and the walls were by far the most significant point of physical and mental demarcation.[333] Milan had been walled in two stages in the Roman period, and some sections survive still. The charters refer to the remnants of this circuit, using the word *murus* (Ital. *muro*) rather than the formal classical Latin *moenia*.[334] On nearly every occasion the word is in the singular as when, for example, the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio itself appeared variously as 'sita foris muro civitate Mediolani' (822), 'prope civitatis Mediolani' (842), 'fundatum in suburbium civitatis Mediolani' (870), and 'non longe a muro urbis' (873).[335] Here as elsewhere formulae were used inconsistently since the same building was near the *civitas* or the wall of the *civitas*. This usage is characteristic of all places outside the city. It has sometimes been suggested that when such formulae appear without a reference to the wall, the building concerned was near a part of the city where the wall was derelict or non-existent, but in view of the randomness of the formulae such a view is unconvincing. That the wall was still a continuous circuit in this period is implied by the fact that it is referred to in the singular. The only reference to *moenia* (a noun found only in the plural), on Archbishop's Anspert's funerary inscription of 881 (i.e. a literary text), is also the only explicit evidence that the wall may have been in disrepair: 'moenia sollicitus commissae reddidit urbi diruta'.[336] Much has been written about Anspert as builder, including several unsuccessful attempts to identify which bits of the currently surviving walls may have been restored by him.[337] Quite what this verse refers to remains a mystery, but its author had a clear agenda to praise his bishop.[338] Other indications

---

[332] The first reference to *suburbium* is *MD* 120, thereafter *MD* 146, 162, *CDL* 402, 679. Cf. Brogiolo, 'Città e suburbio tra tardoantico e altomedioevo in Italia settentrionale'.

[333] As had long been the case in many Italian cities: Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, pp. 191–99; Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re', pp. 135–41, with contemporaneous examples.

[334] For this distinction, see Sicardi, 'Note di toponomastica altomedievale', p. 69 n. 2. *Moenia* was used on the funerary inscription of Archbishop Anspert, as appropriate in verse (discussed above, Chapter 4).

[335] *MD* 47, 71, 120, and 123.

[336] 'He being concerned restored the derelict walls of the city that had been entrusted (to him)'. There are few other references to decay: *sala diruta* (*CDL* 564), *solario dirupto* (*CDL* 709).

[337] Notably De Marchi, 'Milano e le testimonianze altomedievali del monastero Maggiore'.

[338] Ambrosioni, 'Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores' and Petoletti, 'Copiare le epigrafe nel medioevo'.

of ownership of the wall are rare. The most interesting is provided by a diploma of King Guy of Spoleto dated 890 (less than a decade after Anspert died), preserved in the episcopal archive at Novara,[339] in which Guy ceded a 17.5 metre stretch of royally owned land adjacent to the city wall to Aupald, archpresbiter and protegée of Archbishop Anselm who had petitioned in his favour:

> terrulam rei publicae nostre xxiiii tabulis mensuratum adherentemque domui eius atque muro Mediolanensibus urbis intrinsecus, haud longe situm pretaxati archiepiscopi domo, inter duas turres, quibus subiacet pratum quod Aredei vocatur, ita ut liceat prefato Aupaldo ad iam dictum murum civitatis proprietario iure accedere et in eo hedifficia [*sic*] facere in longitudine quadraginta pedem nostre.

> [land in our ownership measured as 24 *tabulae* adhering to his house and inside the wall of the city of Milan, not far from the aforementioned house of the archbishop, between two towers, under which lies the meadow known as Aredei, so that the aforementioned Aupald should have licence to take the aforementioned city wall into his ownership and to make there a building forty feet long.]

This is particularly valuable because it refers to the wall in a part of the city where there is no other evidence for it in this period.[340] It also provides a further reference to the bishop's palace (*domus*).

As discussed above, the wall had at least five gates in it (Porta Ticinensis, Porta Argentea, Porta Romana, Porta Nova, and Porta Comacina), but in the absence of modern excavations it is hard to tell what state of repair these gates were in. There would seem to be little point in having gates if the wall were completely derelict. It was around these gates that most of the suburbs were to grow, with houses probably clustering close to the wall like Aupald's *domus* described in 890. Artisans lived near these gates and in other neighbourhoods indicated by the toponyms *compodo*, *cloaca*, *calegaria*, *colonna orphana*, *quinque vias*, *senedo*, *quatrubio*, *quatru facie*, and *pertuso de fora*. Streets and roads were described as either *via* or *via publica*,[341] in references almost exclusively in boundary clauses and usually in the plural.

From written evidence alone it is now impossible to reconstruct Milan's early medieval street plan. However, with the aid of place names, above-ground

---

[339] *CDL* 384 dated wrongly 888. According to Luigi Schiaparelli's 1900 edition it was issued in 890 ('Il rotolo dell'archivio Capitolare di Novara', pp. 13–14, doc. 4), and see Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Guido e Lamberto*, doc. III, pp. 7–9.

[340] Due to its position it was probably part of the Republican wall. See Ceresa Mori, 'Milano' for archaeological work on the wall of Milan.

[341] *Via publica* is relatively uncommon (*MD* 24 and *CDL* 997). Perhaps this term had fallen out of use.

remains, and archaeology we can get some indication of this. Place names are important. *Quinque vias*, the junction of five streets which still exists as 'Cinque Vie' to the north-west of the Roman forum (Piazza San Sepolcro), is in fact the only phrase in which 'street' appears as a toponym. On a single occasion a property is located by reference to 'in via ubi abitare videor' (the street in which I live), but this was not yet a common expression.[342] The principal roads into the city passed through the city gates, and it seems to have been these roads that were termed public. They had been, of course, the main Roman arteries, but what state of repair they were in in the early Middle Ages can only be known from archaeology. Where evidence exists, it is clear that the state of the road surface was not generally good.

However decayed Milan might have been by the ninth century in comparison with its late antique form, there can be little doubt that the monks of Sant'Ambrogio were living close to a real city by the standards of their day. Milan was an urban space obviously distinguishable from the countryside by the character of its buildings and topography, the density of its settlement, and the occupations of its inhabitants. It was not a 'dream city', an idea floated in 1996 by the archaeologist Richard Hodges to characterize the old towns of the early medieval Mediterranean.[343] Nor was it perhaps merely an 'argument in stone', as Martin Carver put it.[344] While archaeological research is obviously a vital tool in reconstructing such places, it has proved problematic in dealing with the distant past of large modern cities.[345] It is probably not by chance that it is in Rome, protected from modernity for so long, that quite substantial early medieval homes have now been uncovered on the Forum of Nerva.[346] In Milan such discoveries are unlikely, given that modern development has destroyed much of the history that had been waiting to be uncovered under the ground. The discipline of Archaeology, despite all the theorizing about post-processualism in recent years, still has difficulty with documenting perceptions from the archaeological 'record', and so from an archaeological viewpoint it is unsurprising that the surviving monuments of Roman Milan have been taken as evidence of a real city whereas the patches of ninth-century dark earth and the odd burial have not. Martin Carver's notion

[342] *CDL* 709. All of this parallels closely the Piacenza evidence except that *strada* does not occur in Milan.

[343] Hodges, 'Dream Cities' revisited in his 'The Idea of the Polyfocal "Town"?'.

[344] Carver, *Arguments in Stone* and the very shrewd comments of Goodson, 'Garden Cities in Early Medieval Italy', pp. 345–46.

[345] Cf. Genoa in Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 82–87.

[346] Santangeli Valenzani, *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 80–97.

that towns are 'arguments in stone' is certainly helpful as he suggested to archae-
ologists that the ideology of urban living was the most important aspect of a town
and that contemporary ideas about urban life can be deduced from excavation of
the physical remains. It is undoubtedly a stimulating idea which was picked up by
Guy Halsall, for example, in an essay on Metz: 'a town can be a physical mirror of
attitudes and ideas'.[347] In this way charters can also be a mirror for a lost material
culture which archaeology is no longer in a position to retrieve.

Charters suggest that most of the old Roman cities of northern Italy, such
as Brescia, Como, Milan, Piacenza, and Verona, were in some respects flour-
ishing places. One of the most important reasons for the continued develop-
ment of these towns was the foundation in them of monastic communities in
the second half of the eighth century, as these institutions linked town and
country not least through the use and dissemination of the written word in the
production of charter records. Charter documentation, which has long been
used in Italy when researching urban life, is therefore still important in think-
ing about towns in the early medieval period, not least because it may provide
clues for archaeologists as to the best sites for excavation and indeed what they
might expect to find there.[348] Of course, the fact that there are far fewer char-
ters for northern than for southern European towns does suggest that these
Mediterranean societies were very different from northern settlements which
have received by far the most archaeological attention.[349] Charters provide
usable evidence of urban existence, which is precisely dated and often very
detailed. In the case of Milan the written and material sources apparently lead
to divergent conclusions which can only be mutually exclusive. Charters pro-
vide unwelcome evidence of flourishing cities for archaeologists used to layer
upon layer of 'dark earth'.[350] They can be approached more positively once it is
understood that what they evidence is the lost material culture which archaeol-
ogy has not yet found and may never be in a position to find.

The reliability of archaeological evidence for long-settled sites is then the
key issue in studying ancient urban sites such as Milan.[351] Excavations of very
different sorts of site such as emporia or large rural monasteries — into which

[347] Halsall, 'Towns, Societies and Ideas', p. 256.

[348] As shown archaeologically by Cirelli, 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re'.

[349] Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*, pp. 59–64, on Italian towns.

[350] Macphail, Galinié, and Verhaeghe, 'A Future for Dark Earth?'; Hodges, 'The Idea of the
Polyfocal "Town"?', pp. 269–70.

[351] Properly addressed in Brogiolo, *Brescia altomedievale* and Brogiolo, *Le origini della città
medievale*.

much money has been put in the last thirty years — are not likely to be of direct methodological relevance in the context of a continuously occupied urban site. Those types of sites were designed and built for very specific purposes, and although there was sometimes earlier settlement on such sites, it was certainly not in the monumental mode so characteristic of Roman cities. Therefore, the work of Richard Hodges which has provided one of the important archaeo-logical models for ninth-century society is not straightforwardly relevant. In 'Dream Cities' (1996) Hodges argued that Pirenne's 'thesis still props up the history of towns in Latin Christendom. This is quite understandable: few new written sources have been found to shed new light on the Pirenne thesis. Archaeology alone offers substantive new means of interrogating the few wit-nesses of this formative age'.[352] Hodges proposed three interesting periods in the history of emporia: the sixth century up to *c.* 675; the 670s to the eighth century; and the late eighth century to the mid- or late ninth century. In the latter 'the central Mediterranean world is brought back to life with startling speed',[353] citing the work of Paolo Delogu on Rome and his own researches into San Vincenzo al Volturno (apparently a great 'monastic city').[354] The unvoiced assumption that before this time such places were somnolent is made clear right at the end of his paper when he imagines eastern travellers journeying through 'the ruinous towns of antiquity, of which Rome itself was perhaps the most phe-nomenal, leaving, we may imagine, a powerful, perhaps an indelible impression on [them]'.[355] The 'Hodges model' of early medieval town life remains prob-lematic for Italy, ironically even more now when large-scale excavations have revealed Comacchio to be an emporium quite similar to the north European model.[356] Comacchio is discussed at the end of this book,[357] but the astounding archaeological evidence, notably pottery, being unearthed about it does not in my view conflict with the charter evidence of an urban townscape set out in this chapter. Nor, more surprisingly still, does the example of Venice.[358]

[352] Hodges, 'Dream Cities', p. 292. A view convincingly critiqued by Effros, 'The Enduring Attraction of the Pirenne Thesis', pp. 194–201.

[353] Hodges, 'Dream Cities', p. 295.

[354] Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*, pp. 77–117.

[355] Hodges, 'Dream Cities', p. 301. It is expanded in 'The Idea of the Polyfocal "Town"?', e.g. p. 274, 'centres of consumption on a minuscule scale'.

[356] Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* and 'Aistulf and the Adriatic Sea'.

[357] Gelichi, 'The Rise of an Early Medieval Emporium' and 'L'archeologia nella laguna ven-eziana e la nascita di una nuova città'.

[358] Gelichi, 'Venice in the Early Middle Ages', p. 267, speaks of 'a city like any other'.

Lastly, it is important to include people in analyses of early medieval cities.[359] If in the Milanese case the possibilities are limited before the eighth century — which does give some force to Hodges's perspective of course — after that people do appear in the evidence. As seen in the previous chapter, the ninth- and early tenth-century documents can be explained largely in terms of the patronage of the new community of Sant'Ambrogio and its activities in establishing and maintaining itself. From about the year 950 onwards the noticeable spike in charter numbers involving only laypeople and not churches does need some explanation. Why do significantly more of them survive from the mid-tenth century than earlier? And why are there more laypeople in them? Violante confidently argued that those documents evidenced a new sort of urban lay society which he called 'pre-communal'. That is one way of looking at it: teleologically, with reference to the later comune.[360] Perhaps the survival of many more charters was caused by some rather sudden profound social change (as Violante implied), although changes in documentary culture and record-keeping practices may be as likely an explanation. Here we have to guard against the short-term view and instead consider this particular early medieval cityscape as the result of slower, long-term, transformations.[361] Having considered the long view of 'cityness' in Chapters 3–5, the remaining chapters (6–10) examine how the urban populace of Milan, including the monks of Sant'Ambrogio, interacted with the countryside around the city over a couple of centuries. The liminal location of the monastic community and its buildings between countryside and city was crucial in the creation of a meaningful hinterland via the political, social, economic, and cultural connection of centre and periphery and, in the longer term perspective, to the expansion of the city and its comparative European significance as a distinctive urban society. Milan was never an entity divorced from the surrounding region which both shaped it and was shaped by it in a complex ecosystem,[362] and it may not be too far-fetched to suggest that the monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio, which survived for over a thousand years after its foundation, was itself a product of these profound ecological rhythms.

[359] In essence the point made by Santos, 'Early Medieval Urban Identities in Northern Italy'.

[360] This is perhaps a criticism that can be levelled against Jones, *The Italian City-State* and Bordone and Jarnut, *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo*. Violante may have tempered this view in later life as discussed by Hodges, 'The Idea of the Polyfocal "Town"?', p. 281.

[361] Cf. Brown, 'Culture and Society in Ottonian Ravenna'.

[362] Horden and Purcell, 'Four Years of Corruption', pp. 369–71, on 'doing without towns'. Cantini, 'Produzioni ceramiche ed economie in Italia centro-settentrionale', pp. 362–64.

Part II
Dossiers

Introduction to Part II

Part I of this volume situated the monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio in its local environment at Milan but also in the wider political context within which it operated. It has been established that the city was large by early medieval standards. It had a deep Roman past which included a highly significant role for Christian institutions, including a variety of urban churches. The figure of Ambrose was obviously important in his own time, but the memories of him after that and the traditions of research to which these gave rise are as interesting. These traditions had a significant impact on how the Sant'Ambrogio charter collection was studied, especially which charters were thought worthy of study. Often those were dubious documents (the 'testament of Datheus', the foundation charters, and several episcopal *precepta*) or documents which scholars took a fancy to for narrow reasons.

Part II looks in detail at these charters in a novel way: as dossiers relating to a set of villages where the monastery developed its property holdings over the course of several centuries. These villages are in turn Campione, Gnignano, Cologno Monzese, several in the Valtellina (notably Dubino), Limonta, and Inzago. Although some of these places have been studied before,[1] this is the first time that all have been studied together, comparatively, and in relation to the deep history of Milan itself as set out in Part I. Before turning to Campione, the first of these dossiers, which takes us back to the reign of King Cunincpert at the end of the seventh century, a few remarks are needed about local traditions of studying the agrarian landscape, the organization of rural labour on

---

[1] Limonta and Inzago (by Castagnetti), Cologno Monzese (by Rossetti), Gnignano (by Wickham), and Campione (by La Rocca and others).

estates, free peasants, and the nature of servility, as these are recurrent themes across the group of dossiers as a whole.

Italian Rural History

As in all early medieval societies the land and its exploitation were the most vital part of existence.[2] Without successful agriculture (and even with it) people would die young, the rich as much as the poor.[3] This is easily forgotten in the world of cities, global supply chains and exploitative market capitalism in which many of us live today but which supplies our daily needs without much further thought. In 'Italian culture' (with the usual caveats about localism and regionalism) the fundamental importance of the countryside and the cultivation which takes place there has long been understood and has formed a significant strand of historical research over a long period.[4] As with the case of the figure of St Ambrose, interest can easily be traced back to those early modern scholars who paid some attention to early medieval rural life in our region, notably Roberto Rusca a seventeenth-century Cistercian monk of Sant'Ambrogio who published short books on both Campione and Limonta in the mid-1620s.[5] Rusca was the abbot's representative first at Campione and then Limonta, and his characterization of Limonta at that time is discussed further in Chapter 9. As with Limonta, his view of the contemporary landscape of Campione is revealing: 'Temperate air, pleasant fields, fruitful hills, generous vines, diverse fruits, rivers, springs, streams, lakes, games, fishing, forests, woods, plains and hills'. It was a sort of arcadia for him, but probably not for those who worked its steep slopes to maintain that landscape as a productive entity. Unlike the example of Limonta where Rusca explicitly addressed its early medieval history, for Campione, although he had plenty of information about the late medieval period, Rusca had little earlier medieval evidence at his disposal: he did not mention any of the early medieval charters which still survive. As Rusca had access to the monastic archive, this is perhaps an interesting

---

[2] Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, pp. 5–30, a still useful survey of 'productive forces'.

[3] Pearson, 'Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet', concludes (p. 32) that early medieval diets did not offer sound nutrition for most people.

[4] A very useful survey (to 2007) is Provero, 'Forty Years of Rural History for the Italian Middle Ages'. It is based largely on written sources and should be supplemented with Valenti, 'I villaggi altomedievali in Italia' which deals with recent archaeological developments, largely in Tuscany.

[5] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte* (1624) and *Descrittione del Borgo di Campione* (1625).

sidelight on its archival history. Later eighteenth-century works by Giulini,[6] Quadrio,[7] and Carlo Amoretti[8] contain similar reflective passages.

Rusca's idealized view of landscape is an approach to a degree reflected in the highly influential agrarian history of Italy which Emilio Sereni published, several centuries later, in 1961.[9] Sereni, a Marxist journalist and politician with an interest in history, produced one of those books which seemed to catch a mood: it was well reviewed, by Georges Duby among others,[10] and had a long afterlife.[11] Sereni included a short section on early medieval agriculture, but as with the rest of the book there were no footnotes or clear references.[12] The important point to take from those pages is the overwhelming sense of gloom and decay which he wanted to convey. He played up the devastation and decline caused by the barbarian invasions, which he suggested was only slowly replaced by a cultivated and managed landscape with consistent agricultural production as the main aim. Typical of his vision is the statement that 'Throughout the early Middle Ages, references to cultivated land abandoned again to woods and marshes predominate in cartularies and diplomatic codices, where the amount of uncultivated lands, woods, and marshes is always impressive'.[13] In fact, the juxtaposition of cultivated and uncultivated is not a very helpful way to see a world where production from woodland (timber for homes, coppice for baskets and furniture, nuts for food) and marsh (fish and wildfowl for food) was really important to survival.[14] As the next few chap-

---

[6] Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia* (1760–65).

[7] Quadrio, *Dissertazioni critico-storiche intorno alla Rezia*.

[8] Amoretti, *Viaggio da Milano ai tre laghi*.

[9] Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, translated into English by Burr Litchfield as *History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape*.

[10] Duby, 'Sur l'historie agraire de I'Italie', a long review of Sereni's book.

[11] Polignano, 'La *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano* di Emilio Sereni', which is interesting on the influence of Sereni on Duby as well as Italian scholars, and Provero, 'Forty Years of Rural History for the Italian Middle Ages', p. 146, who points out Sereni's importance alongside that of Cinzio Violante's interest in rural history at the same period (in *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn)).

[12] Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, pp. 47–63.

[13] Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, p. 58.

[14] It was a common view until quite recently: Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, pp. 18–19, and Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*, pp. 13–22. Fumagalli's earlier work (e.g. *Terra e società nell'Italia padana*, pp. 3–24) emphasized these issues much less as has more recent work by Wickham and Squatriti among others.

ters of this book show, Sereni's work, although pioneering and fascinating in many ways, is not especially illuminating for the early medieval period. The variety of landscapes and the nature of their exploitation, especially differences between the plains and mountains, is therefore an important aspect of these studies of dossiers, and work which has appeared since Sereni's time is discussed in context there. The most important work since Sereni has arguably been that of Philip Jones, another outsider in a very different way.[15] In one of his earliest papers it was stated very clearly that the economy of northern Italy was 'a peasant economy and small-scale farming, even on large estates, the rule'.[16] Subsequent articles hugely raised the profile of agrarian studies within Italy as well as outside it.[17] Since the work of Sereni and Philip Jones, the historical ecology and historical geography of Italy have developed greatly as the preservation of historical rural landscapes has become an important political issue. This type of research has been very effective at describing significant sites in detail.[18]

Estates

As Jones argued, the 'classical manor' was not as common south of the Alps as north of it.[19] Notwithstanding that conclusion, a vital theme in the following chapters is how cultivation was organized in the best-evidenced villages. Sereni touched on this general point in his discussion of *castra*, *curtes*, and *massae* which he characterized as 'new centres for organization of life in the countryside'.[20] There is a huge literature on the subject, much of it very technical. Despite Jones's clear statement in 1954 about the relative rarity of directly worked *curtes*, when more centralized exploitation in coherent (bipartite) estates came about and where it took place have remained important points for debate.[21] The Sant'Ambrogio material, as will become clear, does offer relevant

---

[15] The late Professor Jones examined the thesis on which this book is based and made many encouraging suggestions for its subsequent development.

[16] Jones, 'An Italian Estate, 900–1200', p. 19.

[17] Jones, 'Italy', 'L'Italia agraria nell'alto medioevo', and 'La storia economica'.

[18] Agnoletti, *Italian Historical Rural Landscape*. Above, Introduction to Part I.

[19] Jones, 'An Italian Estate, 900–1200', p. 18. Jones translated Luzzatto, *An Economic History of Italy*, which represents well existing views at that period.

[20] Sereni, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, p. 57.

[21] The undoubted classic is Toubert, 'Il sistema curtense'. The work of the 'Bologna school' has been prolific, notably Fumagalli, Andreolli, Galetti, Montanari, and Pasquali, many of

evidence in the ninth and tenth centuries, and a judgment on what happened to the manorial system (*il sistema curtense*) in this region during those centuries will be offered towards the end of the book. Here it is necessary to explain some of the main issues at stake in the historiography about earlier periods insofar as they relate to evidence for the eighth century and after.

The nature of estate organization in Roman times has been much debated and, to a degree, remains controversial.[22] Peter Sarris has argued that bipartite exploitation — with an estate organized into two, a central core directly worked in part by labour services and dependent holdings from which the occupants owed dues to the lord — existed throughout the late Roman period.[23] This has not found universal favour, with Halsall arguing that such estates emerged in northern Gaul during the seventh century (the established position). For Italy the classic articles of John Percival still have much to offer.[24] He argued for the importance of a fragmentary mid-sixth-century document (P. Ital. 3),[25] from the collection of documents relating to the church of Ravenna ('the Ravenna papyri') and relating to the area around Padua,[26] because it revealed 'estates […] organised on the basis of a division between demesne and dependent holdings; […] the demesne on one of them […] at least partly worked by means of labour services; […] the landlord has acquired the right to exact gifts, in addition to the

whose articles (largely in Italian) are conveniently listed in the bibliography to Mancassola, *L'azienda curtense tra Langobardia e Romania*.

[22] Decker, *Tilling the Hateful Earth*, pp. 54–65, is useful for the eastern empire, and Halsall, 'From Roman *fundus* to Early Medieval *grand domaine*' essential for the West and critiquing Sarris, 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy' (also essential reading). Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 280–302, is the most lucid survey, and compares Italy with Francia in the period AD 600–800.

[23] Sarris, 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy', p. 311: 'in parts of Gaul, and, perhaps, Italy, late Roman estate structures […] survived from the fifth century through to the eighth substantially intact'.

[24] Percival, 'Seigneurial Aspects of Late Roman Estate Management' and 'P. Ital. 3 and Roman Estate Management' both published in 1969. The best recent discussion is Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 278–80, who shows that managment via a directly exploited demesne was one among several other means of exploitation (slaves — rare; wage labour — more common). Cf. Vera, 'Forme e funzioni della vendita fondiaria nella tarda antichità' who downplays the importance of P. Ital. 3.

[25] Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, I, 184–98, 408–10.

[26] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 135–36, 207–09, and Everett, 'Lay Documents and Archives in Early Medieval Spain and Italy', pp. 75–82.

normal dues, from those who occupy his land'.[27] Rents and weekly labour service are recorded as owed to the landowner.[28] Percival argued that this was a strikingly 'medieval' looking system, a discussable conclusion. Wickham has rightly emphasized that there is no obvious continuity between P. Ital. 3 and evidence for Italian estate structures as it appears from the 730s indicated by the phrase *curte domoculta* (and variants).[29] It is certain that documents like P. Ital. 3 have not survived from the area around Milan until the ninth century.[30] Once evidence for the Milanese appears in the first decades of the eighth century it is the *absence* of consolidated bipartite estates that is most striking.[31] From then on there is much room for discussion about what ninth- and tenth-century estates looked like and another considerable historiography about that.[32] A recent attempt to make such evidence relevant to environmental history is thought-provoking.[33]

---

[27] Percival, 'P. Ital. 3 and Roman Estate Management', pp. 608–09.

[28] Sarris, 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy', pp. 307–08 (not citing Percival).

[29] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 297.

[30] This is not necessarily a problem were one to adopt the methodology employed by Sarris, namely that the surviving evidence (in his case from late Roman Egypt) reveals structures which were likely to have existed elsewhere in the empire where they are not as such evidenced because 'some sort of match' (Sarris, 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy', p. 282) can be deduced from the comparison with the few fragments of evidence which have survived (in parts of Gaul and Italy). This is certainly an interesting proposition, but the huge differences between the ecological systems of northern Italy and northern Egypt seem to stretch the comparison too far.

[31] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 89–93 argued that, although there is clear evidence of fragmented property holding in the eighth century, there is also evidence of consolidated estates ('la tendenza al formarsi di grandi proprietà terriere') and that churches were exchanging small properties to form larger coherent blocks. This may be true, but as Violante did not cite any documents to support his argument it is not particularly convincing, and especially not for the area around Milan.

[32] Compare Pivano, 'Sistema Curtense' (1909) with Innes, 'Framing the Carolingian Economy' (2009) — published a century apart — for some sense of the changes in approach, largely from legal-economic to politico-cultural. Innes has argued that research highlighting the significance of giving in the Carolingian world at an elite level needs to be connected with the demands which that system made on the manorial economy: 'expectations about regular giving and receiving determined the objectives of a significant amount of production within manorial economies' (p. 48). His stress on 'the importance of movements determined by the state' (p. 55) perhaps overvalues the effectiveness on the ground of the rhetoric expressed in so many Carolingian documents, but it does — very importantly — advise us to take more seriously the power of aristocratic sociability in determining what can sometimes seem purely economic transactions.

[33] Sonnlechner, 'The Establishment of New Units of Production in Carolingian Times', esp. pp. 45–48.

Rural Workers

Estate organization in any form depended upon an effective labour supply whether it was free, unfree, or half-free in legal terms, and our dossiers shed much light on workers from the early eighth century onwards. There is a substantial historiography about some aspects of the labour force, as there is with the manorial system. These aspects are the 'end' of slavery,[34] the emergence of serfdom,[35] and the existence of a free peasantry.[36] There has been much less attention paid to what these people actually did and who they were (understandable given the difficulties of evidence).[37] The balance of opinion is that slavery, in the sense of the legal ownership of one person by another, was greatly less in the early medieval period than earlier, although some powerful arguments have been made for the view that it continued. The servile people well-evidenced in some of the Sant'Ambrogio charters, notably those which deal with properties in the north around the lakes at Campione, Limonta, and in the lower Valtellina, were unlikely to have been slaves in that sense. They were, however, as the next few chapters show, certainly dependent with little room for manoeuvre in their daily lives. In places nearer Milan — for example, Gnignano, Cologno Monzese, and Inzago — people with this sort of status are much more rarely referenced in charters, where in fact those documented would appear to be peasants of differing degrees of personal and economic freedom. The explanations for this significant finding will be addressed in the Conclusion, once the evidence has been outlined within each unique local context.

[34] Henning, 'Slavery or Freedom?'; McCormick, 'New Light on the "Dark Ages"'; and recently, Rio, *Slavery after Rome*.

[35] Davies, 'On Servile Status in the Early Middle Ages'.

[36] Davies, 'Free Peasants and Large Landowners in the West'; Sarris, 'Introduction'.

[37] Something addressed in Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records'.

Campione

Milan was the inevitable focus of the daily lives of the Sant'Ambrogio monks and was also the scene for the rare interruptions to their routine daily prayer such as the visits of kings and their families. The city was a complex, lively, and thriving society in which the monastic community had a highly significant role; in particular the community acted as a site which connected town and country. Because Milan had an extremely deep history as a settlement it is likely that the new Benedictine community found it hard to acquire land within the city walls: this was most probably owned by others, including kings, bishops, counts and even local artisans. The many ancient churches which had existed long before a monastery was founded at Sant'Ambrogio also no doubt owned urban land and may have acted in a similar way as liminal spaces. Unfortunately, the loss of the archiepiscopal archive means that these patterns of property ownership within early medieval Milan can never be known in detail. By contrast, the survival of significant dossiers of charters relating to villages in Milan's hinterland means that rural property holding can be more successfully studied and arguments made about the effect of that property on relationships within the city itself. Therefore the rest of this book investigates such sites, beginning here with Campione, the first important estate owned by the Sant'Ambrogio community.

The amount of property owned by the monks of Sant'Ambrogio in or near to Milan itself was always small relative to that owned by others whether institutions, families, or individuals. From the evidence which has survived, it appears that it was both difficult to infiltrate existing social networks in the city but also perhaps not that important to do so, given that good agricultural land — wher-

ever it was — seems to have been of most interest to them.[1] Therefore it is no
surprise that the bulk of the surviving charters concern land in the countryside,
some of it, as we shall see, far distant from the city. Some monastic property is
only evidenced by single charters, and some of these apparent outliers are dis-
cussed in Part III. However, most charters survive instead as dossiers referring
to a few places, documented quite intensely. Inspired in part by Italian micro-
historians albeit working with very much fuller early modern evidence,[2] I have
chosen to discuss the economic activities of monks, essential to the continu-
ance of monastic life in the strictly religious sense at the Sant'Ambrogio site,
via six sequences of charters, which are examined in detail in this and the next
three chapters. These sequences survive for six different principal sites: the vil-
lages of Campione, Gnignano, Cologno, Limonta, Inzago, and the lower part
of the Valtellina. I have tried to tell the histories of actual named people who
lived in these places as a way of understanding social interaction in this period
as this was almost entirely of the face-to-face kind.[3] To help grasp change over
time, these dossiers are studied in diachronic order of the earliest surviving
document for each village. The Campione sequence begins in 721, Gnignano
in 792, the Valtellina in 814, Cologno in 830, Limonta around 835, and Inzago
in 848. This is quite an original approach,[4] deliberately contrasting with classic
works which focused on 'institutions' such as the 'sistema curtense' (manorial
system).[5] How this novel reading of charters interacts with that earlier work is
explained in the Conclusion where the fate of the manorial system is consid-
ered in the light of this Milanese evidence. Here it is safe to say that approach-
ing the documents from the perspective of microhistory emphasizes the pro-
gressive involvement of the Sant'Ambrogio monks with different villages and
their inhabitants and obviously helps to understand local development at vil-
lage scale, albeit most often through the eyes of the monks. In this respect it

[1] This is demonstrated by the fact that the community owned almost no land (*terra*) within
the walls whereas others are documented as having done so.

[2] Grendi, 'Micro-analisi e storia sociale' and 'Ripensare la microstoria?'; Ginzburg, *The
Cheese and the Worms*, 'Clues', and 'Microhistory'; Revel, *Giochi di scala*. Clearly the microhis-
torical possibilities of early medieval evidence are dramatically less than those traditionally used
in this approach to historical writing.

[3] Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, pp. 202–04.

[4] Devroey, *Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque*, p. 277, referred to earlier work
on the society of Inzago (reconsidered in Chapter 9) as 'un essai original de micro-histoire'.

[5] See Toubert, 'L'Italie rurale aux VIII–IX siecles' and 'Il sistema curtense'; Fumagalli, *Coloni
e Signori nell'Italia settentrionale* and 'Strutture materiali e funzioni dell'azienda curtense', among
many others. More recently, Mancassola, *L'azienda curtense tra Langobardia e Romania*.

illustrates in detail the penetration of the countryside by a leading Milanese institution, something which was completely absent from Violante's reading of Milanese charters in the 1950s.[6] This focus on diachronic change is not meant to suggest that all development was linear or that the institution had a consistent policy regarding its landholding, although it might have done, as recent work on economic rationality in this period has suggested.[7] Alongside temporal change, geography and ecology are also vital actors in these micro-stories: Campione and Limonta are in the lake lands of Como and Lugano which have characteristic microclimates due to the amelioration of temperature caused by large expanses of water, while Gnignano, Cologno and Inzago are on the flat lands of the Po Plain where special systems of drainage were necessary and had been practised since early in Roman times.[8] Geographical and climatic difference therefore markedly distinguished one place from another:[9] in a world of relatively limited technology this really influenced what could be grown and how successfully. Particularly important in the history of Campione, the tiny settlement discussed here, was the fact that fruiting olive trees could survive on the relatively warm and largely frost-free shores of these pre-alpine lakes but not elsewhere at this latitude in the cold north of the peninsula.[10] Oil and all it symbolized was, as we shall see, sufficiently important to the monks to attract them, and others before, to remote Campione.[11]

[6] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1953 edn), pp. 89–122, discussed the changing vicissitudes of 'the manorial system' but not in relation to Sant'Ambrogio, an omission remedied in part by Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo* and 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita', and more recently Rapetti, 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*'.

[7] Toneatto, 'Élites et rationalité éonomique', argues strongly for the importance of 'rationality' in the monastic thinking of this period as represented in written monastic rules: 'le monde monastique place l'élément économique au centre même de sa production normative et disciplinaire, et par consequence aussi de sa réflexion éthique' (p. 96). Cf. Devroey, '*Ad utilitatem monasterii*'.

[8] Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 76–79, citing examples from the Lucchesia but also referring to the Po Plain.

[9] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p. 80, usefully explain their concept of microecology, which can be applied to significant differences within the Milanese hinterland, as 'a locality with a distinctive identity derived from the set of available productive opportunities and the particular interplay of human responses to them found in a given period'. For the issues raised by macroclimatic change in this period, see Hoffmann, *Environmental History of Medieval Europe*, pp. 67–84.

[10] Foxhall, *Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece*, pp. 5–10, for the basic facts of how olives grow.

[11] Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio'; Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina*

Campione, a Village in the Sottoceneri

Campione, now known as Campione d'Italia after it escaped becoming part of Switzerland during the nineteenth century,[12] was probably the first substantial consolidated estate to come into the possession of the new monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio around the year 810, some twenty years after that community's foundation.[13] The village (273 m above sea level) is sited on the eastern shore of Lake Lugano, hemmed in by the surrounding mountains (as seen in Figure 14), which rapidly rise to 650 metres above sea level (2132 ft). This challenging physical environment meant that the village site was (and is) necessarily small, laid out in a strip looking out over the lake.[14] Settlement before the ninth century was probably scattered, as charters use a variety of terms to describe it (*locus*, *fundus*, and *vicus*) whereas ninth-century texts stick to *vicus* perhaps suggesting nucleation by that time.[15] It is likely that most settlement was underneath the current town situated between the early medieval oratories of San Zeno and San Pietro. Locally, travel must always have been easier by boat than overland, although numerous hillside tracks will have made land transport easier than it might appear to the casual visitor today. For most people fishing must have provided important additions to a diet based on a meagre living from the steep slopes especially in the winter. Charters indicate a mixed landscape of woodland (*selva*), fruiting plants such as olives and vines, as well as some meadowland for grazing (Table 11). It was the relatively mild climate induced by the lake which made the successful growing of olives possible, and the production of oil from this micro-region was important locally to members of the elite throughout the early medieval period,[16] as we shall see.

---

nell'altomedioevo, pp. 396–402; Pini, 'Due colture specialistiche del Medioevo'; Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 141–56.

[12] Belloni, 'Campione terra italiana'; Banaudi and Spalla, *Campione d'Italia*, p. 52. The Sottoceneri is a nineteenth-century geographical term describing the Swiss lands 'under Monte Ceneri'. This part of Switzerland is largely Italian speaking.

[13] Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', pp. 205–09; Balzaretti, 'Monasteries, Towns and the Countryside', pp. 244–48; Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*.

[14] A sense of its isolation even in modern times is apparent from the description of it in 1806 by Amoretti, *Viaggio da Milano ai tre laghi*, pp. 124–25.

[15] Brogiolo, 'La chiesa di San Zeno di Campione e la sua sequenza stratigrafica', p. 86.

[16] Fouracre, 'Eternal Light and Earthly Needs', pp. 68–78; Fouracre, '"Framing" and Lighting'; and Story, 'Lands and Lights in Early Medieval Rome'. Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 209–23, refer (at p. 213) to the 'double life' of the olive as one of those characteristic Mediterranean crops which 'can be used at any level of connectivity as well as at

Table 11. The eighth-century landscape of Campione

Date and Lane Use	Latin	Translation
721–44: meadows, vineyards	'Operas a pradus et a vitis et ambasias per ebdomatas' (*ChLA*, XXVII, no. 847)	Corvées in the meadows and vineyards and weekly trips
748: meadows	'Petzola una de prado loco quid dicitur Farsiolas: de una parte prado Ursuni et de alia parte prado Sancti Vecturi, tenente uno capide in rio et alio capide in prado Sancti Vecturi' (*ChLA*, XXVIII, no. 846)	A small piece of meadow land in the place called Farsiolas: bounded on one side by the meadow of Orso and on the other by the meadow of San Vittore, and on another by the stream and the other by the meadow of San Vittore
756: olives	'Oliveto in fundo Campilioni loco qui dicitur de Gundualdi [...] quoerentem ex uno latere et de ambas capitas olivas et vites Arochis germano meo, quarto viro latere oliveto Gunderate germana mea [...] dono ipso prenominato olivedo, quod sunt olivas sex' (*ChLA*, XXVII, no. 849)	An olive grove in Campione at the place called of Gunduald [...] bounded on three sides by the olives and vines of my brother Arochis, on the fourth side by the olive grove of my sister Gunderata [...] I give that olive grove, where there are six olive trees
769 — olives, vines, woods	'Idest olivetallo meo in ipso vico Campellione simul et viticellas [...] quoherit de una parte olivetallo Gaitrudae, nepte meae, et de alia parte oliveto suprascripti oracoli, capite uno tenit in vites Totoni et alio in selve simul et ad vites' (*ChLA*, XXVII, no. 852)	Namely my small olive grove in Campione together with the few vines, [...] bounded on one side by the olive grove of Gaitruda my neice, and on another side the olive grove of the above-mentioned oratory, on the other side the vines of Toto, and on the other the wood together with vines
774 — orchards, fields, meadows, woods, vineyards (and vine supports), pastures, marshes	'Idem est casis, curtis, ortis, areas, pummeferissis, campis, pradis, selvis, vineis, amenogoloraribus, pascuis, padulibus, ribis et muntibus, acessionibus, usum aquarum, omnias et in amnibus, culto et inculto, deviso et indeviso' (*MD* 21)	Houses, estates, gardens, cultivated area, orchards, fields, meadows, woods, vineyards, supports for the vines, pastures, marshes, streams and mountains, entrances and boundaries, fences, water rights, everything, cultivated and uncultivated, divided and undivided

differing levels of labour supply and environmental variety'. In complete contrast to the almost industrial production of olive oil in the ancient Mediterranean, Campione is certainly an example of the olive at the very micro-scale.

Figure 14. Campione d'Italia, church of San Zeno centre left. Photomechanical print, *c*. 1890–1900. Library of Congress. No known restrictions on reproduction.

The oil was used to light two churches, remains of which still survive: the Lombard-period foundations of San Zeno and the oratory of San Pietro. San Zeno was excavated in 1996–97, and the results have transformed understanding of the early medieval history of Campione in exciting ways.[17] A series of burials was found, two within a small (5 × 5.5 m) funerary church with an apse, a further five (or more) in an atrium perhaps built at the same time as the church (or slightly after).[18] One of the burials (Tomb 8) within the church may be that of its founder,[19] identified by Gian Pietro Brogiolo as Gundoald, a man who is referred to in charters of 756 and 769 as an ancestor of the female actors in these documents.[20] Another (Tomb 10) was an impressive burial in the

---

[17] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia'; Brogiolo, 'La chiesa di San Zeno di Campione e la sua sequenza stratigrafica'.

[18] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', pp. 38–61.

[19] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', pp. 41–44.

[20] Brogiolo, 'La chiesa di San Zeno di Campione e la sua sequenza stratigrafica', p. 100.

atrium in a large stone casket which contained a silver coin of King Perctarit (who ruled at Milan in 661–62, 672–88).[21] The woman buried here was thirty to forty years old and had not suffered any dietary problems. She seems to have died in childbirth (the foetus was with her) having already been through many pregnancies. Her grave contained evidence of richly worked clothing (with gold thread) and a curious stone phallic amulet placed on her chest.[22] An adjacent tomb (11) in which several people were buried including a young woman seventeen to twenty years old contained a pair of richly worked gold earrings of contemporary Byzantine style and a gold finger ring.[23] Another eight tombs were found. The total number of people buried was a minimum of fifteen. Brogiolo showed that the number of burials can be closely related to the numbers of family members mentioned in charters. The furnished burials revealed a wealthy, well-fed group of people, women who wore expensive clothing and gold jewellery but who could nevertheless die young in childbirth. The men were buried without weapons, which may suggest that they were 'merchants' rather than members of the military elite.[24] Brogiolo went further and argued that they were incomers who built to impress.[25]

The main purpose of these buildings was to provide secure burial places and allow for commemoration of the dead by means of *luminaria*, hence the need for oil. Two slightly different chronological sequences have been proposed — in part because of the absence of hard scientific dates obtained from radiocarbon or thermoluminesence — one by the excavators,[26] the other by Gian Pietro Brogiolo which seems more convincing.[27] He argued that both the oratories of San Zeno and San Pietro were founded in the second half of the seventh century (not between the end of the sixth and mid-seventh century proposed by the excavators) supporting his case with many local comparisons with similar build-

Gundoald's tomb was decorated with a painted cross which has contemporary parallels in Milan (cf. Fiorio Tendone, 'Dati e riflessioni sulle tombe altomedievali internamente intonacate e dipinte rinvenute a Milano'), perhaps raising the possibility that the family were originally from Milan.

[21] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', pp. 46–49.

[22] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', pp. 48–49 and plate 13.

[23] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', pp. 50–53 and plates 35–64.

[24] Barbiera, *Memorie sepolte*, pp. 203–08.

[25] Brogiolo, 'La chiesa di San Zeno di Campione e la sua sequenza stratigrafica'.

[26] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', p. 30.

[27] Brogiolo, 'La chiesa di San Zeno di Campione e la sua sequenza stratigrafica', p. 93.

ings and with reference to a plausible sequence involving the charter evidence. To conclude the archaeological story, San Zeno was subject to some abandonment in the late ninth/early tenth century, and at the end of the tenth century a new phase of construction began, dated by a denarius of Otto II or III.[28]

In its geography and topography Campione (Map 5) is typical of the many tiny village communities of this pre-alpine region. These were a considerable distance from Milan, and from the perspective of that city they might be thought of as marginal places. Few Milanese owners owned or dealt in land here, and so Sant'Ambrogio was effectively a pioneer in acquiring land locally. However, the process by which the monks came to own property here was rather more complex than might be expected. In the eighth century the village (or hamlet) was — as far as we know — under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Como and the county of Seprio, rather than Milan.[29] Como had been a significant Roman settlement, and Christianization of the local population, even of the countryside, seems to have been well developed well before the eighth century.[30] The substantial surviving late Roman baptistery at nearby Riva San Vitale is clear evidence of this.[31] Seprio, a political jurisdiction centred on Castelnovate, Arsago Seprio, and Castelseprio, was an area of substantial Lombard settlement by the seventh century and later a county under the Carolingians.[32] There is good evidence for this *castrum* in the late antique and Lombard periods, much less for the Carolignians.[33] Castelseprio has been made famous by the elaborate frescoes in the church of Santa Maria *foris portas*, the date of which continues to be disputed.[34] There are also important frescoes in an early medieval tower

[28] Blockley and others, 'Campione d'Italia', p. 61, and Arslan, 'Le monete di San Zeno a Campione d'Italia', pp. 107, 114–15. This coin was minted at Milan.

[29] The brothers Sigirad and Arochis, residents of Campione, were termed 'cives Sepriasca' in 721 (*MD* 5); Toto in 777 was from Campione *finis Sepriensis* (*MD* 25); in 804 *finibus Castro Sebrienses* (*MD* 37).

[30] Uboldi, *Carta archeologica della Lombardia*.

[31] De Marchi, 'Edifici di culto e territorio nei secoli VII e VIII'; Foletti, 'Archeologia altomedievale nel Canton Ticino', p. 141 (with a plan at p. 175). An early medieval basilica was later built in the ninth/tenth centuries adjacent to the baptistery.

[32] De Marchi, Mariotti, and Miazzo, 'La necropoli longobarda di Arsago Seprio', pp. 101–10; Percivaldi, 'Il Seprio nel medioevo', pp. 17–29.

[33] De Marchi, 'Castelseprio', pp. 57–60.

[34] In addition to the work of Bognetti, *L'età longobarda*, see also Carver, 'S. Maria *foris portas* at Castelseprio'; Leveto, 'The Marian Theme of the Frescoes in S. Maria di Castelseprio'; and more recently Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 338–40; Rossi 'Il problema Castelseprio' and 'Castelseprio nell'alto Medioevo'; David, 'La Tarda Antichità nel "territorio
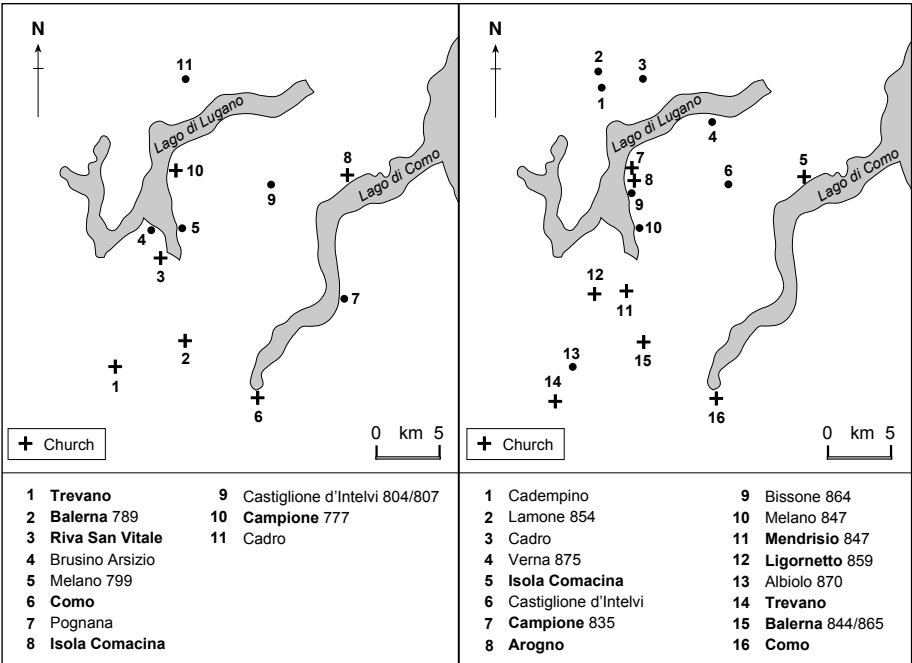
Map 5. Campione estate and its dependent villages.
Drawn by Elaine Watts.

1	**Trevano**	**9**	Castiglione d'Intelvi 804/807
2	**Balerna** 789	**10**	**Campione** 777
3	**Riva San Vitale**	**11**	Cadro
4	Brusino Arsizio		
5	Melano 799		
6	**Como**		
7	Pognana		
8	**Isola Comacina**		

1	Cadempino	**9**	Bissone 864
2	Lamone 854	**10**	Melano 847
3	Cadro	**11**	**Mendrisio** 847
4	Verna 875	**12**	**Ligornetto** 859
5	**Isola Comacina**	**13**	Albiolo 870
6	Castiglione d'Intelvi	**14**	**Trevano**
7	**Campione** 835	**15**	**Balerna** 844/865
8	**Arogno**	**16**	**Como**

at nearby Torba representing, in addition to *deesis* iconography suggesting possible Byzantine influence, nine nuns probably of eighth-century date when there may have been a small (otherwise undocumented) community of nuns at this site.[35] Seprio was also the site of a substantial and strategically important late antique fortification.[36] Other fortified sites (*castra*) almost certainly existed at Laino (fifth/sixth century),[37] Pellio Intelvi (tenth/eleventh century,

varesino", pp. 184–85, with photographs at 189–92. The best work of synthesis is now De Marchi, *Castelseprio e Torba*.

[35] Bertelli, *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, II, 25–33; Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, pp. 192–93; Bertelli, *Gli affreschi nella torre di Torba*.

[36] Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 338–40.

[37] I. N. De Agostino, *Notizario* (2010–11), pp. 163–65, reports that storage buildings excavated at the Castello site have revealed the remains of barley, ancient wheat, spelt, millet, and panic. The earliest church in Laino postdates our period.

with Ottonian period coins),[38] Castiglione d'Intelvi (charter of 987),[39] and the still unlocated *castrum Axongia* (charters of 804 and 807 within the Campione corpus).[40] These facts supply an interesting local political context stretching back well into the Roman period, including what were presumably surviving standing remains of sizeable public buildings (which still stand today), for Sant'Ambrogio's activity in Campione in the ninth century. The material contrast between the magnificence of Santa Maria *foris portas* and the humble Campione churches is especially thought-provoking.

In the early ninth century Sant'Ambrogio was given an estate at Campione and other lands in its vicinity. The family of the donor, a man called Toto, had been documenting their business at Campione since the early eighth century (the earliest complete text is 'Anstruda's charter' of 721, above, Chapter 1), and the monastery therefore obtained numerous charters, which still survive, detailing these earlier transactions.[41] Over the years these were kept together within the archive: most have dorsal annotations made in the eleventh century marking them out as simply 'from Campione' (*de campellione*). The survival of this unique dossier allows many different historical questions to be tackled, notably the effects of a change in ownership from a lay family to a monastic institution. As the charters record the dealings of both men and women of the *da Campione* family with other individuals and their families from the locality, we can also investigate if there were distinctive male and female roles when it came to dealing in property,[42] to try to grasp in what ways gender mattered in this microcosm of the early medieval world.

Family History in the Campione Charters

The written history of Campione can be traced back to the early eighth century but no earlier. It is evidenced from as early as 721, more than sixty years before there were Benedictine monks attached to the church of St Ambrose in Milan. Twenty-five eighth- and ninth-century documents relate to it, a sizable dossier,

---

[38] Arslan, Caimi, and Uboldi, 'Gli scavi nel sito fortificato di Pellio Intelvi (CO)', pp. 148–52. The nearby fortifed site at Laino is also examined in the same volume.

[39] *CDL* 832 where Vuido *abitator roco Castellione sito* exchanged property in Castiglione with Sant'Ambrogio.

[40] *MD* 37 and 39.

[41] Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 307–40.

[42] Costambeys, 'Kinship, Gender and Property in Lombard Italy' is the best survey.

and they reveal that the village (if it was as nucleated as that at this date) was controlled by a family conveniently known as the 'da Campione' until the early ninth century.[43] The historical importance of these charters has been recognized for centuries, especially since the publication of Fumagalli's edition in 1805, and as a result, the history of family has been traced in detail, most notably by Gabriella Rossetti, Cristina La Rocca, and Régine Le Jan.[44] The family itself is also first mentioned in 721 and disappears from the record around 810, the final notice of its leading member, Toto II. Toto, who was the son of Arichis and apparently without legitimate children,[45] bequeathed the family's residence in Campione with the surrounding estate to the archbishops of Milan in 777, for pious reasons, to have Masses said and candles burnt for him and his family — a classic *pro anima* grant.[46] Toto continued to be important locally after this gift, which did not come into force until he died (*c.* 810).

A plausible narrative of the events which led to Toto's gift of 777 can be discerned from a close reading of the earliest charters. The first of these is Anstruda's charter, discussed early on in this book (Chapter 1).[47] Anstruda's *mundium* (a right of guardianship) was bought by the brothers Sigirad and Arochis who were styled *civis Sepriasca havitaturis locum qui dicitur Campelinune*, hence placing Campione within the civil jurisdiction of Seprio (see above, Chapter 4).[48] The purchase of Anstruda was followed by a similar purchase on 30 January 735 when the same brothers bought a woman intrigu-

---

[43] *MD* 5, 6, 8, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 29, 33, 35, 37, 39, 43, 58, 59, 91, 110, 126, and *CDL* 186, 679, 930. All of these (excepting *MD* 58, 126, *CDL* 186 and 930), are originals with autograph signatures of witnesses. The best edition of the eighth-century texts is now *ChLA* which provides many corrections to older identifications of place names. Fumagalli's edition, however, is still valuable for his notes (and his texts are, in general, more accurate than those in *CDL*). *CDL*, I and II are also important for Schiaparelli's palaeographical notes.

[44] Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali' and 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita'; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica'; Le Jan, 'Il gruppo familiare di Totone'.

[45] For the importance of fatherhood within Lombard society, see Balzaretti, 'Lombard Fathers' and Balzaretti, 'Fatherhood in Late Lombard Italy'.

[46] La Rocca, 'I testamenti del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione' and 'Donare, distribuire, spezzare'.

[47] *ChLA*, XXVIII, no. 844. Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', p. 183; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 60; Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, p. 46; Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 55 (only two other occurences of the name Anstruda in charters from Lucca and Parma).

[48] Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 61 (Arochis) and p. 217 (Sicherad) shows that these were relatively common Lombard names, especially in Lucca.

ingly called Scholastica from her brother Johanace (see Table 12, below).[49] Arochis appeared again in a document of April 748, this time acquiring a small piece of meadowland named 'Farsiolas' from Alexander of Sporzano (fr. Gaggiano, MI).[50] Alexander gave this meadow as a pledge that he would return the single gold solidus he had borrowed from Arochis for the period of one year. At some point before November 769, Arochis gave his niece Magnerata in marriage to Anscausus, uniquely mentioned in this document.[51] Magnerata was the daughter of Sigirad, who must now have been dead. The curious text, a rare survival of a marriage contract from this period,[52] reads as follows:

> In Dei nomine. Noditia qualiter Arichis tradidit nepta sua Magnerata Anscausi in diae votorum cum omne substantia sua, quitquit eis advinit de sorores vel amitane suas, qualiter rex inter eas divisione fecet per misso suo. Noditia facta in presentia Tomati sculdais de vico Ludolo, Alfret de Sicilla et Bruningo de Maliacis.

> [In the name of God. A notice that Arichis gave his niece Magnerata to Anscausus on the day of the wedding with all her property, that she should go to him from her sisters and her aunts, because the king made division between them [i.e. the females in the family] by his *missus*. The notice was done in the presence of Thomas *sculdasius* from the village of Ludolo (unidentified), Alfret of Sicilla[53] and Bruning of Magliaso.][54]

Royal involvement demonstrates that these people were members of the local elite, and besides these two brothers we know about the activities of two further

---

[49] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 846. Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 197–98; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 60–61; Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, p. 46; Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 215, shows that Scholastica is a unique name in Lombard documents.

[50] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 848. La Rocca, La legge e la pratica', p. 61; Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 43, Alexander is another unique reference.

[51] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 851. La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 61–62; Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, doc. 7, p. 317; Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 165: Magnerata is a unique name.

[52] Nelson and Rio, 'Women and Laws in Early Medieval Europe', pp. 107–10 (for the wider context without reference to written contracts).

[53] Sigirino between Taverne and Mezzonico (Agno, Canton Ticino), *ChLA*, xxviii, 43, n. 4.

[54] *ChLA*, xxviii, 43, n. 5. Thomas and Alfret were common Lombard names (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 44, 241); Bruning was less common (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 87, where he notes a Bruning *vir illustris* in Pavia in 714).

siblings, Toto (I) *vir clarisssimus* and Walderata.[55] Toto had bought Satrelanus (a Gallic boy) from Ermedruda, *honesta femina*, in 725.[56] Sometime between 724 and 729 he was involved in a dispute with Lucius, one of his workers.[57] According to this fragmentary text Lucius claimed his ancestors had been freed by Toto's *parentes* and that he had a charter of the time of King Cunincpert (680–702) to prove it (but this, if it existed, no longer survives) which was shown. Lucius accused Toto of demanding unreasonable labour services, but he lost the case on a technicality because the rite of manumission recorded in his old charter had been superseded by a more recent law.[58] Toto was allowed to continue with the existing arrangements but was not allowed to increase the burdens on Lucius.

Walderata, sister of Sigirad and Arochis, and Gunderata (perhaps sister of Toto I) appear in a single charter of 25 October 756.[59] The text is as follows:

In the name of the Lord. During the rule of our lord Aistulf most excellent man [and] king, in the eighth year of his rule in the name of God, the eighth day from the kalends of November, by the tenth indiction; gladly. To the basilica of Saint Zeno sited in the *fundus* of Campione. I Walderata, widow of a certain Arochis of *Artiaco*,[60] with my son Agelmund consenting, give and cede (*dono adque cedo*) I the

---

[55] Toto was a common name (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 243), Walderata less so (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 250, two other examples).

[56] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 845. Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', p. 200 (who identifies this Toto as of the same generation as Sigirad and Arochis); La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 60. There is a good reproduction in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei longobardi: Catalogo*, p. 165 (plate 105, cat. entry 233) and an English translation in Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*, doc. 13. Satrelanus is the only example of this name in any Lombard document; Ermedruda has only two other examples (Jarnut, *Prosopographische* und *Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 107 and 215).

[57] *ChLA*, xxvii, no. 847. Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 192, 197 (the dates proposed are hers and accepted by Feller, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'viii secolo', pp. 197–99). La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 60; Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 312–14 (dated 721–44). There is a reproduction of the document in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei longobardi: Catalogo*, plate 108. Lucius was a common Lombard name (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 161–62).

[58] *Liut*. 23 (issued in 721).

[59] *ChLA*, xxvii, no. 849. Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 201–02; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 61; Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 140 (one other occurrence of Gunderata).

[60] Possibly Arsago Seprio (VA), *ChLA*, xxviii, 36, n. 3.

above Walderata to the oratory of Saint Zeno for illumination and for the sake of the soul of Arochis of good memory, my olive grove in the *fundus* of Campione in the place known as *de Gunduald*, my share appertaining to me from amongst my sister and nieces by the laws; adjacent: on one side and on two ends, the olives and vines of Arochis my brother, on the fourth side the olive grove of my sister Gunderata. This share from this day I give and cede (*dono adque cedo*) the afore-mentioned olive grove which has six olive trees, as I said above, to the oratory of Saint Zeno and to its custodian for illumination and for the sake of our souls, that we shall be redeemed and in future centuries for all time by my most generous gift (*ex mea plenissima largitatem*). And anyone who seeks to break (*disrumpere*) this thing done by me shall have judgement with us before the tribunal of God and the saviour of the world and the holy Saint Zeno. Enacted in Campione, on the day, regnal year, and indiction above; gladly.

The sign † of the hand of Walderata, who asked for this donation (*donatio*) to be redacted, she made [her] sign.

† Agelmundus I subscribe to this charter of donation with my consent.

† Arochis I subscribe to this charter of donation asked by my sister Qualderata with my consent and witness.

† Gautpert I subscribe to this charter of donation asked by Uualderata and with the consent of Agelmund a witness.[61]

The sign † of the hand of Honoratus son of a certain Vitalianus of Bissone *vir devotus* witness.[62]

† I Ursus writer wrote and subscribed to this donation asked by Uualderata and with the consent of Agelmund, and after transfer I completed it and gave it [over].[63]

As can be seen for the first time this charter refers in detail to land in Campione itself. Walderata's small olive grove is bounded by similar groves owned by her brother Arochis and sister Gunderata. She gave her share of the family property to the oratory of San Zeno, the first reference to this church and its custodian. As La Rocca has stressed, this grant was immediately valid. However,

---

[61] Gautpert: Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 127 (three others named).

[62] Honoratus: unique in Lombard charters (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 145); Vitalianus: common (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 248–49).

[63] Ursus was one of the most common Lombard names (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 245–46). The handwriting in this charter has received much comment: Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, p. 69, and Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 215–17. The hand of Agelmundus is very shaky and suggests he may have been learning how to write or alternatively old and/or infirm.

it is not clear from it when the church was built or why it was dedicated to Zeno. A charter of 769 provides partial clarification.[64] On 19 November 769 this text was drawn up to record a further gift to the church, made this time by Walderata's niece, Magnerata, who by this time was the widow of Anscaus and *Dei ancella* (a veiled woman). This reveals that the church, variously termed *basilica* and *oraculum*, was built by her parents ('a parentibus meis edificatum'), namely Sigirad and his unknown wife. In the course of her donation she quoted Matthew 19. 29: 'and anyone who has given to the holy places, will be repaid many times, and will gain eternal life'. She gave 'pro missa et luminaria mea pro iocale atque pro parentibus meis'. Unlike Walderata's gift, Magnerata's was conditional: she retained usufruct over the property until her death. Magnerata gave a further olive grove (*olivetallo*), bounded by olives owned by her niece Gaitruda,[65] olives owned by San Zeno (possibly those given by Walderata in 756), vines (*vites*) owned by Toto, woodland (*selva*, ownership not specified), and a small vineyard (*viticellas*), bounded on three sides by olives and on the other by the lake. She had acquired this from Gundoald, her grandfather.[66] This reveals that the family had been owners here before they built the church of San Zeno, which was built by Sigirad presumably with the agreement of his other siblings. It is quite likely that the 'private' church was built with a view to giving it into the care of the wider church.[67] However, although Campione was most definitely within the diocese of Como (probably at this point in the parish of San Vittore di Balerna), Toto II gave San Zeno to the Bishop of Milan instead. The reasons for this will be explained below.

The life of the *da Campione* family was centered on their farmhouse with its associated chapel dedicated to St Zeno.[68] The dedication is significant. Zeno was a fourth-century contemporary of Ambrose, probably Bishop of Verona and possibly martyred (although Ambrose, who corresponded with him didn't record this martyrdom). He was probably the author of a substantial collection of sermons,[69] and had featured as a miracle-worker in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (as noted by Paul the Deacon, *HL* III 23). Zeno's cult appears to have

---

[64] *ChLA*, XXVII, no. 852, written by Alfrit *amicus meus*. La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 61–62.

[65] Gaitruda: Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 124 (two others).

[66] Gundoald: Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 141 (a common name).

[67] Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 52–53; Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church', p. 49.

[68] Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 182–204.

[69] *PL*, XI, *Sanctorum Zenonis et Optati, prioris Veronæ, alterius Milevi episcoporum Opera omnia*.

been revitalized at Verona from the mid-eighth century by the foundation of a monastery dedicated to him by King Desiderius and the early Carolingian composition of a life (known as *Vita I*). He was not a saint hitherto much venerated in Milan (or indeed Como).[70] An important basilica church dedicated to him was, it would seem, endowed by King Pippin in the first decade of the ninth century,[71] and the saint also appears in the *Versus de Verona*, a praise poem written *c.* 781–810. It is possible that the *da Campione* family therefore had connections (or even originated) in the area of Verona and in this way had adopted a personal devotion to Zeno. A connection with Pippin might also be possible, given that he was buried in Sant'Ambrogio in 810 and Toto II gave Campione to the Milanese see around that time.

Rossetti has stressed the piety of this group, especially the two women, both cousins of Toto II, who gave in 756 and 769.[72] Walderata had a sanction to her grant which specifically mentioned Zeno: 'Et qui hunc meum factum disrumpere requiesere, nobiscum aveat iudicium ante tribunal Dei et salvaturi mundi et beati sancti Tzenoni' (And anyone who seeks to break this thing done by me shall have judgement with us before the tribunal of God and the saviour of the world and the holy Saint Zeno). Magnerata quoted Matthew's gospel (above). Toto also appears to have been pious. He first appeared in the 769 grant as owner of some vines ('capite uno tenit in vites Totoni') on land bordering Magnerata's *olivetallum de Gunduald*. On 24 April 771 he purchased the *mundium* of the king's *aldia* Hermetruda from Autpert, *actor domni regis* and *vir devotus*, who managed the estate of *villa Lauchade* for King Desiderius.[73] Hermetruda was to marry Toto's *aldius*, Theutodoin of Bubbiano.[74] On 2 August 774 he purchased, for fifty solidi in gold, a large sum, further property in Campione from his cousin Peresendus of *Rogialo*.[75] This was described as a *curtecella*, a small estate. It is not clear precisely where

---

[70] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 675, and Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, p. 91, on Zeno's cult. The *Vita Zenonis*, written by Coronatus *notarius* probably at the end of the eighth century (*PL*, xi, 199–204): *BHL* 9001–08; trans. by Everett, *Patron Saints of Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 60–72.

[71] Miller, *The Formation of a Medieval Church*, p. 20.

[72] Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', p. 204.

[73] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 853. *Villa Lauchade* is usually identifed with Locate Triulzi, in the flatlands of the bassa Milanese. La Rocca 'La legge e la pratica', p. 62.

[74] Feller, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'viii secolo', p. 205, argues that this action helped to draw Toto within the king's immediate circle.

[75] Peresendus: Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 186–87.

this was in Campione, but it cannot have been very far from the two oratories. Additionally, he bought properties and their tenants 'in Pauliano seo et Bresino (portiones de selva), Volano (prado), Primo Sorbenno (casa una cum famulis [...] que recte fuerunt per Domenico et Deudato) and Cadro (qui recta fuit per Florentzione et Cuccione)' (in Pauliano and Bresino (portions of woodland), Volano (meadow), Primo Sorbenno (a house with one famulus [...] that was managed by Domenico and Deodato) and Cadro (which was managed by Floentzione and Cuccione)).[76] Peresendus had inherited these properties from his mother (identified by Rossetti as Gunderata, one of Toto's aunts who had an olive grove in Campione in 756).

Rather unusually in this period, Toto seems to have had neither wife nor legitimate children. Consequently, on 8 March 777 he was in a position to bequeath his entire inheritance (*pro anima*), including his house (*domum habidationis meae*),[77] its adjacent estate ('domo coltiles, olivetis, massariis, aldiones, rebus movilibus et inmovilibus, diversisque rebus meis'), and San Zeno (*oratorium*), to Archbishop Thomas of Milan and his successors, and to the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio in perpetuity to set up and maintain a *xenodochium* in his former residence.[78] The bequest was to come into force on the day of his death; hence it is quite wrong to suggest (as is usually the case in the literature) that Toto left his property to the *monastery* of Sant'Ambrogio, as this did not exist in 777.[79] The bishop was given the responsibility of carrying out the provisions,

[76] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 854/*MD* 21, an original (AdSM sec. VIII 19). *Rogialo* was identified as Rogolo in the Valtellina by Porro-Lambertenghi, and most others have followed him. Rossetti ('I ceti proprietari e professionali', p. 204, n. 79) has suggested Rogiaro Valtravaglina, which is nearer to Campione, and La Rocca ('La legge e la pratica', pp. 62–63), Roggiana, near Balerna. Another possibility might be Rògaro, between Griante and Tremezzo. None of these suggestions is provable. The other places were probably Brusino Arsizio (*Pauliano* = modern day Poiana), Riva San Vitale (= *Primo Sorbenno*), and Cadro, all near Lugano (*ChLA*, xxviii, 55). *Volano* is still unidentified. Peresendus is the *consuprinus* of Toto in *MD* 29 (789).

[77] Galetti, *Abitare nel Medioevo*, p. 50, states that this phrase always referred to a person of high social status. *Domus* also could refer to the property at the centre of an estate, i.e. a farmhouse, which may be what was intended here.

[78] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 855/*MD* 25 (with photograph), AdSM sec. VIIII 22, an impressive parchment (510 x 512 mm). The charter is also illustrated in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, p. 283. La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 59–60, 63; Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', pp. 166–67.

[79] Even the scrupulous Rossetti continues this myth, 'devolutore finale il 777 di tutti i suoi beni al monastero di Sant'Ambrogio' (Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', p. 182). La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 63, correctly refers to the 'church' not monastery.

appointing the *prepositus* and feeding twelve poor people there daily.[80] The *prepositus* was to ensure an annual gift of olive oil for lighting to the church of Sant'Ambrogio (20 *libras*), the oratory of San Zeno (200 *libras*, and four candles for each night, 'pro dilectione ipsius almifici loci'), the Basilica of San Nazaro in Milan (10 *libras*), San Vittore ad corpus in Milan (10 *libras*, in the case of Deusdedit, deacon and custodian), and San Lorenzo (10 *libras*): a total of 250 *libras* of olive oil per annum. He specified that his *servi* and *ancillae* should become *aldii*, and that the *xenodochium* would hold the right of *mundium* over them and that each should have a single solidus. Toto's 'men' ('illi homines meis') who did annual labour service for him ('qui consueti sunt cum suas anonas operas mihi facendi') should continue to do this for the new hospice.

Toto lived on after his bequest into the first decade of the ninth century, continuing to buy property in the vicinity of Campione: Bedano in 793, Melano in 799, and Castiglione d'Intelvi in 804 and 807.[81] He is last mentioned buying a slave girl, *c*. 810.[82] By this time he appears, presumably as the result of his alliance with the Milanese church, to have become an important man in the Sottoceneri. In 789 (10 July), his cousin Peresendus paid compensation to him for the death of one of his slaves.[83] In 804 (March), the cleric Ursus gave property to the church of San Zeno, described as 'propse [*sic*] riba de laco Luanasco finibus castro sebrienses in propriis cespitibus Totoni' (near the shore of Lake Lugano in the district of the castrum of Seprio within the very property of Toto himself).[84] Toto's power base was the estate at Campione (his *domo habitationis* was there), and although he had a considerable number of other properties, none of these appear to have been consolidated into estate units. Mostly, they were tenanted houses in villages near Campione, which would have been con-

---

[80] For comparison with contemporary charitable institutions and their functions in the very different context of Rome, see Dey, '*Diaconiae, Xenodochia, Hospitalia* and Monasteries'.

[81] Respectively, *MD* 33 (*ChLA*, xxviii, no. 859), 35 (*ChLA*, xxviii, no. 860), 37, and 39 (La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 64). The identification of *Antellaco* with Castiglione was demonstrated by Monnaret de Villard, *Catalogo delle iscrizioni cristiane*, pp. 28–31. The others by *ChLA*, xxviii, 86.

[82] *MD* 43, AdSM sec. IX 7. The document is damaged, hence the missing date clause. The date given in *CDL* and *CDA* is *c*. 810, but the charter could date from any time during Pippin's reign, i.e. 781–810 (La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 64).

[83] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 856. La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 63. The slave in question, Gaodentius, had been sold by Peresendus to Toto *per alia cartola*, which no longer survives. A substantial reciprocal gift (ten solidi) was exchanged: Wickham, 'Compulsory Gift Exchange in Lombard Italy', p. 199.

[84] *MD* 37, AdSM sec. IX 2.

venient when the tenants had to join in the olive harvest in the winter (usually in November or December). These villages were Brusino Arsizio (Canton Ticino), Riva San Vitale and Cadro, Balerna, Bedano (near Arogno, Canton Ticino), Melano (near Riva San Vitale) and Castiglione d'Intelvi ('Antellaco, finibus suprascripto castro sebrienses, qui nominatur Castro Axongia') (see Map 5). Putting all this information together, it is reasonable to conclude, as Chris Wickham has done, that Toto was a medium-sized landowner, a member of the local gentry rather than an aristocrat.[85]

Wickham has also argued that grants to churches such as Toto's should be seen as establishing patron–client relationships. In this case Toto 'regarded the loss of full ownership as a price worth paying for episcopal patronage (including *defensio*), legal protection'.[86] Of course, Archbishop Thomas was a much bigger fish than Toto (and indeed Peter, Bishop of Como, 776–818). His church was certainly rich and was to benefit from a close connection with Charlemagne himself during the near future (see above, Chapter 4). So it is particularly interesting that Toto's first recorded purchases of land came in the months immediately after Charlemagne's conquest of the Lombard kingdom. Perhaps he imagined that he might benefit from some sort of connection with the new regime? In allying himself with Archbishop Thomas a few years later he had certainly backed the right horse. Thomas soon became the godfather of Charlemagne's daughter Gisela, and thus part of the king's own extended family. If we speculate further, one might even be led to wonder if Archbishop Thomas was the driving force behind the foundation of a Benedictine monastic community at the Sant'Ambrogio site and that Toto's bequest was indeed intended to help support the new community. But this is not provable. By contrast, most of the charters produced post-777 were written in local villages rather than in Milan and this fact suggests that the Campione estate probably remained under Toto's day-to-day control, as the *dominus* of San Zeno, rather than that of the Archbishop of Milan until *c*. 810, when it finally did pass into the bishop's hands (by then Odelpert). It remained part of the lands of the church of Milan until 835, when Archbishop Angilbert II gave it, with the consent of King Lothar, to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio.[87] It is also worth con-

---

[85] Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', pp. 166–67. Other verdicts on Toto: Rossetti 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 204–06; La Rocca, La legge e la pratica', p. 65; La Rocca, 'I testamenti del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione', pp. 210, 217–20; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 606.

[86] Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', p. 167.

[87] *MD* 58 (March 835) and *MD* 59 (May 835).

sidering what happened to the properties and tenants Toto acquired post-777; how these found their way to Sant'Ambrogio is discussed below.

Documents and Business Activities

The Campione dossier is obviously important for what it records about the *da Campione* family and how they managed their lands and labour force during the course of the eighth century. In this respect it compares with other important eighth-century charter material, including the copious Lucchese documents and those of Piacenza and Brescia.[88] But it is also interesting for what it reveals about the process of documentation itself.[89] In the end this family's activities are known only because they documented their business dealings in writing, one of the first instances of this in Italy in the early medieval period. Quite why this particular family took up charters in this way remains a speculative issue. Perhaps they followed the lead given by the Lombard kings at Pavia, not so very far away, who were emphasizing in this period the desirability of correctly written instruments to document ownership of land and people (above, Chapter 1).[90] Perhaps using charters in this way was already a well-established practice, as is evidenced by the document listing Ghittia's collection of around one hundred charters dating to the period *c.* 768–74.[91] We do not know for certain if others in this subalpine area were doing the same thing as only this group of charters has survived here, but it is highly likely that they were. Importantly, there are some references within the dossier to charters which have not survived: Lucius had a charter made in the time of Cunincpert; Peresendus had a charter recording a sale to Toto; and Martin of Melano had 'monimenas meas vel scriptores' which he handed to Toto in 799. The fact that the latter have not survived as part of the Sant'Ambrogio collection makes it clear that Toto did not, as is usually stated or implied, bequeath all his property to Archbishop Thomas. Some of what he acquired after 777 went to the Milanese church, but

[88] Wickham, *The Mountains and the City* (Lucca); Galetti, *Una campagna e la sua città* (Piacenza); Stella and Brentagni, *S. Giulia di Brescia* (Brescia).

[89] Costambeys, 'The Laity, the Clergy, the Scribes and their Archives', pp. 238–45.

[90] Everett, 'Literacy and the Law in Lombard Government', pp. 105–09; Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy'; Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 200–202 (notaries); Everett, 'Lay Documents and Archives in Early Medieval Spain and Italy', p. 94.

[91] Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*, pp. 1–3; Everett, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy', p. 39; Costambeys, 'The Laity, the Clergy, the Scribes and their Archives', p. 239.

some must have gone elsewhere, presumably to relatives — maybe fairly distant ones — or other churches.

It is likely that the family had long taken great interest in documenting their deals in writing. As far back as the 720s Lucius, one of their workers, claimed to have a charter from Toto I's parents made in the reign of Cunincpert, most probably *c.* 689–90. Most of the surviving documents are originals and were written by local scribes who wrote their charters up locally, in Campione, Trevano, Arogno, and Socco. The family must have commissioned these men, and at least one of them, Alfrit (769), seems to have been a friend (*amicus*), personal and/or political, of the family. Most of these scribes wrote in fairly idiosyncratic Latin and in highly complex handwriting (generically termed *corsiva nuova Italiana* in *ChLA*, but categorized in other ways by some palaeographers),[92] perhaps suggesting minimal grammatical education alongside considerable scribal craft. Curious spelling errors certainly abound,[93] to say nothing of faulty syntax which sometimes obscures sense (at least to us). Less frequently the family went to towns (Piacenza, Milan itself, and Como) to use scribes, with more elegant results (Table 12).

As can be seen from Table 12 there is a good range of document types and, using the classifications given by the scribes themselves to their charters, seven basic forms can be distinguished: (1) *Cartola de accepto mundio* (three texts); (2) *Cartola vinditionis* (six texts, with variant forms); (3) *Inquisitium* (a single text). (4) *Cautio* (a single text); (5) *Cartola donationis* (four texts); (6) *Notitia* (a single text); (7) *Iudicatum* (a single text).[94] Charters were written in at least eight different locations: Piacenza (once), Milan (three times), Campione (three times), Trèvano (twice), Socco (once), Arogno (once), Mendrisio (once), and Como (once). The scribes who produced these documents were, for the most part, based in towns. Three were definitely clerics (Vitalis, Lazarius, and Walpert).[95] Four (Faustinus, Ursus, Thomas, and Donusdei) refer to themselves

---

[92] Petrucci, 'Scrittura e libro nell'Italia altomedievale' and 'Alfabetismo ed educazione degli scribi altomedievali'; Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*; Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*.

[93] *Sancti Vecturi* for *sancti Victori*; *pummeferissis* for *pomiferis*; *amenogoloraribus* for *amendolaribus*; *entegrum* for *integrum*; *Edalia* for *Italia*. Baggio and Glauco, 'La lingua del "*dossier* Totone*"*.

[94] Bartoli Langeli, 'I documenti' for detailed diplomatic analysis.

[95] Vitalis (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 248, common); Lazarius (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 156, three other examples); Walpert (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 251, two others).

simply as scribes (*scriptur*), but may, given their names, have been clerics.[96] The rest call themselves notary (*notarius*), although one (Agioald) cannot spell even this consistently, using *nodario* as well as *notario*. It is quite possible then that a majority of these charters were written by clerical scribes, probably the local priest in the small settlements — such as Mendrisio and Trèvano — where some of the charters were drawn up.[97] Arguably this information supports the view that this society was somewhat removed from urban networks, at least in the first part of the eighth century, and relied on its own members to produce and consume charters. Yet the Italian charter as such (referred to in legislation of this period by a variety of terms, *cartola*, *libellus scriptus*, *scrivis*, and *preceptum*) is often regarded as an urban phenomenon and the preserve of a supposed notarial 'profession'.[98]

Comparison between the Campione charters and the local law codes is instructive too (Tables 12 and 13). If the five basic Campione types (perhaps encompassed within the global term *monimen* used by Martin of Melano in 799 to describe his own collection of charters — 'monimenas meas vel scripturas' — handed over in that year to Toto of Campione) are compared with what is known about charters from the Lombard codes some valuable points emerge.

Perhaps the most obvious point is that the Campione charters are mostly types of text explicitly sanctioned by the laws issued by Lombard kings (the inquisition being an exception). This may seem too obvious to be worth stating, and yet when one considers the poor quality of the Latin and handwriting of the majority of these charters, it brings home the point that Lombard elites were not really very interested in the niceties of scribal education but rather more interested in the communicative power of writing.[99] After all had they been required, better-educated scribes were available in Pavia which was not so very far away. The language of these charters as a corpus not linguistically analysed until recently is clearly influenced by the spoken vernacular of this region, stressing that these were texts to be understood, perhaps quite widely under-

[96] Faustinus (Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 111 with two other occurences); Ursus, Thomas, and Donusdei (common names).

[97] There has been some archaeological work at the church of San Martino in Mendrisio, which has argued for two early medieval phases, a seventh-century one and a ninth-century one: Foletti, 'Archeologia altomedievale nel Canton Ticino', pp. 131–32 and plan at p. 168. Cf. Davies, 'Priests and Rural Communities in East Brittany', pp. 187–89, for comparison with priests' movements around ninth-century East Brittany.

[98] Costamagna and Amelotti, *Alle origini del notariato italiano*.

[99] Bartoli Langeli, *Notai*, pp. 17–35, makes a similar point.

Table 12. Campione charters, before monastic involvement[*]

Date	Scribe	Place of redaction	Type of charter
721	Vitalis, *subdiaconus, scriptur, exceptor*	Piacenza	*Cartola de accepto mundio*
724/729?	Not recorded	Not known	*Inquisitium*
725	Faustinus *scriptur, notarius regie*	Milan	*Dogomentum vinditionis*
735	Lazarius *vir religiosus clericus*	Campione	*Cartola de accepto mundio*
748	Austrolf *notarius*	Trèvano	*Cautio*
756	Ursus *scriptur*	Campione	*Cartula donationis*
Before 769	Not recorded	Not known	*Noticia*
769	Alfrit *notarius scriptur* (*amicus*)	Socco Fino Mornasco, Como	*Cartula donationis*
771	Walpert *indignus presb. scriptur*	Not known	*Breve memoratorio de mundio*
774	Meroingo *notario*	Not known	*Cartula vinditionis*
777	Thomas *scriptur*	Milan	*Iudicatum*
c. 781–819	Agioald *nodario*	Arogno	*Cartula vinditionis*
789	Agioald *notario*	Trèvano	*Cartula donationis*
793	Agioald *nodario*	Mendrisio	*Cartula vinditionis*
799	Donusdei *scriptur*	Campione	*Cartula vinditionis*
804	Donusdei *scriptur*	Milan	*Cartula donationis*
807	Lupus *notarius*	Como	*Cartula vinditionis*

[*] To these should be added those lost charters recorded within other documents.

stood.[100] The fact that the scribes were mostly local and probably known personally to the *da Campione* reinforces the point that writing was an important medium through which social relationships could be organized for both those who commissioned charters and those who wrote them, and that the types of charter surviving from this early period before charters became more standard-

---

[100] Baggio and Glauco, 'La lingua del "*dossier* Totone', pp. 298–302. Cf. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 13–22 (comparing vernacular and Latin usage north of the Alps), and Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 100–105 (on 'Lombardic').

Table 13. Charters in Lombard legislation

Law Chapter	Document Type	Date	Subject of Law
Roth. 224	*Cartola (libertatis)*	643	Charter of freedom recording manumission
Roth. 227	*Libellus scriptus*	643	Written documents to demonstrate ownership in the case of sales
Roth. 243	*Cartola falsa membranum*	643	Forged charters
Liut. 22	*Cartola*	721	To record sales by women with kin consent. Otherwise document invalid
Liut. 54	*Cartola donationis*	724	Charter of gift/sale. Thirty-year rule
Liut. 63	*Cartola falsa*	724	False charters
Liut. 67	*Cautio*	725	Caution
Liut. 91	*Scrivis/cartolas/ cartola falsa*	727	Scribes and charters. Lombard or Roman law. Inheritance must be legal.
Liut. 107	*Cartola commutationis*	729	Charters of exchange or sale
Liut. 140	*Preceptum*	734	Manumission charter
Liut. 149	*Cartola*	735	Minors
Rach. 8	*Cartola vinditionis*	746	Sales
Aist. 11	*Cartola*	755	Manumission
Aist. 12	*Cartola*	755	Bequests
Aist. 22	*Cartola*	755	Charters of freedom

ized in their formulae directly reflect social relations at the most local level (the *familia*). Indeed the introduction of written charters into this area probably altered even tighter existing social relations as these became more distanciated than before.[101]

Social Organization: Servile Dependence and Friendship Networks

Scholars have tended to concentrate either upon *what* these charters say or on *how* they say it, content or form, whereas combining the two approaches reveals more about how social life worked in this area at this time.[102] What

[101] Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory*, p. 204.

[102] Balzaretti, 'Monasteries, Towns and the Countryside' and La Rocca, 'La legge e la prat-

was documented for the family is just as particular as how it was documented. We know that their estate centre at Campione produced wine and especially olive oil for liturgical use in the Zeno chapel as well as food for the family's consumption.[103] Unsurprisingly, therefore, most of the charters deal with the family's workforce, those people who produced these crops. As producers they had some degree of agency as without their (successful) efforts others would starve.[104] Some were resident servants; some worked the land, while others lived further away and did occasional work for the estate, especially at harvest time. A fairly wide range of Latin terms is employed to describe the servile or unfree: *servus* (721, 777, 789, *infantolis serbi* 807), *puer* (725), *mancipia* (735, 781–810), *aldius* (724/29, 771, 777, 789, 804), *famulis* (774), *massarius* (777), *ancilla* (777, 781–810), *homines* (777). (Table 14). The exact meaning of such terms has been much debated.[105]

There is little surviving evidence of tension between the family and its workforce, but this does not mean that life was always harmonious, for the single surviving fragmentary inquisition probably dating from Liutprand's reign clearly records dissent on the part of Lucius, who tried to prevent Toto from increasing his labour services ('operas a pradas et a vitis et ambasias per ebdomadas') by claiming that Toto had been physically violent towards him ('de violentia quet ei Toto de Campelliuni faceret').[106] The very earliest charters in this group concern the legal status of female servants: Austruda in 721, Scholastica in 735, Hermedruda in 771, Toto's unnamed *ancillae* in 777. It is hard to know why this should be, although one might speculate that these women did 'women's work' for the family, of the sort alluded to in Liutprand's laws.[107] To what extent this workforce had any collective identity is lost to us now, although the

ica' are the only existing examples of this approach to these charters.

[103] Fouracre, 'Eternal Light and Earthly Needs', p. 74.

[104] Cf. Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship*; Faith, 'Forces and Relations of Production in Early Medieval England'; Faith, 'Farms and Families in Ninth-Century Provence'; Faith, 'The Structure of the Market for Wool in Early Medieval Lincolnshire' which are among the most perceptive studies of peasant agency. Cf. Grey, *Constructing Communities*, pp. 26–33.

[105] Davies, 'On Servile Status in the Early Middle Ages'; Hammer, *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages*; Panero, *Schiavi, servi e villani nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 23–36 (excellent survey of terms), 47–57, and 128–47; Rio, 'Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia'.

[106] *ChLA*, XXVIII, no. 847. Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 312–14. Cf. Grey, *Constructing Communities*, pp. 153–54 (rural violence against tax collectors), 168–69.

[107] *Liut.* 120 (issued 731) *muliebre opera*. Most probably this work was weaving and making clothing.

Table 14. Terms for the servile in Campione charters, 721–810. NB: Terms are listed in order of
    their first appearance in the dossier

Latin Term	Date	Context
servus	721	un-named man who marries Anstruda
	777	generic reference, Toto confirms that 'omnes servos et ancillas meas sint aldiones'
	789	'Gaodentius, qui fuet servus domini Guniaut aut Rotcaossi de Balerna' (but some confusion in the text, where he appears to be termed *aldius* as well).
	807	'pro duos infantolis serbi juris meis, nomine Mauroni et Ecansa filiis Theuderadae, traentes origines castello Axxungia'
puer	725	'puero nomine Satrelano, sive quo alio nomine nuncupatur, natzonem Gallia'
mancipia	735	'pro mancipio numine Scolastica, who marries Ursio, mancipio'
	781–810	'suprascripta mancepio' (= *ancilla*)
aldius	724/29	'Lucio, et paruet novis ut non poteret esse liverus, nisi aldius'
	771	'Hermedruda, filia Antonini de vigo Lauchade, pre ipsa alianem, quem sibi Theutodoin aldio tuo de vigo Bibiano in coniogio sociavit' (refers to *Roth*. 218 and *Liut*. 126)
	777	Two generic references
	789	Generic references
	804	'casa [...] qui regitur per Laurentio cum germanis et filiis suorum aldionibus nostribus'
famulis	774	'casae meae una cum famulis in fundo [...] que recte fuerint per Domenico et Deudato, and at Cadelo, qui recte fuerint per Florentione et Cuccioni'
massarius	777	Generic reference
ancilla	777	Generic reference
	781–810	'ancella nomine (lacuna) cum agnitione sua'
homines	777	'homenes meis', who provide 'anonas operas'

emphasis of the early charters on servility and freedom might suggest that the
unfree did form a more oppressed group within local society than the free peas-
ants, a group to be exchanged much as other commodities were.[108] We might

---

[108] Feller, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'VIII secolo'. Cf. Devroey, 'Men and Women in Early

characterize these people as those who were 'communicated about' in charter texts but who did not, at this period, have direct access to these texts unless it were a single charter granting their own liberty.[109] However, we should wonder why the *da Campione* family needed to document the status of their personal servants in written form, as it is only later that they documented their dealings in land, largely purchases and gifts, with those of apparently similar social status to themselves. This pattern merits further investigation.[110]

Another significant feature of these charters is the amounts of money referred to, given how far Campione was from any contemporary mints.[111] The local availability of cash is controversial. Alessia Rovelli has argued that coins were surprisingly unavailable in early medieval Italy despite frequent reference to them in charters.[112] Given that the origin of the *da Campione* family is uncertain it is possible that they had been exposed to coin use elsewhere. The contemporary Byzantine world, which included parts of eastern Italy well into the eighth century, demonstrated a sophisticated gold, silver, and bronze currency which had some impact in north-eastern Italy notably at Venice.[113] Lombard-controlled Italy by comparison seems to have been relatively closed to coin, although clearly it was 'monetized' in the sense that concepts of money existed and were certainly employed as a mechanism of account.[114] The gold solidus and *tremisses* was not actually minted but used as an accounting method. There were mints at Pavia — the main site in the north — but also at Ivrea, Milan, Novate (which one is unclear), Piacanza, Pombia, Sibrium, and Brescia. How many coins were minted in these places and how frequently is an open question. Once Charlemagne took over from the Lombards things changed. He maintained Lombard gold issues until 781 (Capitulary of Mantua) when gold

---

Medieval Serfdom'; Rio, 'Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia'; Rio, *Slavery after Rome*.

[109] Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 177–80 (on manumission).

[110] Banaji, 'Aristocracies, Peasantries and the Framing of the Early Middle Ages'.

[111] For an excellent summary of the local monetary history of this period, see Arslan, 'Il tremisse "stellato" di Desiderio per Brescia'. Also important are the remarks of McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 321–26; and especially Rovelli, 'Circolazione monetaria e formulari notarili nell'Italia altomedievale', 'La funzione della moneta tra l'VIII e il X secolo', 'Some Considerations on the Coinage of Lombard and Carolingian Italy', and 'Economia monetaria e monete nel dossier di Campione'.

[112] Rovelli, *Coinage and Coin Use in Medieval Italy* with English translations of some essays.

[113] McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 366–69.

[114] Feller, 'Sur la formation des prix dans l'économie du haut Moyen Âge'.

was replaced with silver issues in line with the rest of Carolingian Europe. Then the number of mints was reduced to Milan, Pavia, Treviso, Venice, and Verona. The sums reported in charters (Table 15) therefore help to evaluate the *relative* worth of servile workers, land, and other types of property. They show clearly that male workers were worth more than females and that land commanded a much higher price than people.

Table 15. Sums of money reported in Campione charters, 721–810

Date	Sums	Purchase
721	3 gold solidi (*auri solidos nomero tres*)	For *mundium*
	10 gold solidi (*auri solidos decim*)	If the arrangement is broken
725	12 new gold solidi, the full price (*auri solidos duodecim nobus finito pretio*)	For slave boy (or double if anything goes wrong). Milan.
735	2 gold solidi and 1 *tremisses*	For *mundium*. Campione.
748	1 gold solidus loaned (*auri solido uno meis udilitatibus per agendo usque in caput anni*)	A small field as surety. Trèvano.
771	3 gold solidi	For *mundium*? Locate.
774	50 gold solidi (i.e. a lot) (*auri solidos numero cinquanta pretio placito et finito*)	For land and tenants (double sanction)? Campione.
777	a single solidus per head	Gift for each man and woman *servus/ancilla* that becomes an *aldia*. Milan.
789	10 solidi in silver denari, i.e. 120 silver denarii (*laoneghild argentum denarii in soledus dece ad duodice dinarius per solidus*)	Trèvano.
793	5 solidi in good silver denari, solidi 'in the hand' (*argentum dinari boni in solidos quinque, pro quibus pretium venundavi et solidos mancipavi*)	Mendrisio.
799	3 pounds of coined silver, calculating for each pound 240 denarii (720 denarii) (*argento ficuratus libras tres, conpotati per una quaque libras dinarios nomiro duocentus quatragesta, finito pretio*)	Campione.
781/810	1 *libras* of silver	For a slave girl. Arogno.
807	30 solidi in silver, 12 denarii per solidus (i.e. 360 denarii) (*argento solidos tregenta ad duodecim dinarii per solidos finidum precio*)	For 2 infant slaves. Como.

As can be seen from Table 15, the men in the *da Campione* family seem to have been able to lay their hands on considerable amounts of cash, which has led some scholars to see them as a family of *negotiatores* (merchants or traders), rather than farmers.[115] Some evidence against this is provided by the single case of a *negotiator* mentioned as witness to a Campione charter whereas that the word is never applied to the *da Campione* themselves, nor do they appear as witnesses to any surviving document produced outside their family circle.[116] The amounts of cash mentioned have given rise to the idea that Toto himself may have been a merchant,[117] perhaps even trading in slaves in line with McCormick's view of the continued importance of slave-trading in Europe at this time.[118]

Toto moved in quite elevated circles, near to the aristocracy but not of it.[119] The surviving charters illustrate his social networks dimly but plausibly. Unsurprisingly, he had some formal dealings with his own kin. In August 774, in the first Milanese charter issued under Charlemagne's rule, he bought land from Peresendus, son of Peredeus of *Rogialo*. Peresendus acquired the property *maternas successionem*. Interestingly (and perplexing in terms of methodology), there is nothing in this charter to indicate that Peresendus and Toto were biologically related.[120] Yet, the charter of 789 demonstrates that they were cousins: Peresendus is recorded here as 'consuprino et donatur tuo'. He also refers to Toto as 'dilectissimo adque amantissimo mihi Todo dilectus consuprino meo' and later as 'dulcissimo consuprino meo'. This is the type of gushing language only rarely found in charters from this collection at this date (but note a case from Gnignano in 792),[121] such honorifics being normally reserved for royal grants or references to kings in dating clauses in other types of text.[122] Given the subject matter of the record, it may be an attempt by Peresendus to flatter his cousin, or it may genuinely reflect the close nature of the two men's rela-

---

[115] Rossetti, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali', pp. 170–71, 182–205; La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 59–66; Gasparri, 'Mercanti o possessori?'. Cf. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 630–38.

[116] *MD* 37 (804), drafted in Milan.

[117] La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 65, argues against on good grounds.

[118] McCormick, 'New Light on the "Dark Ages"'.

[119] Gasparri, 'Mercanti o possessori?', p. 177.

[120] *MD* 21 (original).

[121] *MD* 32.

[122] For example, *CDL*, i, doc. 104 (June 752, Siena) 'regnante domno nostro Aistolfi uiro excellentissimo rege'.

tionship.[123] In a sense the language of the charter mirrors the delicate political nature of the situation for Peresendus, as recorded in this text.[124]

The associates of Toto and his family can be pursued further by considering witness lists. First of all there are those charters attested by members of the da Campione family themselves, in 756, 769, 777, and 789. In 756 the witnesses are, typically for a woman's grant at this time,[125] close male family members: her son, Agelmundus, her brother Arochis, Gautpert, and Honoratus son of a certain Vitalianus of Bissone, *vir devotus*.[126] Magnerata's grant of 769 is not, apparently, witnessed by anyone from her dead husband's family but by Aunefrit, a priest (who consents, so he may be family), and three men from Cadorago (fr. Fino Mornasco, CO): Tagipert, Ambrosius, son of Gudoald of Cateriaco, and Oto, son of Oto of Cateriaco.[127] In the 774 sale made by Peresendus, we find Romoald, son of Tottoni of Binago (near Como), Lubus of Binago, Desideri of Morchino (near Lugano),[128] and Angepertus.[129] With Toto's will of 777, written in Milan, the witnesses are Oto (is he the same as 769?), Martinus, *vicedominus* of the Milanese church, Inguald, *loci servator*, Odelpert, subdeacon of the Milanese church (and possibly the same man who became archbishop in 806), and Garibald, son of Placitus, Porta Argentea.[130] Here the witness list would appear to reflect the church's networks rather than Toto's own. The agreement which Peresendus reached with Toto in 789 was witnessed by Aofusus, son of Aofrit of Logurno, Ragipert, son of Ragifrit of Pontegano, and Suntari, priest of Balerna.[131] Ragipert, son of Ragifret of Pontegano, is particularly interest-

---

[123] La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', p. 63.

[124] Cf. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 171–77, on emotional language in seventh-century Merovingian charters.

[125] Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, pp. 44–47.

[126] Agelmundus signed his name, but could barely write. Arochis and Gautpert were more practised writers.

[127] Magnerata put a simple cross by her name. Aunefrit's autograph is shaky, and Oto only wrote his own name, not the rest of the subscribing phrase.

[128] There is archaeological evidence of early medieval smithing at Lugano: Foletti 'Archeologia altomedievale nel Canton Ticino', p. 146.

[129] Peresendus's autograph is quite strong (*digitata manibus meis* as he has it), as is Lubus's, but Angelbertus's is weak.

[130] Toto, Oto, and Inguald signed their names but did not join up their letters. Martinus and Odelpert both had very expert hands.

[131] Peresendus once again signs for himself, although his hand is hardly expert, and Suntari, the priest, is also hesitant. The others did not sign.

ing as he also witnessed in 793, 781–810, and 807.[132] These lists provide some indication of the sorts of people the family came into contact with when doing business, mostly local worthies, who were often functionally literate at a low level (although a fair number could not sign their own names). Those charters written up in Campione or nearby villages were witnessed by locals (774, 789, 793, 799, 807; from Scaria, Pontegano, Drezzo, Como, Balerna, Locarno), including priests (789 Balerna, 807 and 810 'St Victor'). In none of these charters do witnesses appear from Milan, a significant point. By contrast those charters written up in Milan (725, 777, and 804) which involve the *da Campione* family are witnessed by Milanese residents. While this is a predictable pattern, it does make clear that witnessing transactions and recording this in charters was a localized phenomenon. It seems likely that Toto did not travel around all that widely with a retinue of supporters when he was dealing in property and having these dealings recorded in charters.[133] However, this is not to suggest that Toto's own horizons were limited to the Sottoceneri. In addition to dealing with his cousin Peresendus, he dealt with those clearly not from his immediate family circle in both land and people: Walteramnus of Bedano (793), Martinus of Melano (799), Ursus, *clericus* from Calendasco (PC, 804), Gisepert from Cornegliano, near Melzo (807). Peresendus too, before 789, had bought property from Guniaut and Rotcaossi of Balerna. This pattern is not out of line with those charters not attested by da Campione family members.

The case of the cleric Ursus is worth a closer look. The charter recording this transaction was made in Milan, and the witness list reflects this: Melsus, Petrus, son of Alexandrus *negotiator*, Domeneci and Petroni, *monetarii civitates Mediolani*, and Transoald 'da Colomna orfa civitatis Mediolani'. Ursus, a cleric known as Peter son of Aroald from Calandasco (near Piacenza),[134] gave, *pro remedio*, his part of a house in Castiglione d'Intelvi, whose tenant was Laurentio and his brothers and sons, all *aldii*. The other half of the property was owned by his uncle, Rodoald, a deacon. The gift was to the oratory of San Zeno and Toto himself. Quite why Ursus was making this gift to a church so far away is open to speculation. It may be that his family had some connec-

---

[132] Ragipert was a common Lombard name: Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, pp. 197–98. Pontegano, now the site of a ruined medieval castle and within the Comune of Balerna, was probably part of a Byzantine series of forts in this area.

[133] Cf. the 'public business range' of villagers in ninth-century East Brittany: Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 109–26.

[134] Grato, a deacon from Monza, had earlier in 769 left an estate in Calendasco to his newly founded oratory of S. Salvatore and S. Faith in Monza.

tion with Toto's which we no longer know about. Or, perhaps more likely given the location of the drafting of the charter, he had connections in Milan itself, people who might have suggested that he patronize the oratory of San Zeno, newly acquired by the Milanese church. The cult of St Zeno seems to have been important at this period as has been seen, but more work needs to be done on its diffusion within the diocese of Milan. Nonetheless, it may be that Ursus was a devotee of this saint.

Taking all the evidence about the *da Campione* into account, it appears that record-keeping was of continuing interest to the family (and Toto in particular) over a long period. Why this was so remains something of a mystery, but in part it must reflect the influence of local laws emphasizing the use of authentic charters to record transactions. It is also possible that Toto began to document his transactions with a view to future donations to the church, but this would be hard to prove with any certainty, particularly given that the majority of the transactions did not directly involve the church in Campione, Milan, or Como. We need to delve deeper into the activities of these churches to find answers, but for the earliest periods this is far from easy, as both Como and Milan are plagued by corrupt charters as already seen.[135]

Monastic Takeover and Management

Toto's bequest did not take immediate effect as has been seen.[136] The date of his death is unknown, but he was certainly still alive in 807 and perhaps in 810, or later still. Once he died, the provisions of his 777 bequest ought to have come into effect, but because of a gap in the records, in part due to the local fall-out from King Bernard's rebellion, it is uncertain exactly when that happened. The next firm date in the Campione dossier is 1 March 835 when a diploma was issued by Angilbert II in favour of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio.[137] It is likely that the monastery was in possession of the Campione estate (*cur-*

[135] Chapter 4 for Milan. The only document before 810 involving the Bishop of Como is a diploma of Charlemagne, 803, confirming that church's existing properties (Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 202). The petitioner was Charlemagne's son, Pippin, king of Italy.

[136] The only other account of the events discussed in the next few pages is Rossetti, 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi duesecoli di vita', pp. 24–29.

[137] *MD* 58, AdSM sec. IX 22, an authenticated copy made in the thirteenth century. As seen above, this is a controversial document the detailed phraseology of which cannot be relied upon.

tis Campellione) by this date because the same information is recorded in a diploma of Lothar I, issued 5 May 835 and preserved in the original.[138]

The change from family to monastic ownership made a significant impact upon social relationships in the area. The spiritual impact of the arrival of the Sant'Ambrogio monks as landlords in Campione is perhaps the most difficult to assess as the ecclesiastical organization of the area is not very well documented at this period.[139] The area around Lakes Como and Lugano was, it seems, divided between the dioceses of Como and Milan. It is generally believed that three parishes depended upon Como: Balerna (San Vittore), Riva San Vitale, and Lugano (San Lorenzo) (Map 5).[140] Each of these churches may have been in existence in the sixth century, or indeed much earlier in the case of Riva San Vitale.[141] The Milanese parishes were La Capiasca, Agno (San Giovanni Battista), Locarno-Muralto, Bellinzona, Biasca, and Olivone.[142] Some of these churches and their priests appear in the Campione dossier. The 735 charter was written out by Lazarius, 'clericus basilice Sancti Johannis Aniasce' (Agno).[143] In 748, there is a reference to *sancti Vecturi* in the boundary clauses of the meadow in *Farsiolas*. This could be the church of San Vittore in Lugano, or perhaps the one in Balerna (or even the ancient Milanese basilica of San Vittore). Walpert *indignus presbiter* wrote the charter of 771 (but his affiliation is not given). In 789 one of the witnesses was *Suntari presbiter de Balerna*, a reference usually assumed to refer to the existence of Balerna parish, although Suntari might easily have been attached to another nearby church. In 807 Stabolario *presbiter* witnessed the charter enacted in Como. The charter of 781–810 was enacted 'ad oradorio sancti Vitali in fundo Aronni' (Arogno, only a kilometre or so south-east as the crow flies).

The likelihood is that the village of Campione came within the juridiction of the parish of Riva San Vitale, a church dedicated, of course, to Vitalis, a

---

[138] *MD* 59 (AdSM sec. IX 23) = Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 23.

[139] De Marchi, 'Edifici di culto e territorio nei secoli VII e VIII'.

[140] Moretti 'Le chiese collegiate della Svizzera italiana', pp. 27–28, argues convincingly that Mendrisio was not a parish in this period.

[141] Talbert, *The Barrington Atlas*, Map 39 *Mediolanum*, maps Riva where there is a famous fifth- to sixth-century baptistery dedicated to St John the Baptist: Cantino Wataghin, 'Christianization et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes', pp. 225–29, and Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 133–36, for churches with baptismal rights in this period.

[142] Moretti, 'Le chiese collegiate della Svizzera italiana', pp. 28–31.

[143] *ChLA*, XXVIII, 24, n. 1; Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 311–12.

famous Byzantine saint much venerated at Ravenna but also at Milan.[144] The spiritual life of the *da Campione* family itself was centered on their own church, interestingly dedicated to Zeno as we have seen. This small 'private' church was built by the parents of Magnerata before 756,[145] when it is first documented as the recipient of a gift from Walderata ('baselica sancti Tzenoni sita in fundo Campilioni/oracula sancti Tzenoni'). Walderata made explicit in the sanction appended to her grant the value placed on the power of the saint: 'et qui hunc mecum factum disrumpere requesierit nobiscum aveat iudicium ante tribunal Dei et Salvatori mundi et beati sancti Tzenoni'. Magnerata, once widowed, termed herself *ancella Dei*, which suggests the strength of her personal piety.[146] The family's piety continued to be expressed in gifts which had specific spiritual ends: *luminaria* (lighting in church) and *missae* (regular Masses for their souls). San Zeno was described again as an *oratorium* in 804. It is possible that the family's charters were kept here. After 804 the church itself disappears from the record for fifty years, and it was during this period that the family archive was ceded to the monastery, although it could easily have been stored thereafter in Campione, for there is not a single dorsal annotation on any of these charters from before the tenth century which would suggest storage in Milan as part of a larger archive — as is the case with the Cologno charters, for example (see below, Chapter 7). A charter of 854 (7 February) provides the first reference that the church has become a *cella* ('cell') with a *prepositus* ('provost') who was a monk-priest, under the jurisdiction of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio.[147] What this man's precise functions were, whether he was permanently resident or just visiting, whether there was a small community of monks or other clerics on site remain open questions at this period. It is unclear if he was responsible for the pastoral care of the local population, although this was certainly possible or even likely. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the church may have been disputed between Milan and Como in 874, although the events are reported in a corrupt charter.[148] According to the account of the Milanese monks as pre-

---

[144] Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, pp. 28–29, 72–73.

[145] Cf. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 50–51.

[146] La Rocca, 'Segni di distinzione', pp. 45–50, on the ambiguities surrounding the widowed state, especially being a young widow.

[147] *MD* 91 (AdSM sec. IX 51); Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 101, 340–43. 'Sesepertus presbiter et monacho adque preposito celle sancti Tzenoni site Campilioni, qui pertinent de monasterio sancti Ambrosii'. The same man appears in another charter three months later (6 May 854, *CDL* 186, copy in the episcopal archive).

[148] *MD* 126 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 78), AdSM sec. IX 86, a late twelfth-

sented by this charter's narrative Bishop Angilbertus of Como had sent free men (*homines liberi*) and priests (*sacerdotes*) to expel the monks from the estate and churches in Campione and another at nearby Trèvano while the monks were actually officiating:

> introissent malo ordine in curte et basilicas illas, quas in vico Campallioni predictum monasterium habet, una edificata in onore sancti Zenoni, alia edificata in onore sanctorum Nazarii et Victoris, tercia edificata in onore sancte Maria, locus qui vocatur Vuillari, quas quondam Todo de suprascripto vico Campallioni, cuius proprietas fuit, per suum iudicatum in ipsum contullit monasterium pro anima sua.

> [[the monks] entered illegally the estate and basilicas which the monastery had in Campione, one built in honour of St Zeno, another in honour of Saints Nazarius and Victor, and the third of the Holy Mary at the place called Villari (S. Maria dei Ghirli), which Todo of Campione, whose property it was, gave by his testament to the monastery for his soul.][149]

The Bishop of Como when asked to provide evidence in his defence could not and so backed down. A month later an advocate for the monastery of Sant'Abbondio in Como pledged (in Lugano) that his church would not interfere with the rights of the Milanese monastery in Verna, rights acquired from Fulkerius of Albiolo.[150] The Milanese monks were again victorious. Like Toto and his family before, the monks clearly regarded the church in Campione as the spiritual and economic focus of their property in this area.

Initially the change of landlord from the *da Campione* to the monastery probably had little impact on the lives of the rural workforce, apart from the fact that their landlords were now exclusively male, although their personal legal status may indeed have improved from *servi* to *aldii* as provided in Toto's will. But the opposite was the case where other owners were concerned, and

---

or early thirteenth-century copy, full of transcription errors and in a poor state of preservation.

[149] It is interesting to note that the churches listed here are not the same as those in Toto's *iudicatum* of a century earlier, which was surely in the possession of the monks in 874. It seems that they may genuinely have had trouble reading it. The *iudicatum* was 'transcribed' by Petrus 'Sinistrarius' in the early thirteenth century, line by line on the document itself, at the same time that this 874 *placitum* was being copied out by Guifredus de Vineate, Rogerius Salarius, and Ambrosius de Valnexio, and it is likely that at this point the confusion of the church of Saints Nazarius and Victor in Campione, which appears to have existed as there are remains of an ancient *oratorium* now dedicated to St Peter which is once thought to have had this dedication, with the actual Milanese churches of the same dedication to which Toto left bequests was introduced.

[150] *MD* 127 (AdSM sec. IX 87, an original), January 875. Verna is just north of Laino, about ten kilometres north-east of Campione.

before very long we begin to hear of resistance to the new monastic landlord-ship. After the monks took possession of the estate they gradually expanded their holdings in its vicinity during the 840s and 850s. Their activities, in apparent contrast to Toto's, sparked off complaints from existing landlords which the monastery sought to resolve by taking the objectors to court in Milan itself, thereby linking this area with Milan in a more physically direct way than ever before. These procedures forced this area into direct communication with Milan, its notaries, and judges. Indeed the first text we have after 835 is a *notitia* (April 844) recording the most acrimonious of these disputes, with Teutpert of Vimercate and his family, over property in Balerna (some ten kilometres south of Campione).[151] The *da Campione* family do not appear in this *notitia*, but we know from the 789 charter that Toto's cousin Peresendus had some land in Balerna which he had previously sold to Toto.[152] From the 844 record — of a case actually heard within the monastery itself (*in clausura sancti Ambrosii*) — we learn that the monastery claimed to have a charter, which suspiciously now no longer survives, recording the purchase of land in Balerna from a certain Bruning of Magliaso (five kilometres west of Campione) at an unspecified date during the time of Abbot Deusdedit, namely 814–35. Bruning's daughter Walpergis had married Adelbert, Teutpert's son, and Teutpert's claim on the property rested on this marriage. A man called Bruning *de Maliacis* had witnessed the curious text, written in pretty basic Latin, dating from before 769, which details the circumstances of Magnerata's marriage, as we have seen. He could not be the same man as the Bruning alive in 844, but he could have been, given the rarity of the name Bruning in this corpus of charters, a relative.[153] This is important because it provides a possible connection between the families of Bruning of Magliaso and Toto of Campione, both of whom owned property in Balerna, a site of some strategic value. Teutpert countered that he too had a charter from Bruning, recording a gift of the disputed land from Bruning to

---

[151] *MD* 74 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, i, 48), AdSM sec. IX 37. Wickham, *Land and Power*, p. 248.

[152] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 856 (= *MD* 29, AdSM sec. VIII 26, an original). One of the witnesses to this charter was Suntari, the priest of Balerna. The latter reference is sometimes regarded as the earliest evidence for the parish church of Balerna dedicated to St Victor (e.g. Moretti, 'Le chiese collegiate della Svizzera italiana', p. 27). Balerna was a place of some strategic importance in this period; the remains of a possibly late Roman watchtower survive: Christie, 'Settlement and Defence of Byzantine and Langobard Northern and Central Italy', p. 136, and Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, p. 330.

[153] Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 87, cites two other instances of the name Bruning in Lombard charters: Pavia in 714 and Pisa in 764.

his daughter-in-law Walpergis. The 844 record explains that the various parties had previously been called to testify in local courts, and one of those called to the oratory of Santa Maria in Ligornetto had been Bruning, where we are told he had sided with the monastery. The court judged in favour of the monastery, because Sant'Ambrogio's charter was older than Teutpert's. However, Teutpert did not give up. He argued that Bruning had claimed that he was the legitimate owner (*auctor*) of the property when he gave it to Walpergis: therefore he could not have sold it in perpetuity to the monastery. Teutpert kept going, and the case was heard in Milan before Archbishop Angilbert II, sometime after 823. This too was inconclusive and resulted in the 844 case heard before John, Count of Seprio.[154] It was decided that Adelbert should come to court to surrender the property. We do not know if he did so, for we do not have any other relevant charters. Most unusually, we do not know for certain who won it. This intriguing case makes it perfectly clear that Toto's bequest did not, in fact, go uncontested. Teutpert, Adelbert, and Walpergis clearly felt wronged by the arrival of Sant'Ambrogio in Balerna. Bruning, her father, seems to have tried to profit from both sides. The monastery had, unwittingly or not, provoked conflict within a local family.

If we pursue the history of the Balerna property after 844 it soon becomes apparent that Sant'Ambrogio did indeed win control rather than Teutpert, although the process was hardly straightforward. A charter dated November 852 demostrates that there was at least one other owner active in Balerna: Adelgisus of Schianno (ten kilometres west of Balerna).[155] Adelgisus had recently died, and his widow Adelburga had reached an agreement (*divisium*) to divide up a long list of properties with Baldric of *Lemote* (mapped in Map 6).[156] Apparently the division was the result of a prior agreement or 'convenientia, quas dicebat ad urbem curte domni imperatoris inter se fecisset', a document which does not survive. Included among the properties was 'res illa de Balerna, qui recte fiunt de Dominicione'.[157] This, of itself, has little bearing on the 844 dispute, but it becomes significant because in 859 Adalgisus's son Lupus turned up in

---

[154] Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Holtharium magni loci habebatur*', p. 236.

[155] *MD* 88 (AdSM sec. IX 48).

[156] *Lemote* has proven impossible to identify. Porro-Lambertenghi's suggestion of Limonta is most unlikely. Baldric of *Lemode* reappears as a witness in *MD* 93.

[157] The other properties were in Bruzella, Rovio, Mendrisio, Melide, *Sovino*, *Caledrano*, *Rovatina*, Caversaccio, Bissone (*vino de Gellone*), Scaria, Castiglione d'Intelvi, *Albuciaco*, *Cugini*, Drezzo, *Mugio*, Albiolo, and Olgiate. They formed a coherent block to the north-east of Schianno. There has been no relevant archaeology (to my knowledge) in Schianno.
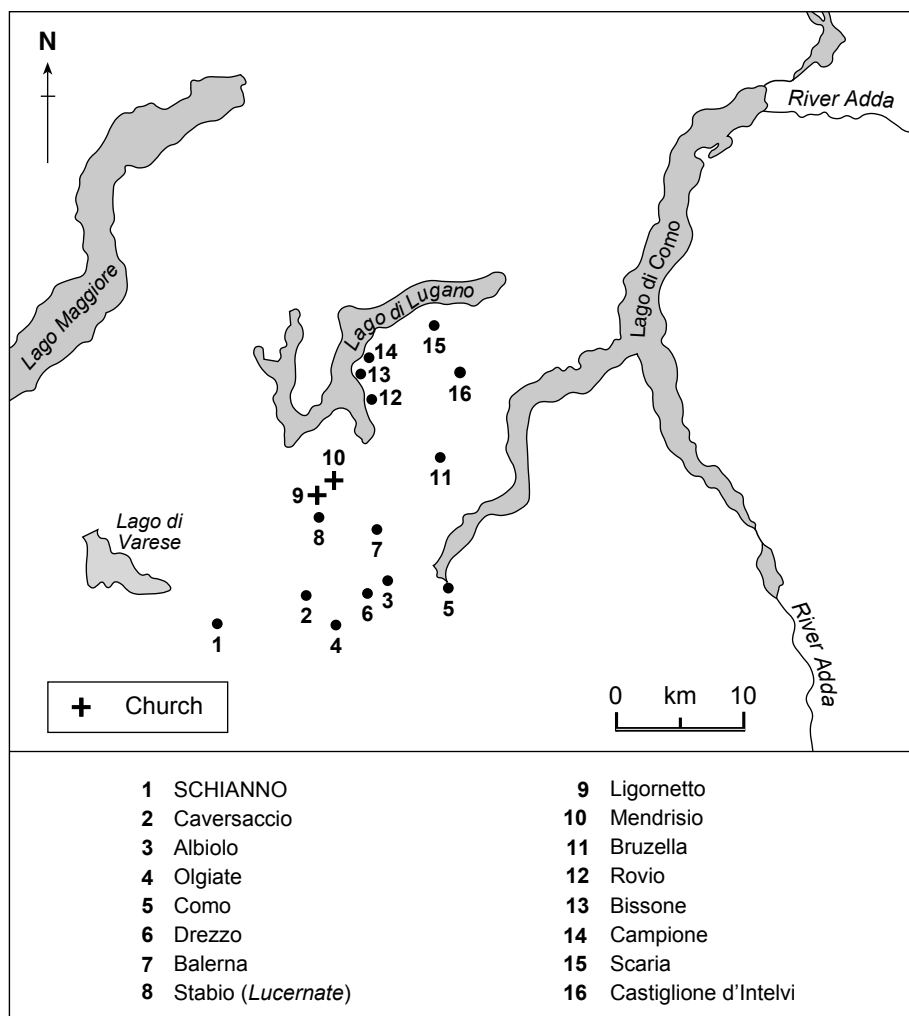
Map 6. Properties of Adalgisus of Schianno, *c.* 852. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

court against Sant'Ambrogio in dispute over property in Cologno Monzese (see Chapter 7).[158] As part of the compromise Lupus reached with the monastery he received a few tenant houses in Ligornetto and Balerna. The monastery,

[158] *MD* 101 and 102. Lupus did not inherit the lands in the 852 *divisium*. Either he was the son of an earlier marriage or Adelburga herself had greater claim to the property: perhaps it had constituted her dowry?

therefore, already owned property in Balerna, although Toto's bequest did not include land there. Some historians have argued that this must have been the same property as was at issue in the dispute with Teutpert. However, in 865 Sigeratus, vassal of Louis II and son of Count Leo, gave property in Balerna to the monastery which he had acquired 'de iura quondam Brunigi et Walpergi filia eius'.[159] Sigeratus was the son of Count Leo and brother of the same Count John who chaired the 844 case. Possibly it was Sigeratus who finally managed to extract the Balerna property from Teutpert and Adelbert and restored it to Sant'Ambrogio.[160]

Balerna is rather better evidenced than most of the other sites in this area in which Sant'Ambrogio had an interest in the 840s and 850s. Yet we can still piece together enough about those places to help us understand how Sant'Ambrogio tightened its grip in the Sottoceneri. Six months after the inconclusive Balerna case of 844, there is another charter which relates to the period before 835.[161] Indeed it goes back to Toto himself. It records that Agnellus and Florentio, two brothers from Cadempino (six or seven kilometres north of Campione) who had been dependents of Toto (termed their *dominus* and *senior*), and who had been transferred to Sant'Ambrogio as a result of his testament, now wanted to place themselves under the legal protection (*sub tuicionis et potestate*) of Abbot Andreas and his successors as *aldii* because they had been physically threatened by various 'evil men'. Similar claims were made elsewhere in the subalpine area in the course of the ninth century, notably Limonta (see Chapter 9). The monastic community's function — physically, legally, and metaphorically — as a safe space of sanctuary and protection was clearly attractive in turbulent times.[162] This charter provides further evidence of the extent of Toto's estate, as Cadempino is not mentioned by name in the document of 777. It begins a sequence of texts recording the acquisition of rights over men and land, which marks the history

---

[159] *MD* 115 (AdSM sec. IX 75); cf. Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Holtharium magni loci habebatur*'. The grant was made for his own soul and that of his uncle Amelricus, Bishop of Como (840–61). Sigeratus: Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 213, 270, 288.

[160] Wickham, *Land and Power*, p. 248, points out that the count was in theory responsible for ensuring that a court's decisions were carried out. Maybe this is an example of this working in practice?

[161] *MD* 77 (AdSM sec. IX 38½), written up at the monastery in Milan and dated 27 October 844. The witnesses included Wernardi *de partibus Franciae*. Cf. Rossetti, 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita', pp. 27–28.

[162] Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 134.

of the monastery's activities in this region in the next two decades. On 14 May 847 Abbot Andreas purchased property in the villages of Mendrisio and Melano from Luberinus, son of Odoni *qui Maurus vocabatur*, from Mendrisio.[163] He paid sixty solidi from the monastic treasury (*ex aculis* — recte *ex saculis*). The witnesses were locals from Milan, and included one of the abbot's vassals (Laudebert of Confienza). Formal possession was taken of the estate on 17 August in a typical charter of investiture.[164] As is characteristic of such documents, this one reports that as part of the ritual of taking possession *per columna* (touching the door lintel of a house) the charter of sale was read out to the assembled company by Dominicus, *clericus et notarius*. The whole symbolic and legal 'package' was the investiture.[165] The witnesses were local men from Mendrisio and Balerna, and included the local *scabinus* Ansolf. As seen above, Toto also bought property in Melano (in 799), and this purchase by Abbot Andreas can be regarded as consolidating an already existing monastic presence.[166]

In 854 Abbot Peter oversaw a similar sequence of events in Lamone, just north of Cadempino.[167] On 7 February Sesepert, *prepositus* of San Zeno, took ritual possession of all the property which Benignus, son of Ursus of Lamone, had previously sold to the monastery (recorded in a charter since lost). On 8 May Sesepert drew up a *libellus* agreement with Lorenzo, son of Wido of Cadro, regarding his tenure of a house in Cadro, another of the places where Toto had held land.[168] The lease is the only one surviving for the area in the ninth century and hints at the extent to which the monastery was prepared to formalize its relationships with its tenants. The contract was similar to the one Lorenzo had previously had in *Anglina*. Lorenzo and his family leased the house for twenty-five years, and promised to make annual return on the feast day of San Zeno to the *cella* of San Zeno of a range of produce: wheat (1

---

[163] *MD* 80 (AdSM sec. IX 40), drafted at Sant'Ambrogio.

[164] *MD* 81 (AdSM sec. IX 41). Visconti, 'Su alcune "notitiae investiture" contenute in *CDL*'.

[165] A typical 'performative act' which helped to validate the transfer of property in public: Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas*, pp. 44–46.

[166] Sant'Ambrogio kept hold of these properties until 963 when they were exchanged with the monastery of San Pietro in Lodi for properties in *Matis* which was rather closer to the Campione estate centre: *CDL* 679.

[167] *MD* 91 (AdSM sec. IX 51).

[168] *CDL* 186, enacted at Bissone. This is a twelfth-century copy and is now, curiously, in the episcopal archive. As two copies of the charter were made, perhaps this copy derives from Lorenzo's rather than the monastic original?

modius), rye (2 *modii*), panic (2 *modii*), 10 denarii (as rent for woodland and meadow), a good chicken, and ten eggs. Also he agreed:

> vinea ordinabiliter plantare et levare petia una ex integro loco, ubi dicitur ad novale ad peculiare, et de omnibus vitis per omnes annos persolvamus vinum medietatem per vindimias ad torclo, et pro tempore vindimio vos aut misso vestro superesse debeas, et ad nostra dispensa recipiamus, et vos scire faciamus, et ipso vino cum nostro evegio perducamus usque ad ripa de laco Luano, consignato vobis vel misso vestro.

> [to plant and look after an orderly vineyard on the part of the estate known as 'ad novale ad peculiare' [the text is corrupt at this point], and from all the vines each year we agree that half the grapes of the vintage should be taken to the press, and that at the time of the vintage you or your representative should supervise, and we shall receive [the wine] at our store, and then we will let you know, and we will transport the wine ourselves to the shore of Lake Lugano and there hand it over to you or your representative.][169]

Clearly the monks had a particular concern in the production of wine, as vines are always mentioned in the general formulae describing property in this region. Wine has been made in the Ticino region since prehistoric times,[170] throughout the Roman period, and is still today made commercially mostly from red grapes.

During the next decade the monastery extended the operations of the Campione estate to distant Cannobio (Novara), this time as the result of a gift, made by Angilbert, priest of Cannobio. When Angilbert became a monk at the San Zeno *cella* he donated his estate at Cannobio.[171] On 24 January 865, Abbot Peter himself with his retinue went to Cannobio to take possession of the property offered by Angilbert.[172] Angilbert had in fact bought this property in 857 from Adelbertus, another cleric, for two hundred solidi (in silver denarii).[173]

In the years between 844 and 865, therefore, successive abbots acquired land and entered into relationships with tenants in the villages of Cadempino, Mendrisio, Melano, Lamone, Cadro, Cannobio, and Balerna. Clearly, given that none of these properties appears to have been particularly large, this was a process of building upon Toto's initial bequest. The abbots dealt mostly with men who

---

[169] Cf. *MD* 34 (June 796) for a similar agreement between two laymen, expressed in similar language.

[170] Haeussler, *Becoming Roman?*, pp. 85–86.

[171] *MD* 110 (AdSM sec. IX 70). Cannobio is on the western shore of Lake Maggiore.

[172] *MD* 111 (AdSM sec. IX 71).

[173] *MD* 97 (AdSM sec. IX 57).

were not especially powerful. However, the monastery did enter into relationships with some who were considerable owners in their own right. An example is provided by the 852 division between Adelburga and Baldric. Baldric, an aleman, was clearly a person of some means. In 855 he witnessed a sale of land between Anselm of Inzago and his father-in-law (below, Chapter 9).[174] Adelburga's husband, the deceased Adelgisus, was equally significant. He must have been active in the 830s and 840s, precisely when the abbots of Sant'Ambrogio were trying to establish themselves in this area. Schianno was his power base (see Map 6). Not unexpectedly then there is evidence that his family came into conflict with the monastery. We have already seen how his son Lupus managed to get properties in Ligornetto, Balerna, *Lucernate*, and *Arbegiate* during a dispute about land in Cologno Monzese. More details come from a court case of 864 involving monastic tenants in Bissone (one kilometre south of Campione).[175] My interpretation of this case is speculative, as the surviving parchment has been badly damaged by fire and much of the text has been lost. In March 864 the monastery was in court against three young brothers from Bissone, Baroncius, Amelbert, and Todo, the sons of Domincus, claiming that they were not fulfilling their obligations of labour services and provision of renders, presumably owed to the adjacent estate of Campione. The brothers' advocate claimed that these dues, which included renders in wine, had been owed by their father to Baldric and Adelgisus. A series of favourable witnesses appeared for the monastery, from Mendrisio, Melano, Melide, and Scaria. In response, the brothers produced two *libelli* which showed that their father had held five fields with vines and owed two *anforas* of wine to Baldric and Adelgisus, and also to Fulkerius of Albiolo, 'qui post mortem Fulkerius res eius in potestate Balderici et Adelgi pervenit'. The rest of the text is too fragmentary to make sense of. However, the outcome was victory for the monastery. A few details can be filled in from other charters, including the 852 division which records wine renders from Bissone and a tenanted property in Albiolo, both belonging to Adelgisus. The key to the story is found in another problematic text, an undated division of properties in Bissone, Verna, and *Albutiae* between the *cella* of San Zeno and Fulkerius,[176] approxi-

---

[174] *MD* 93, *Baderic commanente Lemode ex genere alammanorum* (he did not sign his own name though).

[175] *MD* 112 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 66), AdSM sec. IX 72.

[176] *CDL* 1000. Fire damage is again the culprit for the loss of the dating clause. These two documents may have been kept together in the archive, and hence damaged together. *Albutiae* is very probably a scribal error for *Albutiacum* (Albiolo).

mately dated 'before 852'.[177] This is important because it takes us back to the time when Sant'Ambrogio was establishing itself in the area and demonstrates that Bissone too was a site of interest, especially for wine production.

From the 860s onwards the Campione dossier peters out. The implication is that the monastery was by that point in a sufficiently strong position that disputes no longer needed to be fought. A few scattered gifts continued, and it is important to note who they were from: local counts and viscounts. We have already noticed the gift of Sigeratus made in 865. This was followed in 870 by the gift of properties in Albiolo, Cannobio, and *Cropello* from Amalricus, son of Waldericus, *vicecomes* of Milan.[178] Amalricus was part of the panel which heard the 874 case against the Bishop of Como (as was Alberic, Count of Milan).[179] A month later the community reached an agreement with the Como monastery of Sant'Abbondio over its property in Verna, which it had acquired from Fulkerius of Albiolo. In the church of San Lorenzo in Lugano, a representative of Sant'Abbondio pledged to Odelbert of Lampugnano, Sant'Ambrogio's advocate, that neither he nor the men of San Lorenzo would interefere with the property. This was clearly the fallout from the 874 *placitum*.

Documenting Monastic Business in Campione

It is absolutely clear from the Campione dossier that charters were a normal part of business dealings in the Sottoceneri in the ninth century. Charters were familiar to the local 'gentry': Teutpert, Adelbert, Walpergis, Bruning, and others all used charters. What is more, it is clear that they were part of a world which had been in the habit of using charters for a long time, as the *da Campione* family archive makes clear. In some ways it was the monks who were new to charters and, it can be argued, that it was the way in which monks themselves used charters that caused the resistance of Teutpert and others.[180] In the first few decades after the foundation of the monastery the monks dealt only rarely with other owners. Sant'Ambrogio, unlike many monasteries, received very few gifts from ordinary lay owners in the early years of its existence. As

---

[177] Fulkerius was certainly dead by the time of the *placitum* in 864. That text tells us that he died before Adelgisus who himself was dead before 852.

[178] *MD* 121 (AdSM sec. IX 81).

[179] Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 114–16.

[180] Cf. Costambeys, 'The Laity, the Clergy, the Scribes and their Archives', pp. 254–58, on the use of documents by successful ecclesiastical institutions.

will be seen in the next chapter, before the 830s the monks did business mostly with owners who lived in the lowlands quite close to the city, in places such as Gnignano and Carpiano, between Milan and Pavia, or very near the city itself. These included some men probably familiar with court circles in Pavia. The documents they used were mostly charters of sale or exchange (*cartola commutationis*), forms of record which could only work within a consensual framework. An owner (lay or ecclesiastical) and the monastery swapped land plots for their mutual benefit. Monastic friendship networks were based on these types of document. Campione and the surrounding villages formed a society relatively far removed from the documentary habits of Milan and Pavia, perhaps more traditional in its understanding of the technicalities of the law, what the law required of charters, and less creative in modifying standard charter forms to cope with unusual situations. Nevertheless it was a society in which some groups were using charters, albeit apparently without great regularity.

What happened when these different documentary cultures met? Firstly, because there was clearly an expansionist agenda behind the monks' activities at Campione, charters were introduced into villages where these might have been uncommon or possibly unknown before. This is, of course, hard to judge given the rarity of charter collections like Toto's in the eighth century but it is certainly possible (and perhaps likely) that other owners were using them too at much the same time.[181] Secondly, several fundamental changes in recording practice can be noted. These are easily apparent by comparing Table 12, above, with Table 16.

The monastery used a wider range of document types than Toto had; in particular less formal records described as *notitiae* become increasingly common in the ninth century.[182] These 'charters' often wear their credentials rather more on their sleeves than before. They advertise that they exist to keep memory alive, and the term *breve* — 'brief' — might suggest that the monks were still insecure about their place within local society and that they tried to cope with this insecurity by writing everything down for posterity. However, one document type which is common in the collection from the early ninth century for places near Milan — the *cartola commutationis* or deed of exchange — is never once found among the documents of the Sottoceneri. Presumably this must be because it was a form felt to be inappropriate to the society the monks encountered here. This reluctance seems to reflect more than simple differences in recording practice and indeed tells us a great deal about the social

----

[181] Lucca provides the obvious contemporary parallel in Italy.

[182] Costambeys, 'The Laity, the Clergy, the Scribes and their Archives', pp. 251–54, examines the development of *notitiae* in this period.

Table 16. Campione charters, after monastic take over

Date	Scribe	Place of Redaction	Type of Charter
c. 806–35			Lost charter of sale by Bruning to Sant'Ambrogio
835	Ambrosius *notarius Sancte Mediolanensis eccelsia*	?	*Diploma*
835	?	Pavia	*Diploma*
844	Ursus *notarius*	? Milan	*Notitia*
844	Ambrosius *notarius/scriptor*	*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*	*Manifestionem*
847	Ambrosius *scriptor*	*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*	*Cartula vinditionis*
847	Dominicus *clericus/notarius*	? Mendrisio	*Breve pro memoria retinenda*
pre-852	?	?	*Divisium*
852	Adelgisus *notarius*	?	*Breve memoratorium*
854	Gisolf *notarius*	Lamone	*Breve securitatis*
854	Gisefred *notarius*	Bissone	*Cartula vinditionis*
854	Gisefred *notarius*	Bissone	*Libellus*
857	Adelgisus *notarius*	'Runci'	*Cartula vinditionis*
859	?	Milan	*Placitum* (Cologno)
859	?	Milan	*Convenientia*
863	Hilderatus?	*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*	*Convenientia*
864	Gisolf *clericus/notarius*	Milan	*Notitia*
865	Rotpertus *notarius/scriptor*	Milan	*Cartula*
870	?	*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*	?
874	Achinald *notarius*	Milan	*Notitia*
875	Dominicus *clericus/notarius*	Lugano	*Notitia/breve*

character of these communities. It may be that there were fewer owners in this area, and bigger, less fragmented estates (Toto, Adelgisus of Schianno), for the monks to deal with or, possibly, that the monastery encountered more resistance here (Teutpert of Vimercate). Or it may be that charters of exchange were

regarded with suspicion by the local owners. Also important and unusual is the fact that *all* the documents of the pre-monastic period survive as original sheets, emphasizing the likelihood that a family archive has survived as a collection, whereas once the monastery took over many charters were copied and recopied, manipulated to serve monastic ends.[183] While this may indicate that these texts having been filed away together in the archive were damaged as a result of careless archival practices or accident necessitating recopying in groups, it is as likely that it demonstrates continued interest in the land documented here. It sometimes meant deliberate alteration of texts, an evident possibility when charters were required to win disputes in court, but there seems to have been less of this in the Campione dossier than in the Limonta collection. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that the monastery built up close relationships with notaries and that it increasingly employed notaries (*notarii*) to draw up its charters. The monastery had many of its charters written in Milan, which might have made the recording process seem more remote than before because Toto generally had his charters written locally, as well as enabling the monks to keep a closer eye on charter redaction, which meant that relationships with locals could be cemented through the often cosy act of standing witness. As can be seen from Table 16 about half the monastic charters dealing with properties in the *Sottoceneri* were written up in Milan or more precisely at the monastery itself, particularly after 859. This does not mean that monks themselves did not write charters but that when they are found doing this they are deliberately going outside of what might be termed the normal notarial framework, usually with suspicious intent. Monastic interest in managing land was closely allied to the sorts of documents needed to document this management and may have encouraged the development of new forms of charter or, at the least, the importation of unfamiliar charter forms to this area. Again this gives us worthwhile insights into communication in the wake of monastic 'encroachment'.

---

[183] Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, p. 328, and Bougard, 'Actes privés et transferts patrimoniaux', pp. 551–55.

Gnignano and Cologno

The plains which surround Milan have their own distinctive geology, hydrology, and ecology,[1] which is very different to the prealpine world of Campione and the northern lakes discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter focuses on two villages of the plain which attracted the interest of Sant'Ambrogio throughout the ninth century: Gnignano, south of Milan, and Cologno to the north.[2] In most respects these two communities shared the same sorts of (mostly arable) crops, the same methods of exploitation (mostly small-scale farms), and similar tenurial patterns dominated by local peasant owner-cultivators who during the course of the ninth century were bought out by churches, including Sant'Ambrogio. Proximity to Milan helps to explain some of these characteristics, but the local ecology was also crucial. Both villages are extremely flat with almost no gradients which provides an environment which requires careful and continuous water management to prevent waterlogging and even flooding. In the early medieval period the rivers Lambro and Olona crossed the area (as they still do in much-altered forms) and certainly kept it well watered.[3] In places these and other local rivers had been partly canalized in Roman times, and significant stretches were navigable. Water was

---

[1] Pearce, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia* tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro, pp. 19–23. The plains are known as the upper (*alta*) and lower (*bassa*) *pianura* which have different ecologies.

[2] Now Cologno Monzese, part of the continuous conurbation of Milan.

[3] Racine, 'Poteri medievali e percorsi fluviali nell'Italia padana', p. 19, for eleventh-century attempts to connect the Lambro and the Po, and the canalization of the River Vettabbia.

a key local resource to which monastic communities both here and elsewhere in Italy devoted considerable attention.[4] The presence here of a specialized type of tree cultivation suited to the environment — the alder planation (*auneto*) — demonstrates this clearly.

The two villages, although similar, were not of course the same. Gnignano, midway between Milan and Pavia, is particularly low-lying (one of the lowest settlements in Milan province) and although parts of it and neighbouring sites could produce good arable crops there were also significant areas of marshland which could be useful sources of food, especially wild fowl and river fish.[5] Cologno was probably less marshy than Gnignano and probably had more arable land. Indeed it seems to have been particularly good for grain crops as these are mentioned frequently in charters and may provide evidence of Carolingian 'cerealization'.[6] Both villages supported mixed arable and animal farming, producing different sorts of grain (several wheats and millet) and cattle. There is no evidence of highly specialized crops, like the olives of Campione. The mixed land-use of this area continued until industrial agribusinesses transformed it in the mid-twentieth century into monocultures of rice and maize.

Gnignano: 792–897

The history of Gnignano,[7] a village midway between Milan, Pavia, and Lodi Vecchio (the Roman *Laus Pompeia*, Map 7),[8] is certainly different in one crucial respect from that of Campione: owners of many different kinds held land in this area which was not dominated by a single family. This complex pattern can probably be explained because Gnignano and other nearby villages such as Carpiano were close to Pavia, the centre of royal power. Nearby villages — especially those where the hunting of 'game' might have taken place — most prob-

---

[4] Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy* and 'La gestione delle risorse idriche nei monasteri altomedievali' discussing the activities of Farfa and San Vincenzo al Volturno.

[5] *MD* 44 (812) refers to a *padulum* in Carpiano. For marshland ecologies, see Squatriti, 'Marshes and Mentalities in Early Medieval Ravenna' and *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 73–75.

[6] Hoffmann, *Environmental History of Medieval Europe*, p. 83.

[7] Olivieri, p. 261, suggested that the name is most likely derived from a Roman settlement of *Nonianum*, being nine miles distant from Milan.

[8] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 123–28; Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 102–07, the first treatment in English.
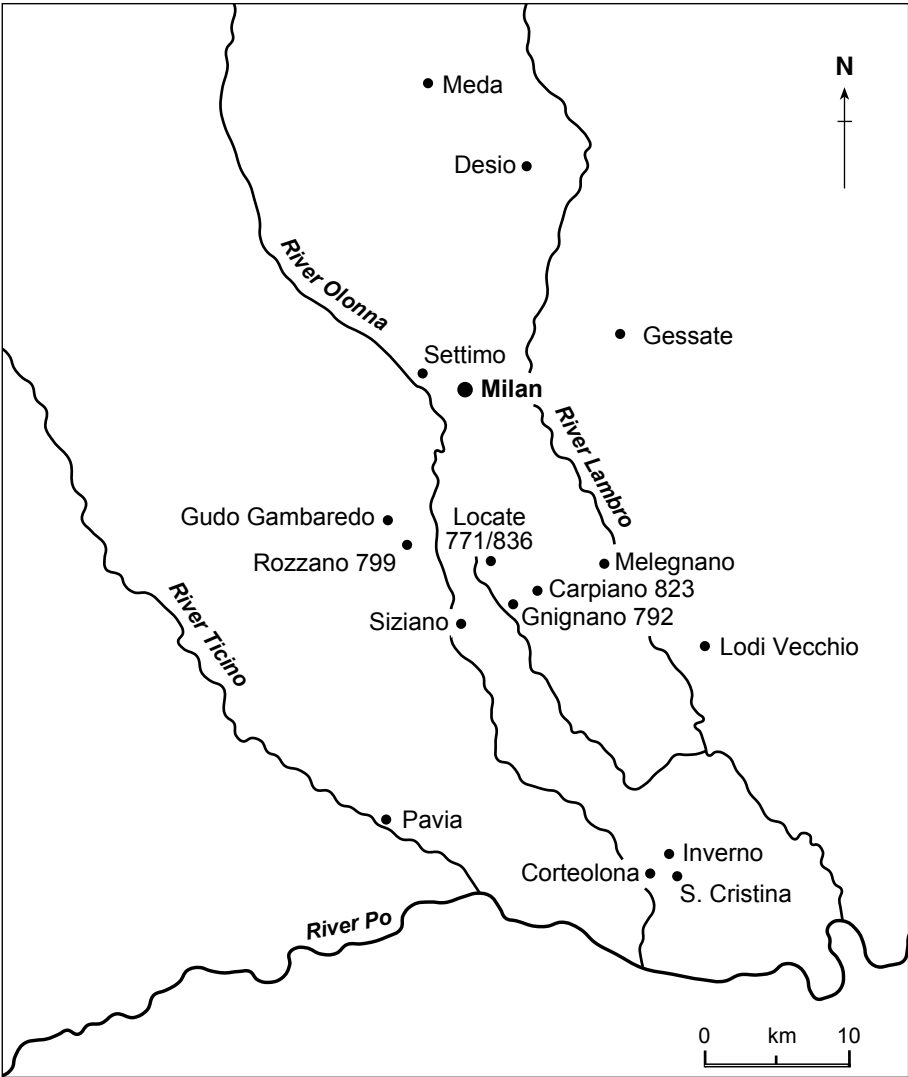
Map 7. Gnignano and its vicinity. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

ably came under direct royal influence earlier than most places in this region.[9]
Pavia was central to Lombard rule in the north from the seventh century, and

[9] The village was within the jurisdiction of Pavia (*territorio civitatis ticinensis*). It is now in Milan province.

clearly continued to be the focus for the kingdom of Italy in successive centuries.[10] Although little in detail is known of the extent of Lombard royal ownership in the area immediately around Pavia in the Lombard period, Carolingian kings certainly leased plenty of land to their vassals here. The king is recorded as an owner (*terra regi*) in Carpiano in 823.[11] To the north of Gnignano and perhaps bordering on the *fundus* was the fiscal estate of Locate di Triulzi, first recorded in 771 and given by the emperor Lothar to his retainer Ugo (*optimatis nostri*) in 836.[12] Fiscal properties dominated south of the village, too, with Corteolona certainly the most important as the place where Liutprand had built a palace adorned with inscriptions.[13] The estate was much frequented by Lombard and Carolingian rulers.[14] The wider area was also of interest to distant churches which had presumably acquired land directly from the kings. These included the Sabine abbey of Farfa which is recorded with property at Rozzano in 799.[15] As we shall see, aristocratic elites based in Milan were also involved here — another difference from Campione — and the Sant'Ambrogio

[10] Brogiolo, 'Capitali e residenze regie nell'Italia longobarda', pp. 239–43; Majocchi, 'Sviluppo e affermazione di una capitale altomedievale'.

[11] *MD* 48 (AdSM sec. IX 12). There is a copy of this charter in the canonical archive of Sant'Ambrogio. For royal property in this area at this time, see Darmstädter, *Das Reichsgut in der Lombardei und Piemont*, pp. 14, 25, and 189.

[12] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 29 = *CDL* 128, 'curte ex fisco nostro vocatam Locadam, consistentem in territorio mediolanense super fluvio Lambro'. The river is the Lambro meridionale. Gnignano is now a *frazione* of Locate.

[13] *HL* VI 58, and *PLAC*, pp. 105–06, discussed by Everett, *Literacy in Lombard Italy*, pp. 248–51.

[14] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 93–95. Calderini, 'Il palazzo di Liutprando a Corteolona' has photographs of surviving parts of this structure, which has not been excavated. Riccardi, *Le vicende, l'area e gli avanzi del Regium Palatium [...] di Corteolona* is a useful antiquarian work. The tenth-century inventory of the monastery of S. Cristina di Corteolona gives some insight into the local landscape: Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 27–40, especially the estate of *Augia* south-east of modern Corteolona, formerly royal property (pp. 35–36).

[15] Giorgio and Balzani, *Il Regesto di Farfa*, doc. 163 (Milan, May 799), I, 136, which is a *livellus* contract between Sarengo, son of Asturmi from the territory of Milan, and Abbot Mauroald, who was a Frank (Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy*, p. 156). Sarengo had rights of use to the land for his lifetime. The witnesses included Thomas, son of Sunderarius of Milan, and Raginfrid, son of Arifrid, *de villa Flaviani territorii Mediolani*. In *MD* 17 (765) a 'campo Sunderari' appears in a boundary clause of a field in *Torriglas*. This might refer to the same man.

monks necessarily had to deal with these people who by the early ninth century included those who identified as Lombards, Franks, and Alemans.[16]

The Gnignano estate, like Campione in this respect, is documented well before the monastery took it over, although in this instance the earliest document in the dossier dates from *after* the foundation of the monastery. On 9 January 792 Walpert son of Theodepert, a local man, gave a *clausura* (i.e. an enclosed space or land parcel) in the village to Arifusus, a goldsmith from Pavia.[17] The language of this document suggests a close relationship between their respective families: Walpert made his grant to 'dulcissimo mihi semper Arifuso aurifice filio quondam Aufusi amico meo' (always my most sweet Arifusus goldsmith, son of Aufusus my friend) and had himself described as 'amicus et donator tuus' (your friend and donor).[18] Walpert's *clausura* was bounded on three sides by other plots owned by 'Santo Stefano' (probably the church at Decimo),[19] Autperga, and Arifusus himself and on the other side by a road. Although it is not described in detail, the relevant appurtenance formula does mention trees (*arbores*). As surety Walpert accepted, according to Lombard custom, a reciprocal gift from Aufusus of a *witta*, probably Latin *vitta*, a headband.[20] The charter was enacted in Pavia and witnessed by four local men, three of them goldsmiths. Two of these men, Bavo and Bodo, *aurifex*, subscribed in their own expert hands. These goldsmiths had presumably served the Lombard court in Pavia where there was certainly demand for high-quality metalwork.

This relationship between Walpert and Arifusus was continued by Walpert's son Leo in 824, some thirty-two years later, by a further gift of village land to Arifusus.[21] This act was also done in Pavia and contains friendship language ('dilectissimo mihi [...] amicus et donator tuus'). Leo lived in Siziano, near

---

[16] Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*.

[17] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 857 (= *MD* 44).Walpert lived 'in fundo et vico, qui nominatur Noniano proper Lambro, territorio istius civitatis ticinensis'. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 103, wrongly gives the date as 798.

[18] Cf. Peresendus and Toto who used similar phrases in 789 (above, Chapter 6).

[19] Fumagalli's suggestion (*CDA*, doc. XXI, 90–95), taken up by Porro-Lambertenghi in *CDL* 124 n. 2.

[20] 'Et propter consuitudinem gentis nostre Langobardorum et pro vestram ampliorem firmitatem accepi a te launichild witta una'. *Launechild* is a Lombardic word recorded from the seventh century on: Francovich Onesti, *Vestigia longobarde in Italia*, p. 135; and especially Wickham, 'Compulsory Gift Exchange in Lombard Italy', pp. 196–201.

[21] *MD* 49. The diplomatic of this charter is almost identical with the document of 792.

Gnignano.[22] He gave two small fields (*campellas duas*) in Gnignano, the first bounded on two sides by public roads and by land owned by the *basilica sancti Benedicti* and vines already owned by Arifusus. The second field was bounded by a public road, a field belonging to Paul *notarius*, another owned by the *basilica sancti Victori* (probably the Milanese church dedicated to this saint), and once more vines belonging to Arifusus. As in 792, Arifusus handed over a reciprocal gift of a *witta da dorsum* (a cloak).[23] The witnesses included two *negotiatores*, two goldsmiths, and a notary, all presumably from Pavia.

Arifusus by 824 therefore had the basis of a significant holding in Gnignano comprising at least two *clausurae*, two *campellas*, and some vines. We do not know when Arifusus got married, but in 833, forty-one years after the first text we have, the actions of his wife drew another 'outsider' to Gnignano, the Milanese cleric Gunzo *vir religiosus*, who was both a deacon and the *vicedominus* (agent) of the archbishop. On 10 August 833 Arifusus, who was probably in his sixties, and his wife Vigilinda went to Milan where, in the presence of the *locopositus* of Milan and a group of worthies (*boni homines*), Vigilinda sold to Gunzo a farm (*sedimen*) in Gnignano which had been a quarter part of her husband's engagement gift to her (*meta* or *meffio*).[24] Gunzo paid forty solidi for it, which was a considerable sum. The transaction was witnessed by seven men, in addition to the couple, one of whom, with the ecclesiastical name Petronax, was their son-in-law.

These bald facts are recorded in a charter worth discussing at some length. Largely expressed in the first person, Vigilinda made several important statements in it. She had no close relatives ('propter quod parentes propincos non habeo') and because of this the transaction took place *cum publica notitia* with Arifusus acting as Vigilinda's *mundwald*, exactly as the law required.[25] This is hardly surprising because Vigilinda's father had probably been a *ministerialis*, a high-status but unfree royal servant. The document does contain one formulaic but nonetheless interesting clause: 'quod hac vinditionem bonum et spontanea mea voluntate faciam, et nulla violentia ab suprascripto jucale et mundoald meo vel a qualebit persona patiat, sed hac vinditio, ut dixi, sponte

---

[22] Olivieri, p. 507.

[23] The formula was slightly different this time: 'secundum ritus gentis nostre catholicae Langobardorum' (according to the custom of our Catholic Lombard people).

[24] *MD* 54. The date of their marriage is unknown. For the *meffio*, see Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, pp. 40, 47, and La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 50–52.

[25] *Roth*. 204.

scrivere rogavi' (that I have made this sale of goods spontaneously with my free will, and that no violence has been employed by my aforementioned spouse and protector or any other person, but I have asked willingly for this sale to be written up, as I have said).[26] This is open to various interpretations. It may mean that women were routinely consulted when their property was being transacted and that they could indeed give free consent to such sales. In this case Vigilinda was an *actor* whose opinions mattered: she had agency. The logic of this situation is that she could refuse to sell and expect her wishes to be respected. However, the formula could equally demonstrate the opposite: an ironic commentary on the ubiquitous violence with which men treated women at this time.[27] Two months later Gunzo gave this farm to Hunger of Milan, son of Hunoarch, an elite Frankish aristocrat, whose brother was a vassal of the king.[28] Hunger and Gunzo were, like Arifus and Walpert, in a close relationship of some sort ('dilectissimo mihi […] amicus meus'). This gift was accompanied by full ownership rights as spelled out in the 'omnem monimenas, qualiter mihi debentur' which accompanied the transaction, namely the charters still in existence today. Once again because Gunzo's parents were Lombards there was a reciprocal gift of a single *mancosus*.[29] This time seven men witnessed the act, four of them clerics.

To understand why a farm passed from a lay female owner to a lay male owner via what would seem to be the unnecessary mediation of a cleric, what happened next needs to be brought into play. Gunzo's gift to Hunger marked the beginning of a fairly rapid series of transactions between Gunzo, Hunger, and the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio which, by the end of the 850s, had resulted in monastic administration of much of the land area of Gnignano. Initially the momentum had remained with Hunger, who seems to have acted in response to the diploma granted to Sant'Ambrogio by his own lord, the emperor Lothar.

[26] The relevant legal chapter is *Liut*. 22.

[27] Balzaretti, '"There are things that men do not women"', p. 178, and Balzaretti, 'Women and Weapons in Early Medieval Europe', pp. 138–41. Cf. Gradowicz-Pancer, 'De-gendering Female Violence'.

[28] *MD* 55 (AdSM sec. IX 18; 25 October 833). The charter was again enacted in Milan and written by Rotpert, *scriptor*. For the brothers, see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 256, n. 4.

[29] For the *mancosus*, which was essentially a means of account based on an Arab dinar or its equivalent in Carolingian currency, see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 323–42 and 811–14, although this charter is not mentioned. This means of account is also used in the Rozzano charter of 799.

On 18 January 835 he paid seven pounds of coined silver to the notary Paul (*notarius*) from Pavia for a large property of mixed cultivation in the village,[30] and the following year he made a lengthy will, appointing Gunzo and three other Milanese men as executors. Two originals were preserved of this bequest: one kept by the monks, the other by the canons of Sant'Ambrogio.[31] It reveals more about the outsider Hunger's impact upon Gnignano society.

It would seem that he and his immediate family had settled in the area, for first of all he provided for his female relatives and their children. His sister Theotilda was given lifetime use of one tenanted farm (a *casa massaricia* he acquired from Rotpert) which was to pass to her son Rotcarius and his legitimate sons upon her demise.[32] If Rotcarius died childless the property was, after both he and his mother had died, to pass to the monks of Sant'Ambrogio. This means that the monks had to wait for at least two deaths before this property passed to them, which would only happen if there were no children to continue the family line. Hunger's cousin Gaisperga had similar usufruct rights to another *casa massaricia* which Hunger had obtained from Gunzo, with the proviso that if she became a nun her monastic community would benefit but that if she did not, or she subsequently married, then Sant'Ambrogio would again be the ultimate beneficiary.[33] Hunger's land in Ello (to the north in the Brianza hills) went to his vassal Ingildrammo and his wife Engelelda. Property in *Maliano* he gave to the *xenedochium* of Santa Maria di Melegnano. He freed Willari his servant (or vassal in other parlance) and his family ('pertinente suo cum uxore et filiis filias suis') and gave them property in Settimo 'pro suo fidelium servitium'. All his remaining workers (*pertinentes suos*) were to be freed as well. However, Hunger entrusted the sale of what may have been his largest property, namely an estate in nearby Carpiano, acquired from Paul of Pavia,

---

[30] *MD* 56. Of the total nineteen *jugera*, eleven were *sediminas, vites, camporas, pratellas et stalarias seo castenetellas* and the remaining eight were *silvas et terras arvatus*. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 103, who mistakenly gives seventeen pounds of coined silver; Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, p. 52.

[31] *MD* 62 and *CDL* 127. The transaction was witnessed by ten men, including Rotcarius his nephew, here called Hunger's vassal, and Ingildrammo, one of the beneficiaries. Presumably Hunger retained a copy as well.

[32] Rotcarius: Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 256.

[33] 'et ipsam habeat, si voluerit Gaisperga, cum suprscriptis rebus ex integrum in monasterio introiendum, et secum omnia ibi monacha firmandum, ut postea rebus ibi permaneant, Nam si in monasterio se non firmaverit, tunc post ovitum vel si nupserit presnti rebus ipsis in integrum deveniant in potestatem suprascripti monasterii sancti Ambrosii'.

to his executors who had to ensure that the cash raised would be given to the church to pay for Masses to be said and for the aid of the poor.[34]

This is a fairly standard testament. Some of its provisions were indeed carried out, as a charter drafted in May 839 — by which time Hunger must have been dead — reports that his executors sold a tenant house (*casa massaricia*) obtained from Paul of Pavia for three pounds of coined silver to Abbot Gaudentius of Sant'Ambrogio and his successors with full ownership rights.[35] A year later Rodepert, a tenant of Hunger's sister Theotilda, promised Gunzo, as the main executor of Hunger's will, that neither he nor his heirs would act against the interests of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in Gnignano or elsewhere with regard to the property Hunger had owned.[36] By the year 840 Hunger was dead, and some of his property acquired in the previous seven years had passed irrevocably into the control of the Sant'Ambrogio monks. Some of his property was for the time being retained by members of his extended family while they lived on, including at least two tenanted farms in Gnignano. It would seem that everyone was happy.

It will be noticed that Hunger did not leave property to a wife or children — perhaps they had already died or perhaps he had never married — nor to his brother Ernost who had been a vassal of Charlemagne himself and therefore perhaps one of those who helped to conquer Lombard Italy.[37] Hunger's will suggests that Ernost was already dead by 839 which would be likely had he been in Charlemagne's army. Back in 812 — while Charlemagne was still alive of course — Ernost had transacted with Bruning, a Milanese merchant (*negotians*), exchanging land in the nearby village of Carpiano.[38] This is the oldest

---

[34] These executors were Gunzo, Werolf, *scabinus*, Hermesindas, and Attilio, deacons.

[35] *MD* 64. The house was to come with its *aquarumque ductibus*, important in this wetland environment. This was when the monastery got the *exempla de traditionis* (presumably AdSM sec. IX 25).

[36] *MD* 67 ('breve firmitatis ad memoria retinenda'): 'non habeam licentia ego Rodepertus nec meis heretis agere nec causare contra parte sancti Ambrosii'. Presumably the same man as the Rotpert Hunger had bought a tenanted house from before 839. His promise was witnessed by five men, including Adelbert, *monetarius* of Milan.

[37] Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 34 and 256.

[38] *MD* 44. It is interesting that the earliest charter recording the presence of either Frankish or Alemannic aristocrats among the landowners in the Bergamo area is from this same period: Cortesi, no. 9, discussed by Castagnetti, 'In margine all'edizione delle pergamene Bergamasche', pp. 33–34. Ernost operated 'iuxta lege nostra per maniera et fronde seo festuco et cortello', a reference to an Alemannic ritual which accompanied the formal transfer of land by charter. This phrase recurs in *CDL* 102, discussed below.

charter of exchange in the Sant'Ambrogio collection, which is not surprising as a local man might have expected a vassal of the king to be trustworthy. The land which Bruning exchanged in Carpiano had been purchased from Odo,[39] with plots owned by Ernost in Faino (near Melegnano),[40] which he had acquired from Crestina and Orso.[41] The document was enacted in Carpiano itself, and the seven witnesses included Petrus, *aurifex*, and three Franks. In 823 Ernost exchanged another land plot with Walpert and Teudepert, local brothers.[42] He swapped *terra aratoria* in Carpiano (*ad Longola*) which he had bought from the heirs of Odo (who was his *vassus*). This was bounded by a road, by land owned by Ursus, and, importantly, by *terra sancti Ambrosii* demonstrating that the abbey already owned property here. In return he received *terra aratoria ad Laudecursi* and other plots of land, one of which was bounded land owned by Ernost, by the *monastero maiore* and *terra regi*.[43] Added was some meadowland (*pratello*). It is quite clear that, like Gnignano, Carpiano had attracted owners of high social status who profited from the Carolingian takeover of this part of Italy.

In July of the same year (823) Ernost drew up an agreement with his wife Weltruda, in which he transferred rights over his Italian properties to her for as long as she lived.[44] These were properties which were 'anteposito tantumodo pertinente meo nomine cellolo'. The text specified that after her death, provided

---

[39] It comprised a 'casa, cum ortallo et cortecella, seo padulum' bounded by land owned by Ernost, a *casa et curte* of the heirs of Odo, a road, and the *rivo Olisione*. The property had right of access to a well to be shared with the heirs of Odo. He added 'loco intra clausuram qui fuit sedimen' and two plots, *ad prado majore* and *ad Ranario*. The total size came to one *jugera*, nine *perticas*, and sixteen *tavole*.

[40] Olivieri, p. 224.

[41] This was a 'sedimen, vitis cum castenetellum, campello and pratello', four plots in Faino and one in Carpiano. It was the same size as Bruning's property.

[42] *MD* 48, drawn up in the oratory of San Martino. There are two versions of this text, one in the canonical archive, the other in the Archivio di Stato (AdSM sec. IX 12). Natale's edition has numerous (although minor) differences to that printed in *CDL*, prepared by Giovanni Dozio from the canonical copy, and is to be preferred.

[43] This is the first recorded reference to the Monastero Maggiore which several centuries later became the most important nunnery in Milan: Occhipinti, *Il contado milanese nel secolo XIII*, p. 18 n. 6.

[44] *CDL* 102 (Pandolfi IX, 1, transcribed by Dozio). The text is termed 'traditio, vestitura et convenientia' and the transaction followed 'our law' (i.e. not Lombard law). I saw this charter on 27 November 1986: the handwriting is exceptionally clear and hence accurately transcribed by Dozio. On the back is written 'Nihil ad nem contra monachos. Convenientiae de Weltruda', possibly in the autograph hand of Petrus, scribe of the main text which was enacted in Resenterio, near Locate Triulzi the site of a royal *villa*.

that they did not have any children together, these estates were to become the property of those 'loca illa veneravilia, ubi nos pariter consensueremus aut constitueremus' (those holy places which we together agreed to establish), whereas in the case of surviving children the normal customs of inheritance would apply. For her part Weltruda gave her husband full rights over ten *mansi* in Italy and Alemannia (her entire estate), which after his death were to also endow the *cellola*.[45] Identification of this *cellola* is difficult, but given that copies of these Carpiano charters have survived in the canonical archive (rather than the monastic collection), it is most likely to be the *cellola* administered by the priests who officiated at the Sant'Ambrogio basilica.[46] Clearly, the Sant'Ambrogio church with the bodies of Ambrose and King Pippin in it was at this time attracting gifts from some well-connected Franks and Alemans. The property covered by this document was apparently valuable and extensive as the physical transfer (*traditio*) was witnessed by twelve Franks and eleven Alemans, including Ratald, 'presbiter et misso domni imperatori'.[47] The presence of the latter was obviously important as it implicitly conferred royal approval of the arrangements. Not all these men put their names to the written document (*convenientia*) which had eleven witnesses including 'Vunger', probably Hunger, Ernost's brother.

It is certainly significant that these arrangements were made in 823 precisely when the new Archbishop of Milan, the Frank Angilbert II, took up office (above, Chapter 4).[48] It seems likely that Ernost, by now a vassal of Lothar I,[49]

---

[45] Weltruda was accompanied by Rovo 'peditorio et aiutor meo'. The term *mansus* is rare in these charters (as in Italy more generally, Herlihy, 'The Carolingian *mansus*', p. 82). It is not certain what this word refers to in this context, but it probably meant ten peasant holdings (the definition given in Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 279), which was not a great deal. In this surviving version of the text the names of the *mansi* are not given, although described as 'mansias decem nominas'.

[46] A 'Breve de rebus de presbiteriis officiales basilice sancti Ambrosii in vico Carpiano' written before the eleventh century records a total of 42 *juges* in Carpiano (about 33.5 hectares) held by the priests, most probably at the end of the tenth century (*CDL* 1003, dated by Porro-Lambertenghi from the script). This list records the presence of other owners in the village: Santa Maria di Melegnano, San Martino di Carpiano, and the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, as well as a few laymen.

[47] Ratald: Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 29 n. 20; Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, p. 359, speculates that this man may have been Ratald, Bishop of Verona.

[48] Savio, *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia*, p. 318.

[49] *MD* 48. Lothar became king of Italy in 822, and for his early career in this 'place of exile', see De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 32–33.

and Angilbert knew each other and that Ernost's gift was encouraged by the new archbishop. The gifts of Ernost and his brother Hunger to the Milanese church over the next fifteen years mediated through Angilbert's *vicedominus* Gunzo were perhaps part of an attempt to maintain favour with Lothar in the aftermath of the revolt of Bernard.[50] It can hardly be a simple coincidence that Hunger's bequest of 836 came only a few months after the spate of gifts and confirmations made to the community by the emperor and his archbishop in 835.[51]

The abbots of Sant'Ambrogio gained a presence in Gnignano, Carpiano, and surrounding villages largely through the gifts made by powerful Frankish aristocrats rather than village notables. This is not surprising given the long-standing royal presence in this area and fast-moving contemporary political events north of the Alps. Nevertheless, village notables did exist and also transacted with the monastery. We know most about Teutpald, son of Adroald. In June 832 Rachinpert, a Milanese priest, rented out three *prati* in Gnignano (here termed *villa Noniano*) from Rachinfrit and Melfrit, brothers and uncles of Teutpald (and Petrus and Petripertus), for a period of twenty years in return for an annual payment (*census*) of twelve *libras* of oil (*oleo*, type unspecified) for the first ten years and fourteen *libras* thereafter.[52] The oil render is interesting, for it raises the possibility that olives were being grown in Gnignano, although walnut oil is perhaps more likely in this low-lying area.[53] In August 839, Teutpald drew up a *pro remedio* grant giving all his movables and half his Gnignano properties to Rachinpert who was now *archpresbiter* and soon to become abbot of Sant'Ambrogio (in 843), and Rumoald, another Milanese

[50] On the increase of formal intercession within the *diplomata* of Louis the Pious at this time, see Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, pp. 20–21 and pp. 126–27 (on the intercessory role of Carolingian bishops).

[51] The fullest treatment is now Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40'.

[52] *MD* 53; the document terms itself *livellum* and was enacted in Milan. The few surviving *livelli* from this collection, including this one, are discussed by Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), p. 101. Among the adjacent owners were *sancti Nazarii* and *sancti Ambrosii*, presumably the Milanese churches. The arrangement was modifiable in later years if any of the nephews decided to pull out of it: 'Nam si ipsis eorum nepotibus se de haec convenientia extullerit, et exinde aliquid de suorum portionem subtraere quesierint, tunc ipsis germanis deveat menuare de suprascripto census per rationem in tanto, quanto eorum nepotibus portiones fuerit, alia superinposita exinde ipsius Rachinpert presbitero nec ad suis hominibus non fiat'.

[53] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, p. 302, for mostly later medieval parallels in this region. Olive oil could have been obtained from properties elsewhere or have been brought in as well.

priest.[54] These were Teutpald's legal heirs because he was childless ('sine filio vel filia legitimo esse invenio'). The other half of his property was to go in usufruct to his wife Alperga, until her death. Once both wife and husband were dead the heirs were to sell the property to raise money for Masses to be said for them both and to pay for poor relief. This document is similar, therefore, to Hunger's will of three year's earlier although the amount of property was significantly less. As in Hunger's case nothing more is heard of Teutpert or his family, so it can be assumed he did indeed die soon after.

In the 850s Gunzo, still *vicedominus* but now also an archdeacon, re-emerged to help Sant'Ambrogio obtain more property in Gnignano.[55] In March 851 he exchanged properties with Abbot Andreas.[56] Andreas transferred to Gunzo a *sedimencellum* in Gnignano, bounded by a road, property of Aloardus, vines of the monastery, and land of Gunzo's (eighty-three *tabulae*). In return Andreas received a field 'ad Casale', bounded on two sides by property of Bavo, the church of *sancti Victori* (probably the small nunnery at Meda), and the monastery (ninety-two *tabulae*). The differential of nine *tabulae* meant that the monastic side gained significantly from this arrangement. The deal was monitored by Andreas, 'missus da parte sancti Ambrosii arcipresbiter ecclesie Laucate' (Locate Triulzi), and seven worthy men.[57] Almost exactly five years later (3 March 856), Gunzo had already given his land in Gnignano to Abbot Peter in his will.[58] When after Gunzo's demise Abbot Peter went to take formal possession of the land ('casa et curte illa, quas laborat Teoderissus' and others worked by Petornace and Rotecauso) he walked over the fields called *ad Albaro*, *ad Runcore*, and *ad Aqua Maria*. He met Bavo, son of Rotharene, who lived in Gnignano and who told him that Gunzo indeed owned these fields but that he (Bavo) had rights to one part of *ad Albaro* because 'Guntzius servos eius et camporas ipsas redere commendasse' (Gunzo had instructed his servant to return those fields). Later in the same year Abbot Peter exchanged property ('campore aratorie [...] posito in fundo Cincunacum') in the village of Gudo Gambaredo (south of Milan on the road to Pavia) for Bavo's house in

---

[54] *MD* 65 enacted in Milan, five witnesses including three moneyers.

[55] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 124–25.

[56] *MD* 86 enacted in Milan.

[57] This was done according to a ritual of 'estimation' whereby the men (*estimatores*) checked that the monastery had gained more than it had given away. This document may imply that Sant'Ambrogio held land in Locate. Olivieri, p. 304, for the identification as Locate.

[58] *MD* 94 enacted at Gnignano itself and written by Hilderatus.

Gnignano with Tagiberta, abbess of San Vittore di Meda, whose tenant Bavo
had once been.[59] Six months later in December Bavo and the abbot exchanged
a few bits of land themselves, mostly vines, probably to tie up loose ends after
Gunzo's gift.[60]

In the space of twenty years Sant'Ambrogio had acquired a considerable
number of tenant plots and land parcels in Gnignano, apparently without ever
consolidating them into a single estate: there is no mention of a *curtis*, *xeno-
dochium*, or associated *basilica* as there was at Campione, Cologno Monzese,
and Inzago. This continued scatter of properties is probably explained by the
presence of other powerful owners here.[61] In the 850s three local churches con-
tinued to own land here: Santo Stefano di Decimo, San Benedetto, and San
Vittore (either the Milanese church or the nunnery of Meda or perhaps both).
A few laymen also continued in ownership: Bavo, an unidentified Aloardus,
and Anselm of Inzago (see below, Chapter 9). In the end these men also sold
out to the Milanese monastery. Anselm had already witnessed the exchange
between Abbot Peter and Abbess Tagiberta in 856.[62] An imposing document
(*breve vestitura*) dated 5 April 874 records that Abbot Peter went to Gnignano
where five charters were read out.[63] Summaries of these were recorded in the

---

[59] *MD* 95 enacted at Sant'Ambrogio and written by Flambertus, notary. Sant'Ambrogio had
acquired this from Sesebert, *presbiter* who must be the same man as Lesebert, *presbiter* recorded
in June 844 as having given his *casa et curte* in Gudo by charter to the monastery (*MD* 76).
On this occasion formal possession was taken by Martinus, *humilis presbiter* and *prepositus* of
Sant'Ambrogio. Olivieri, p. 275.

[60] *MD* 96 enacted at Sant'Ambrogio and written by Gervasius. The church of Santo Stefano
predominated in the boundary lists.

[61] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 106, rightly stresses that here 'the tight structure of the
bipartite estate must have been very difficult to maintain'.

[62] In my judgment the signature *Autelmo* is the probably same as that used by Anselm on
other charters.

[63] *MD* 125. This document is a near-contemporary copy of the original written by Gervasius,
as it is in the hand of Ambrosius, *notarius*, who also wrote *MD* 128, 129, 130, and 133. The text
has been the subject of some discussion because it is not clear if it refers to Gnignano or not. The
property is located 'in vicoras et fundoras Scosse et Villa, qui dicitur Noniani' (with minor vari-
ation within the charter) rather than the more usual *Noniano*, *Nuniano*, *Junniano* or *Gnoniano*
(tenth-century usage). Rota, 'Paesi del Milanese scomparsi e distrutti' argued that *Scosse et Villa*
was near but not precisely in Gnignano. He noted also that the *Villa Nonani* (*MD* 53) did not
refer to Gnignano the *vicus*. It seems to me that even if the 874 charter refers to a place near but
not in Gnignano the monastery intended to manage the property as part of the estate which it
appears to have been trying to put together.

charter and perhaps as a result none of the originals have survived.[64] The five
texts are as follows: (1) In March 870 Anselm of Inzago sold various prop-
erties in the village alongside those he held in Inzago and Gessate to Bishop
Garibald of Bergamo. (2) By October the Bishop, having made no reference to
this document in his will of April 870, had returned the land by gift to Anselm's
son Gundelasius, with additional land in Castello di Liscate which he had
obtained from Anselm. (3) In March 874, once Anselm had died, his widow,
Gottenia, had sold *her* property in Gnignano which had been part of Anselm's
bridal gift to her to their son Gundelasius. (4) On 1 April 874 Gundelasius
promised his property to Sant'Ambrogio to save his soul, in return (5) acquir-
ing a lifetime interest in five tenanted properties (*casae massariciis*) in Gessate,
Inzago, Noviculta, and Nesso (on Lake Como) in a charter dated March 874.[65]
Gundelasius did this with the consent of Bishop Garibald and his brother
Auprand who were from the village of *Vesterica*.

After 874, the Gnignano record tails off, perhaps predictably given the form
of the 874 document. In May 897 Abbot Peter exchanged a field in Gnignano
(*Confinio*) with a vineyard and coppice wood (*Casalasco*) with Giselbertus *de
intra civitate Mediolani* which marked the start of the interest of *other* Milanese
owners in the area.[66] However, while tenth-century Gnignano is poorly evi-
denced with a mere six documents, there is some evidence to suggest that some
rationalization of property into a consolidated estate (*curtis*) had been achieved
by February 912. In a *libellus* of that date, Bono of Pauliaco rented a chest-
nut wood for eight years (a short lease) from Sant'Ambrogio which was 'de
curte sita Noniano et est non longe ab ipsa curte, et nominatim Motesellium'
(Monticello).[67] Presumably the estate functioned smoothly without prob-
lems because nothing further is heard about it. There are indications that the
monastery attempted to expand it by adding property in the nearby village of

[64] Sennis, 'Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages', p. 154: 'the destruction of
documents was an event not at all unusual for monastic communities'.

[65] This is the only reference to Nesso, which seems to have been another of Sant'Ambrogio's
lakeside oil-producing properties.

[66] *MD* 161. Rapetti, *Campagne milanesi*, p. 38, argues that the coppicing of the Silva
Maggiore recorded in this document suggests the 'degradation' of existing oak woods, but this
seems to be pushing the evidence too far. She also noticed (pp. 54–55, 64) two references to
chestnuts in Gnignano in 912 and 920, although the mention of an *aunetum* (alder wood) in
the latter is especially interesting.

[67] Natale & Piano 9 = *CDL* 446. The location of some land with reference to *ad arbores
decem* suggests that these were not isolated chestnut trees.

Arcagnano, as in March 920 Abbot Rachibert exchanged property there with Petrus, a Milanese *iudex* whose father had lived in the village.[68] Fifty years later still (April 970) Abbot Peter III took part in another exchange with Lupo, *negotiator* of Milan.[69] The continuing activity in the area of Milanese incomers alongside Sant'Ambrogio may explain why Gnignano does not seem to have been fortified or to have acquired a *castellum* during the tenth century, unlike Cologno, Gessate, and Inzago, all topographically similar sites. Sant'Ambrogio had not established hegemony here.

Gnignano is a significant example of how Sant'Ambrogio developed its property holding because of the intervention of aristocrats from north of the Alps in local transfers. There seems little doubt that these men and women were mimicking royal interest in the Milanese monastery which had been founded with Charlemagne's support in the 780s and further encouraged by gifts from his grandson Lothar in 835. Perhaps it was because of royal involvement that Sant'Ambrogio's move into Gnignano took place without evident resistance: there are no disputes about its actions in this region, unlike elsewhere. Further, the nature of the documentation suggests a largely consensual process because the *commutatio* in particular as a documentary form could only function to its fullest extent if other all parties involved trusted its use (Table 17).

Table 17. Gnignano charter forms, 792–897

Date	Scribe	Redaction	Charter Form
792	Bonifrit	Pavia	*Cartola donationis*
812	Walcharius *notarius*	Carpiano	*Notitia breve memoratio [...] cartola commutationis*
823 July	Podo *presbiter*	Carpiano	*Cartola commutationis*
823 July	Petrus *scriptor*	Resenterio	*Convinentia*
824	Leo *notarius*	Pavia	*Cartola donationis*
832	Ambrosius *scriptor*	Milan	*Livellum*
833 Aug.	Ropert *scriptor*	Milan	*Cartola vinditionis*
833 Oct.	Rotpert	Milan	*Cartola donationis*

[68] Natale & Piano 22 = *CDL* 488, AdSM sec. X 21/164.

[69] *CDL* 719, AdSM sec. X 107/242.

Date	Scribe	Redaction	Charter Form
835	Petrus	Pavia	*Breve firmitatis et tradicionis seo ofersonis pro futuris temporibus memoriam retinenda*
836	Ambrosius *scriptor*	Milan	*Breve traditionis*
839	Dachibert *notarius*	Milan	*Receptorio*
839	Ambrosius *scriptor*	Milan	*Ordinatio*
840	Ursus *notarius*	Milan	*Breve firmitatis ad memoriam retinenda*
851	Teoderus	Milan	(*Commutatio*)
856 Mar.	Hilderatus	Gnignano	*Breve firmitatis vestiture ad memoriam retinendam*
856 June	Flambertus *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*Commutatio*
856 Dec.	Gervasius	Sant'Ambrogio	*Commutatio*
874	Gervasius *notarius*	Gnignano	*Breve vestitura*
897	Rotpertus *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*Commutatio*

A note of caution should be added about this, as although a great variety of witnesses put their names to these transfers not a single one came from Gnignano itself, suggesting that local men may have remained powerless to resist this elite-driven process. The principal actors were experienced in transacting as they came from worlds rather more complex than Gnignano, from the royal court and from the city of Milan, home to so many ancient churches. If the lead in entrusting property to this particular church was taken by powerful men such as Ernost, Hunger, and Gunzo, it is clear that women did have a role albeit of a relatively low-key nature. Most of these women were, like the men involved, outsiders, although Autperga (792), Petrina (812), and Alperga (839) could have been locals. The two nunneries of the Milanese Monastero Maggiore (823) and San Vittore di Meda (856) had some property here, although little is known about it as is often the case even for important female institutions.[70] The actions of elite laywomen — Weltruda (823), Vigilinda (833), Theotilda and Gaisperga (836, 840) — could be crucial because, although the number of

---

[70] Five tenth-century charters for the Meda nunnery have surfaced from a private archive in recent years: Albuzzi, 'Pergamene inedite dei secoli x e xi nell'archivio privato Antonia Traversi di Meda', p. 194, with an edition of two of them at pp. 199–203. An exchange dated April 966 shows that land was being taken into cultivation at Bovisio, 'primo campo ubi novellas plantatas esse videtur, cum rivaria castana in caput de ipso campo' (p. 200). Sant'Ambrogio appears as another owner in this settlement and at Masciago in an exchange dated February 968 (p. 201).

transactions involving women or referring to women's property make up only a small part of the total number of transactions as is common in most medieval charters collections, one of these transactions was the crucial moment in the whole process, the sale which Vigilinda made to Gunzo albeit probably under pressure. The comparison with Cologno is instructive for that village did put up something of a fight against Sant'Ambrogio.

Cologno Monzese: 803–1000

The town of Monza (Roman *Modicia*) maintained its importance throughout the early medieval period.[71] This was probably due to its position on the road from Milan to the lakes of Como and Lecco which explained its attraction for itinerant rulers and their followers travelling to and from the Po Plain from north of the Alps.[72] This was the view of Paul the Deacon who mentioned royal interest in Monza several times in his late eighth-century *Historia Langobardorum*.[73] In *HL* IV 21 he recorded Queen Theodelinda's building of the richly adorned Basilica of San Giovanni Battista and the lands she gave it ('praediisque sufficienter ditavit').[74] Three later medieval manuscripts of the *HL*, almost certainly of Monzese origin, added details about that gift, including phrases extracted from the supposed text of her grant although these traditions cannot be traced further back than the eleventh century.[75] As well as the church, dedicated to John the Baptist, a favourite Lombard saint, Paul goes on to say that Theoderic had had a palace here.[76] In the next chapter (*HL* IV 22) he famously described the palace that Theodelinda built here, implying that he

---

[71] Pearce and Tozzi, 'Map 39 *Mediolanum*', p. 573; Cracco Ruggini, 'Monza imperial e regia'; Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*.

[72] Matthews, *The Road to Rome* mentions neither Milan nor Monza but does deal with Pavia, a destination for many English travellers. Travellers from Alpine regions may well have accessed the Po Plain via Milan.

[73] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 36, 39.

[74] Some of the early church fabric still survives, as does its famous treasury. Buccellati, *The Iron Crown and Imperial Europe*.

[75] Waitz, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*, MSS F2, F*2, and F2a. F2 = Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare della Basilica di San Giovanni Battista, MS b18/135 (Pani, 'Aspetti della tradizione manoscritta', p. 408). These 'Monza glosses' are discussed by Princi Braccini, 'La glossa monzese alla *Historia Langobardorum*'.

[76] Accepted as fact by Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, pp. 42, 69, but more circumspectly treated by Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, p. 170 n. 52. No physical trace survives.

had seen the frescoes he describes.[77] Royal connections continued throughout the period, most notably with Berengar I who added to the cathedral treasury with gifts of plate including a large magnificent cross.[78]

Perhaps more interesting in the current context is a little-noticed passage in *HL* v 6 in which the demise of the Lombards is foreshadowed and attributed, in part, to corruption at the church of San Giovanni Battista:

> Quod nos ita factum esse probavimus, qui ante Langobardoum perditionem eandem beati Iohannis basilicam, quae utique in loco qui Modicia dicitur est constitutem, per viles personas ordinari conspeximus, ita ut indignis et adulteris non pro vitae merito, sed praemiorum datione, isdem locus venerabili largiretur.

> [And this fact we have proved has come to pass, we who, before the ruin of the Lombards, saw this church of the Blessed John, which was established in the place called Monza, administered by vile persons, so that that this holy place was handed over to the unworthy and adulterous, not because of their meritorious lives but because of the giving of spoils.][79]

Characteristically Paul does not date these events with precision, but if he really did witness them they are most likely to have occurred in the couple of decades before 774. Very luckily three charters relating to Monza survive for the years 745, 768, and 769, the very period Paul seems to refer to.[80] The first,

---

[77] Paul attributes the choice of this site to a pleasant summer climate, a credible reason. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, p. 170, attributes the impetus to Agilulf. Balzaretti, 'Theodelinda, "most glorious queen"' suggests a far more active role to the queen herself, who is likely to have endowed the famous treasury: Hahn, 'The Meaning of Early Medieval Treasuries', pp. 10–11. Cf. Francovich Onesti, *Le regine dei Longobardi*, pp. 10–29.

[78] Hahn, 'The Meaning of Early Medieval Treasuries', pp. 11–12. *CDL* 340 reproduces an inventory of objects from this period written into a Gregorian sacramentary associated with the king (Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 142) who at times resided in Monza, as indicated in several of his diplomata (Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario*, nos 43, 47, 87, 121 [in 904, 913 and 918]).

[79] My translation based on Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, trans. by Foulke, p. 219, and Capo, *Storia dei Longobardi*, p. 539. For commentary, see Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 67.

[80] Respectively, *CDL*, I, doc. 82 (thirteenth-century copy), II, doc. 218 (eleventh-century), and II, doc. 231 (tenth-century). None of these survives in their original form. Discussed by Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 65–71. There are a few ninth- and tenth-century Monzese charters relating to San Giovanni which mostly show ownership of land by this church in the immediate vicinity of Monza: *CDL* 289 (879), 297 (880), 307 (881), 340 (888–915), 350 (891, an original), 376 (898, an original), 573 (943, an original),

the much-discussed will of Rotpert of Agrate, *vir magnificus*, does not relate directly to San Giovanni.[81] However, it does hint at the corruption which worried Paul. According to its provisions, Rotpert's sisters Galla and Rodelenda were to become nuns in a *monasterium* to be set up adjacent to the church of Santo Stefano in Vimercate and supported with some of Rotpert's property. However, once they had died this property was to revert to Rotpert's heirs rather than become church land ('nam post decessum earum in integrum ad heredibus meis revertatur'). In 728 Liutprand had issued a law making it plain that the property of women in this position should belong to the monastic community after their deaths.[82] In 755 Aistulf came back to the issue in a long law about the necessity that heirs observe the terms of bequests, especially that they not challenge gifts made to churches.[83] It was probably this leaching of ecclesiastical property back into the hands of heirs that concerned Paul.

The second charter, dated 768, reveals similar tensions. Theodoald, *presbiter* and *indignus custus* of the Basilica of Sant'Agata in Monza, ceded all his property to his church *pro luminaria*. He retained lifetime interests for his brother Johannes and sister Theotilda, *Dei famola*. After they in turn died the property was to pass to Theoderus *clericus*, his nephew, and Theoderuna *Dei famola*, his niece. Theoderus was to organize poor relief at a *xenodochium*. But Theodoald seems to have been worried about possible aggression towards his nephew by the head of the church of San Giovanni:

> et ita volo, ut, quod non credo fieri, si quis ille qui dominationem in ecclesia Sancti Johannis habuerit, predictum Theoderis clericum nepote meo ipsa basilica Sancte Agathe expellere quesierit, aut ei violentias contra lege aut inujste fecerit, tunc

855 (990, an original), 870 (992, an original), 893 (995, an original), 995 (985–1000). In 990 Sant'Ambrogio is mentioned in the bounds of property in Monza and in 995 in the bounds of property in Cologno Monzese. The latter charter reveals that Petrus 'Azo' of Cologno still had land there then as he was selling this to the Milanese episcopal church, and that other owners were still present in Cologno, including the churches of San Maurizio and San Pietro. Otherwise, Sant'Ambrogio is not mentioned as an owner in those places where San Giovanni owned.

[81] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 38; Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', p. 161, deals with extent of his wealth, and La Rocca, 'La legge e la pratica', pp. 53–54, with family relationships and the role of *pro anima* grants. It is interesting that Rotpert's grant was made not long after King Liutprand died in the midst of the insecurity of a difficult succession.

[82] *Liut*. 101.

[83] *Aist*. 12, 'these things shall be observed to all time by a man's heirs as was established'. Cf. the lack of 'testamentary freedom' in Anglo-Saxon England discussed by Mumby, 'Property Rights in Anglo-Saxon Wills', especially pp. 172–74.

licentiam sit eidem Theoderio ex ipsis rebus faciendum quod previderint; nam si permisierit eum permanere, omnia sic permaneat sicut supra instituti, quia sic est mihi in omnibus actum.

[And, although I do not think this will happen, I wish that if he who has dominion over the church of Saint John should seek to expel Theoderis, cleric, my nephew from that church of Saint Agatha, or should he do violence to him against the laws or unjustly, then the same Theoderus should have the right to do as he sees fit with those properties; but if he is allowed to remain then everything should remain just as instituted above, as I have arranged it all.][84]

Unfortunately, because this text only survives in a tenth-century unauthenticated copy, it is unwise to place too much emphasis on the precise language used here. However, the phrase 'he who has dominion over the church of Saint John' is a bit mysterious and may suggest that the church was in lay hands. Later in the text Theoderus refers to the man who was his *nutritor* at the same church and appends a sanction which calls upon 'principes terre istius vel presolis adque senioris ecclesie supradicte sancti Johanni' (i.e. the kings, bishops and *lord* of the church of San Giovanni) to see that the terms of his will are carried out. The man in question is in fact named as *domni Garoin diaconi*, mentioned in passing as the man who ordered Theoderus to help feed one of his *familia*.[85] Reading this in the light of Paul the Deacon's comment helps us understand that arrangements at San Giovanni may not have matched up to Paul's vision of what a good monastic life should be.[86]

This impression is confirmed by a third will, enacted in Pavia on 19 August 769, which records the bequests of Grato, deacon, son of Simplicio and resident in Monza to the church of San Giovanni.[87] Grato could well be one of Paul's 'vile persons', for in this will, which like Theodoald's bequest of the previous year compares aptly with Toto's *iudicatum* of 777 (discussed in Chapter 6), he disposed of considerable lands. He arranged that on the day of his death an oratory dedicated to the Saviour and St Faith should be established on property he had in Monza, to be administered by Garoin the custodian of San Giovanni (the man mentioned in 768). To endow this *xenodochium* Grato gave a series

---

[84] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 65–68.

[85] Garoin: Jarnut, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche*, p. 125.

[86] Costambeys, 'The Monastic Environment of Paul the Deacon'.

[87] It survives in a tenth-century copy in the Archivio Capitolare of Monza. Schiaparelli judged it genuine: *CDL*, ii, doc. 231; Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 68–71.

of estates and tenant houses: in Monza ('curtis, una cum casis aldionariciis'); in Milan ('portionem meam de casa vel area ubi posita est cum curticella, de quantum habere videor in civitate Mediolanensi ex integrum'); in Mandello (near Lecco, an *olivetum*) and Varenna (near Como, another olive grove); tenant houses in *Sacera* (one), *Iutuno* (two), and *Gummeri* (one); *Ferminiano* (*domo coltilis*); Concorezzo (*curtis*); Calendasco (*domo coltilis*); *Perseco* (*casa massaritia*), *Aucis* (*domo coltile* near Limonta); *valle Cusianaca* (*casa massaritia*); Campigine (near Monza, *domo coltile*); property in Bologna. He exempted two *iugera* of arable land which he wanted his relatives to have. All this was to be *in potestate sancti Johannis*. He then proceeded to provide for ten named servants (or slaves). The transaction was witnessed by two merchants, one moneyer, a doctor (Andreas *medicus*), and a goldsmith.[88] Clearly, Grato was a very rich man, but unfortunately nothing else is known about him. The spread of his properties is far greater than those of Toto of Campione or indeed anyone else associated with Monza or Milan in the eighth century for whom records have survived. He seems to have been much richer than Rotpert of Agrate, whose modest wealth is thought by Wickham to have exemplified the relative poverty of the Lombard aristocracy.[89] Grato's wealth was transferred to the church of San Giovanni. On the evidence of these three Monzese wills, non-monastic churches like this one may have owned significant amounts of property in the late Lombard period. Further, and this needs stressing, they could become wealthy in a short period of time as the result of a *single* grant or series of grants. However, these texts also demonstrate the problems which disgruntled heirs or those who thought that they were going to inherit (aspirant heirs perhaps) could cause churches. It is with these problems that the dossier relating to Cologno Monzese is mostly concerned.

One of the places not mentioned in Grato's will was the village of Cologno Monzese, situated midway between Milan and Monza on the old Roman road to Bergamo (Map 8). Owing to its comparatively rich documentation, this settlement has been the object of much research by Italian historians, notably by Gabriella Rossetti but also by Bognetti and Violante.[90] As a

[88] Fumagalli, 'Introduzione del feudalesimo', pp. 313–14; Pilsworth, *Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy*, pp. 187–215, on *medici* in charters.

[89] Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', p. 161.

[90] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*; Bognetti in *Storia di Milano*, ii, 756–66; Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), pp. 81–82, 141–42, 147–49. I am very grateful to Laurent Feller who sent me his important article on this village (Feller, 'Dette, strategies matrimoniales et institution d'heritier') in advance of publication in 2008.
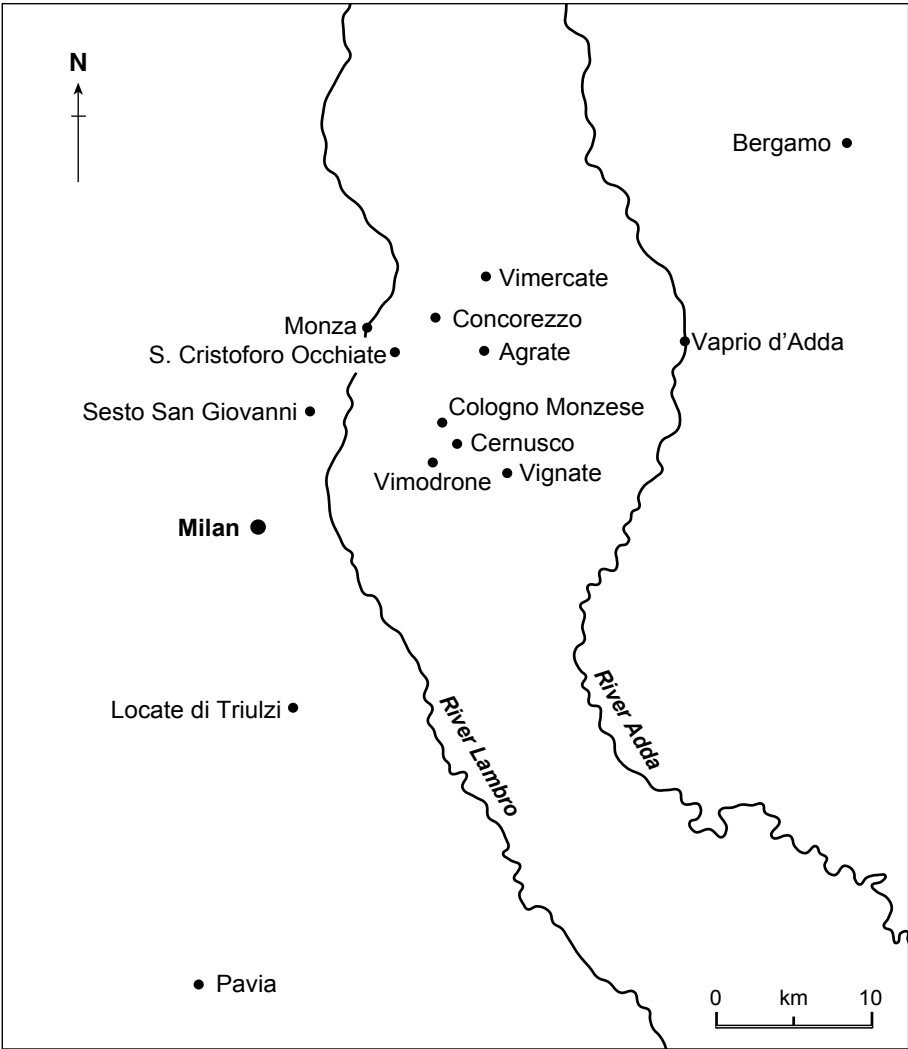
Map 8. Cologno Monzese. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

result this village has become the standard north Italian example of how mon-
asteries interacted with local village societies on the ground.[91] It is relatively
well documented by thirty-nine charters directly relating to it for the period

---

[91] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 9, 128; Wickham, 'Rural Society in Carolingian
Europe', pp. 523–26.

803–1000 (Table 18), and others relating to nearby settlements such as *Sertole*, Concorezzo, Vimercate, Oggiate, and *Tenebiaco* (near Sesto San Giovanni).[92] These show how Sant'Ambrogio replaced local owners, notably the Leopegisi family of Cologno who were completely impoverished by the end of the ninth century. Their story forms the bulk of what follows.

Table 18. Cologno Monzese charter forms, 803–1000

Date	Edition	Scribe	Location	Document Type
803 Apr.	*MD* 36	Raginpald	*Sertole*	*venditio*
830	*MD* 52	Jona, *scriptur*	Sant'Ambrogio	*cartola commutationis*
841 Oct.	*MD* 69	Johannes	Cologno	*cartola commutationis*
853 Jan.	*MD* 89	Johannes	Cologno	*cartola iudicati*
859 May	*MD* 101	?	Milan	*notitia*
859 June	*MD* 102	?	Milan	*notitia*
861 Mar.	*MD* 104	Johannes	Cernusco	*donatio*
861 May	*MD* 105	Dominator	Milan	*commutatio*
862 Mar.	*MD* 106	Gervasius	Sant'Ambrogio	*breve divisionis*
862 June	*MD* 107	Justus, *notarius*	Monza	*commutatio*
863 Mar.	*MD* 108	Johannes	Cologno	*commutatio*
863 July	*MD* 109	Gervasius	Milan	*placitum*
865 Jan.	*MD* 114	Ragifred, *notarius*	Milan	*placitum*
865	*MD* 117	Odelbert, *notarius*	Cologno	*commutatio*
875 16 Feb.	*MD* 128	Ambrosius, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	[pledge]
875 16 Feb.	*MD* 129	Ambrosius, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*venditio*
875 Dec.	*MD* 130	Ambrosius, *notarius*	Cologno?	*breve vestitura*
876 May	*MD* 133	Ambrosius, *notarius*	Milan	[sale]
876 June	*MD* 134	Ambrosius, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*breve paratorio*
882	*MD* 147	Aupaldus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*venditio*
885, 20 Mar.	*MD* 149	Aupaldus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*cartola ordinationis*
885, 24 May	*MD* 151	Aupaldus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*

[92] The documents about *Sertole* are discussed below: *MD* 36, 101, 105, 107, 108, 117; *CDL* 502, 573, 694, and 846. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, map opposite p. 24, located *Tenebiaco* at Cascina Torrette, west of Sesto San Giovanni, and *Sertole* at Cascina S. Maria, east of Sesto.

Date	Edition	Scribe	Location	Document Type
892 May	*MD* 155	Adelricus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
892 Aug.	*MD* 156	?	Milan	*placitum*
918 Aug.	*CDL* 476	Ingelbertus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*breve*
923 May	*CDL* 502	Nazarius, *notarius*	Milan	*commutatio*
943 Dec.	*CDL* 573	Angelbert, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
955 Aub.	*CDL* 611	Heberardus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
960 Apr.	*CDL* 637	Grasebert, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
966 Apr.	*CDL* 694	Aribert, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
973 Apr.	*CDL* 748	Adelbert, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
974 May	*CDL* 753	Johannes, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
987 24 Jan.	*CDL* 832	Anselmus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
987 Nov.	*CDL* 846	Grasebert, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
990 Dec.	*CDL* 860	Adelardus, *notarius*	Sant'Ambrogio	*commutatio*
995 Jul.	*CDL* 894	Adelbert, *notarius*	*Castro Modicia* (Monza)	*commutatio*
995, 23 Aug.	*CDL* 896	?	Monza	*venditio*
997, 28 Apr.	*CDL* 930	?	Rome	Papal bull (Gregory V)
1000 Dec.	*CDL* 993	Angelbert, *notarius*	Cologno	*commutatio*

However, as well as the microhistory of the fortunes of the Leopegisi, these charters reveal much about the local landscape and how it was managed at this time. Cologno is, like most of Milan's immediate hinterland, much changed since the medieval period and saw a significant population increase after the Second World War (pop. now approximately fifty thousand). In the absence of any significant archaeological investigations in the immediate area, modern transformations of the environment mean that reconstructing the local early medieval landscape is quite difficult, as we have to rely on charters alone. According to these charters Cologno was a nucleated settlement throughout this period, yet because a variety of terms is employed to describe *Colonea*, it remains uncertain just how nucleated it was: *locus*,[93] *vicus*,[94] *fundus*,[95] *locus*

---

[93] Mentioned in 830, 966, and 995.

[94] Mentioned in 841, 862, 865, 875, 876, 885, 923, 955, 973, 987, 1000.

[95] Mentioned in 861, 862, 885 ('in eodem fundo colonia prope ecclesia').

et fundus,[96] *vicus et fundus*,[97] as well as the straightforward *in* or *de Colonia* all appear. More significant is the implication given by some formulae that Cologno had its own territory or *fines*: *in fundum et finite Coloniascas*,[98] *in finita Coloniasca*,[99] *in Baragia coloniasca*.[100] The parish church was dedicated to S. Giuliano, and another oratory to George.[101] There was also a *xenodochium*. The most significant change to settlement — the construction of a *castrum* here by Sant'Ambrogio — is reported in a charter of December 943 where a field *infra castro* was exchanged between Tado, a deacon of San Giovanni at Monza, and Abbot Aupald.[102] A charter of 923 which contains many references to ditches (*fossatos*) around Cologno suggests that construction of this fortification was underway by then.[103] More details are found in a charter of exchange in 966 between Abbot Peter III of Sant'Ambrogio and Adelbert, a local man, which confirms not simply that Cologno was by then fortified (*infra castro Colonia*),[104] but details of walls, cornerstones (*cantones*), a gate, and a tower — and also to part of a farm building (*sedimen*) and ploughable land (*terra aratoria*) within it — which suggest quite an elaborate arrangement.[105] Unlike the hilltop *incastellamento* so characteristic of the hillier parts of Italy, in this part of the Po Valley it is harder to grasp what fortification of village sites looked like.[106] At Cologno and other sites controlled by Sant'Ambrogio such as Quarto Oggiaro, the construction of ditches with accompanying walls was

---

[96] Mentioned in 859, 865, 960, 987, 990.

[97] Mentioned in 853, 861, 862, 875, 876, 882, 892, 923, 955, 973, 974, 987, 995.

[98] In 863 only.

[99] In 863 only.

[100] In 862. Bognetti, *Studi sulle origini del commune rurale* and Guglielmotti, *Ricerche sull'organizzazione del territorio* for methodological issues.

[101] *MD* 156, August 892. This was acquired by Sant'Ambrogio from the church of Monza complete with what appears to have been an adjacent working farm: 'basilica cum curte, orto et campo, vineis petias duas, pratos petias tres, camporas petias decim, stalarias petias duas'.

[102] *CDL* 573.

[103] *CDL* 502, discussed by Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 155.

[104] *CDL* 694, April 966, AdSM sec. X 97/234.

[105] Settia, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana*, pp. 215, 225. To be compared with the archaeological findings of Fronza, 'Timber and Earth', pp. 311–14, on the use of mixed materials in the fortifications of this period and region.

[106] Settia, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana*, pp. 247–68.

crucial as might be expected in such flat country.[107] More recently Aldo Settia has posited a significant connection between such fortified sites and 'forests' (in the juridical rather than the physical sense): namely that the felling of trees was often a necessary adjunct to the building of castles, and carried out by the same people.[108]

The level of detail recorded by these charters allows quite a close exploration of landscape features, and some assessment of how these developed and changed over time. The Cologno charters help us visualize what an area which is now effectively within the conurbation of Milan and quite built-up was like then (see Table 19).

Table 19. Land use in Cologno Monzese

Land-use Term (in order of first occurrence)	Date of Reference
Campi (fields)	830, 841, 861, 861 (enclosed), 862, 865, 876
Prato (meadow)	841, 861, 862, 863, 865 (enclosed), 876, 882, 885, 923, 955, 960, 973, 995
Molino (mill)	841, 861, 862, 863, 995
Curtis (estate)	859, 862
Sedimen (farmhouse or rural building)	861, 882, 885, 923, 974
Clausura (enclosure)	861 (*clausura frudiva*), 865
Communalia (common land)	861
Vites (vines), *vinea* (vineyard)	861, 862, 865, 974, 990, 1000
Caminata (living room)	861 (*cum vestario uno*)
Sala (hall house)	861, 862
Terra ('land' of various sorts)	861, 966, 973, 987 (*aratoria*, ploughland)
Grano, segale, panicum (wheat, rye, panic grass)	861
Novellas (newly cultivated land)	861, 862
Fluvio Lambro (River Lambro)	861
Casis, casa (houses, house)	861, 862 (*casa sala una*), 875
Pummario (apple orchard)	862
Fossato/s (ditch/es)	862 (*antico*), 923, 966, 987

[107] Settia, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana*, p. 255.

[108] Settia, 'Boschi e castelli'.

Land-use Term (in order of first occurrence)	Date of Reference
Silva castana (chestnut wood)	862 (*prato et silva castana prope molino*)
Rovereto (oak wood)	862
Insola (island within river)	862, 995
Stallaria (coppiced willow beds)	862 (*stallaria bona*), 885 (*silva stallaria*), 960
Ronco (area of temporary cultivation in woodland)	865
Arbores castanos (chestnut trees)	923
Braida (suburban area)	923
Gerbo cum ex parte stalarea (shrub land with willows)	923
Castrum (fortified site, castle)	943, 966

As expected the charters record a mixed landscape with some cultivated arable land alongside other forms of exploitation appropriate to a flat, watery environment. The key local feature was the River Lambro, repeatedly referred to in charters.[109] It was clearly a major economic resource which both locals and incomers exploited, notably with several watermills sited along its course. As we shall see, there were mills in Cologno itself but also at *Sertole* and Oggiate. Willows seem to have been an important resource, as evidenced by several references to coppiced woods in March 862 which were so close to water that they were most probably willows:

> Insole de Martiale [...] campo super molino [...] super ipso campo, alio campo [...] campo subtus molino [...] insola subtus molino [...] insola super Lambro subtus ponte [...]; stalaria de Possone [...] stalaria Rodunda [...] campestrio ad ipsa Batuda [...] stalaria bona in Taxaria.

> [the islands of Martiale [...] a field above the mill [...] above that field, another field [...] a field below the mill [...] the island below the mill [...] the island below the bridge [...] the coppice de Possone [...] the Rodunda coppice [...] the ridged field (?) at Batuda [...] the good coppice in Taxaria.][110]

---

[109] The Lambro rises near Lake Como and flows into the Po. It flows through the eastern part of the Milanese. Two of its main tributaries also appear in charters: the Lambro meridionale (simply called 'Lambro' in this period) which flows south-west of Milan towards Pavia, and the Vettabbia, now largely canalized, to the south-east.

[110] *MD* 106, a lengthy text recording a division of property between Sant'Ambrogio and Gaidulf of the Leopegisi family.

This clearly describes a complex landscape in which water was carefully controlled, and therefore it was a landscape which required active maintenance.[111] The reference to the bridge over the Lambro is important, being the only one in these charters, and control of it would have been important both economically and politically. Likewise, the references to 'islands' within the river may refer to deliberately constructed features designed to slow the water to a speed appropriate for use in the mill, or perhaps to plots built out into the river bed to extend the amount of cultivable land (still evident in some places today). Coppice wood was needed for firewood, basket-making, poles of all sorts (especially supports for vines), and also for the manufacture of simple furniture.[112] Also significant is the high number of references to meadowland (*prato*) which could have provided grazing most probably for cattle, or if water meadows, irrigation so that grass could be grown year-round for fodder (see above, Introduction to Part I on the *marcite*).

The complexity of this landscape can be seen in the number of field names recorded (Table 20). Although there are quite a number of named sites, importantly, not all these names recur in these charters, a fact which tends to support the view that, although there was a land market here, it was not an especially active one most of the time.

Table 20. Field names in Cologno, 830–900

Field Name	Date
1. (none)	830
2. ad molino (*prato*, 70 tv)	841; 862 prope Molino (*prato et silva castana*); 862 super molino (*campo*), subtus molino (*campo*; *insola*)
3. ad viniale (*campo*, 80 tv)	841
4. de Magnone (*vites*/*vinea*)	861 March
5. ad Marrone (*campo*)	861 March
6. ad valle (*campo*)	861 March
7. Ad Cochiprando (*campo et novellas uno*)	861 March
8. Ad Roeri (*campo*)	861 March

[111] Moreno, 'Activation Practices'.

[112] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 43–44.

Field Name	Date
9. Ad Taxaria (*campo* qui est clausura, 2 per.)	861 May, 862 (*stalaria bona*; *stalaria*), in Taxaria, 960 (*silva stallaria* nominatur in Taxaria, 1 per. 12 tv), 973 (*gerbo cum ex parte stalarea* ibi abente, 4 per. 12 tv)
10. De Johanne (*prato*, 200 tv.)	861 May, 995
11. Ad Cabrario (*prato*, 1 jug.)	861 May
12. De Possone (*vinea*; *terra*, 12 tv) (*stalaria*)	862 × 2, 862 June (clusura de Possone, *campo*), 865 × 2 (clusura de Possone, *campo* 64 tv; *campo* 28 tv).
13. Claussura (*vites et terra*; *prato*, 114 tv) (*campo* in caput ad Claussura sancti Ambrosii)	862 × 3; *prato* ad molino; 865 (*pratum* 151 tv)
14. Ad Batuda (*campo*) (*campestrio*)	862 × 2, 862 June (*campo*, a Batuda prope sancto Juliano, 885 (*silvas stallarias* × 4)
15. In Baragia (*campo*)	862 (Albariasca, *campo*); 862 (Roncalia, *campo*), a Roncalie; 923 (*campo* 6 per 16 tv; *campo* 5 per 15 tv), a Runcalia 955 (*campo* 8 per; *campo* 3 per); 862 (majore, *campo*), 862 (coloniasca ad senedochio, *campo*; *campo* ad valle), in Baragiola 923 (*campo* 3 per; *campo* 2 per) and 955 (*campo* 3 per 18 tv; *campo* 2 per 12 tv), Barazola 960 (*campo* 2 per; *campo* 4 per 5 tv), in Baragia 974 (*vinea* 120 tv), 987 (*campo* 1.5 iug), 995
16. De Giroara (*campo*)	862, 865 (campo 21 tv)
17. ad Gelariola in Casale (*campo*)	862, a Glariola 865 (*campo* 44 tv)
18. In Clusoregla (*prato*, 100 tv)	862
19. a Peruglo (*prato*)	862; 955 (*campo* 2 per 14 tv)
20. Da Teupolone (*rovoreto*)	862, 865 (*de ronco* qui nominatur de T 12 tv)
21. De Marinone (*campo*; *campo* ad limite de Marinone)	862
22. De Petrone clerico (*roboredo et prato*)	862
23. De Martiale (*insola*)	862
24. subtus ponte (*insola* super Lambro)	862
25. Rodunda (*stalaria*)	862
26. ad sancta Maria (*stallaria*)	862
27. Ad Rovereto (*campo*)	862; 865 (*campo* 30 tv)

Field Name	Date
28. Pratelle (*campo*)	862 June. 876 (*campo*)
29. Ad Causario prope Lambro (*prado*)	863 Mar.
30. Ad Pessina Marnesi (*campo*, 109 tv)	863
31. Ad Aufuso (*prato*, 73 tv)	865
32. Tasorti (*prato*)	876
33. Asosti (*prato*, 60 tv)	882
34. A Casale (*campo*, 10 per.)	923, 955 in Casale (*campo* 1 per 13 tv)
35. A Ronco (*campo*, 1 per. 6 tv)	923
36. A Limidi (*campo*, 3 per.; *campo*, 1 per 6 tv)	923
37. A Lambro (*campo cum in alico arbores castanos super abente*; *campo*, 1 per 16 tv)	923
38. Ad Isola (*campo*, 2 per.)	923
39. In Braida (*campo*, 1 per. 17 tv)	923, 960 (*silva stallaria* 1 per)
40. De Rotecauxo (*campo*, 2 jug. 5 per.)	943
41. In Videctore (*campo*, 1 per.; *campo*, 1 per. 18 tv)	955
42. In Tuxana (*campo et silva stallaria*, 5 per. 23 tv)	960
43. A Peregallo (*campo*, 6 per.)	973
44. A Cocto (*campo*, 3 per. 15 tv)	974
45. Campo de Dragulfo (*terra aratoria*, 4 per.)	987
46. At Siaria (*vinea et area*, 4 per.)	990

Abbreviations: jug. = *jugerum/a*; per. = *pertica/as*; tv = *tavola/e*.

A few charters describe the holdings of single families, which give us a better idea of how many farms there were in the area. In 853 one of these belonged to Donatus, son of Amatori, from Cologno and his wife Roperga who owned a fourth part of it (see below). They had two daughters, Hadelberga and Ragisenda, and at least two sons. By 859 Sant'Ambrogio claimed to have a *curtis et senedochio* there the ownership of which was at that time being challenged by Lupus of Clevi. In 861, Hodo and Agio had 'casis vel sedimen et clausura frudiva' (and 'diverse things') in Cologno. We have to wait until March 862 to get details of the family estate of the Leopegisi family. A complex division of property between Gaidulf, a younger member of the family, and Sant'Ambrogio reveals that they had a substantial hall-house: 'casa sala una […] cum curte […] et plurile […] cum prato super ipsa casa […] cum pummario usque in fossato antico in integrum, et per derectura de longo ipso fossato antico, qui percurret in mane

et sera de suprascripto prato' (a hall house with an estate and water tank with a meadow above the house with an apple orchard and an old ditch all the way around, and aligned along length of that old ditch, which runs north to south across the aforementioned meadow). The references to ditches may suggest that this property was defended in some way (or perhaps this was an attempted flood protection measure). This document also contains a long list of named plots of various types (see Table 20). The divided ownership of one of these — *prato et silva castana* — seems to have been indicated on the ground by some sort of boundary marker (*sicut designatum est*).[113] In 918 Adalbert of Vimodrone pledged fifty denarii to Abbot Rachibert that he and his heirs would live near and maintain the monastery's mill near the villa of Cologno on the banks of the Lambro.[114] The mill was described in some detail: 'molas parias duas cum anaticlas, roticinos et scutas et omnem paratura as ipsas duas molas macinandum'. They also rented quite a large willow bed ('salaciola una in iugas tres').

Gabriella Rossetti's fine study is the most detailed consideration of any of the Sant'Ambrogio charters and remains the starting point for any consideration of the social history of Cologno.[115] She found that the acquisition of land parcels in the village and its vicinity by Sant'Ambrogio was a relatively slow but sustained process, at its most intense in the second part of the ninth century but continuing into the first half of the tenth century before easing off, and indeed being in part reversed, in the later tenth/early eleventh centuries.[116] Monastic intrusion had already begun by the date of the first surviving charter, an exchange in 830 of land parcels (*campo*) in Cologno and nearby 'Fresorio' (or 'Freserio') between Abbot Deusdedit and Johannes, known as *Donnolo* (i.e. 'lord' from Lat. *dominus*) from a local Lombard family now known as the *Leopegisi* after Johannes's father Leopert.[117] Rossetti speculated that the early

[113] Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*; Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 98; Compatangelo-Soussignan and others, *Marqueurs des Paysages et systèmes socio-économiques*.

[114] *CDL* 476.

[115] There are reviews in English by Blomquist, 'Review of Rossetti' (very critical) and Bullough, 'Review of Rossetti' (very positive).

[116] By purchases by Milanese men, especially merchants: Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), pp. 146–48.

[117] *MD* 52, significantly enacted at Sant'Ambrogio itself and written by Jona *scriptur*. Witnesses included two merchants, three clerics, and a vassal of the abbot, Landebert of Confienza. The monastery appears as an existing owner in the boundary clauses. The location of 'Fresorio' is unknown. See Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 31, 76–77.

presence of Sant'Ambrogio was the result of a gift of a royal estate (*curtis regia*) to the community by the *gasind* Aribert sometime in the late eighth or early ninth centuries.[118] Her evidence was a reference to Aribert in a *placitum* of 859,[119] which allowed Rossetti to postulate a late eighth-century date for his gift because of a presumed connection between the Cologno 'curtis regia' and the long-standing royal, Lombard, presence at the nearby *palatium* in Monza.[120] The surviving testament of the *gasind* Taido of Bergamo, dated May 774, reveals what such a document might have been like.[121] This reasoning helped Rossetti to fill the long gap between the last Monzese document of the Lombard period (769) and this first Carolingian one of 830, but it must be made clear that there is no evidence for Aribert beyond the 859 dispute case, and participants in disputes were certainly not beyond making up evidence. Indeed it is particularly odd, given that the monastic advocate claimed that Aribert's property was formally transferred to the monastery by investiture, that neither the original donation nor the charter of investiture have survived. Although it is possible that these documents were indeed lost in the turmoil surrounding the rebellion of King Bernard, it is nevertheless likely that the royal confirmations of monastic property issued in 835 would have mentioned a consolidated estate (*curtis*) at Cologno had there been one at that point.

After 830 the monastery entered into a series of transactions, mostly sales and exchanges, with the *Leopegisi* and other local families, which over the next thirty years brought it numerous land parcels to add to its existing holdings. The first of these is recorded in October 841, quite some years later.[122] The same Johannes of Cologno exchanged land with Theopald, a priest from Monza. Interestingly, Theopald had held this meadowland — which was at the mill (*ad*

---

[118] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 81–88. The *gasind* was the Lombard term for a royal retainer/vassal: Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 132–33; Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, p. 189; Castagnetti, 'Locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a Milano in età carolingia', pp. 21–22, on their acquisition of administrative roles under the Carolingians.

[119] *MD* 101.

[120] A relationship in some ways paralleled by that between the royal estate at Corteolona and the *palatium* at Pavia, eighteen kilometres away.

[121] Cortesi, no. 191, discussed by Castagnetti, 'In margine all'edizione delle pergamene Bergamasche', pp. 30–31, and Wickham, 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', p. 161. Among Taido's many properties was a tenanted house in Vaprio d'Adda within Milanese territory. Olivieri, p. 562, points out that there was a bridge over the Adda at Vaprio.

[122] *MD* 69.

molino) and pertained to the church of San Giorgio in Cologno — as a benefice (*in benefitio*), although from whom is not made clear by the text. This exchange was followed in 853 by a will made by Donatus, son of Amatori of Cologno.[123]

> (January 853). By my present charter of judgment (*cartola iudicati*) I Donatus, son of a certain Amatori cleric of Cologno, which that if the Lord orders me called to the light, and my wife named Roperga survives me and keeps my bed, I provide that she should have in the name of usufruct a quarter part of all my houses and property in the *vicus* and *fundus* of Cologno, and she should do with those rights as she wishes, and similarly she should have at her service for the remaining days of her life, if she keeps my bed, the following infant servant under my control named Ropert, and my wife should have a half of all my moveable goods, which on the day of my death I shall leave, which she shall agree for me with my children; and she should have permission to do as she wishes with those movables for the sake of my soul and her own; and after her death, or if she should make another marriage, all those houses and property, which I possessed, should revert to the power of my heirs, and that Leopert [i.e. Ropert] should be free, absolutely free to wander where he wishes, for the benefit of my soul. As to the remaining half of my moveables I wish that after my death they should be gathered up and distributed for my soul by the cleric Dagivert my godfather (or 'fellow priest'?) from Bladenellum (*Bladino*) [...] I wish that my daughters named Hadelberga and Ragisenda should live together with my sons until they are married.[124]

This document does not spell out what property in Cologno Donatus owned, nor do we know how it eventually came into the possession of Sant'Ambrogio, something which is implied by the presence of the text in the monastery's archive.

In the same year another, lengthier and more interesting bequest (*cartula ordinationis*) was made by two brothers, the priest Deusdedit and the deacon Senator, of their *xenodochium* and associated land in 'Octavo' (S. Cristoforo Occhiate, nr. Brugherio midway between Cologno and Monza).[125] Their donation was made for their own souls, their late father's and brother's, and other relatives. Their two sisters were to have usufruct rights here until they died. Additionally their oratory dedicated to S. Eugenius was to pass under the control of the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in 'Baragia' (now S. Damiano near Monza) which in turn was under the jurisdiction of Sant'Ambrogio.

---

[123] *MD* 89.

[124] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 129–31; Balzaretti, 'Sexual Cultures', pp. 52–54.

[125] *MD* 90 (AdSM sec. IX 50) designated a contemporary copy by this editor (and before him by Porro Lambertenghi in *CDL* 183). The surviving parchment is damaged which means some of the text is lost.

Importantly, this came with a fully functioning mill ('cum molino nostro in fluvias Lambro prope vico Blateno cum rubeas, clusas et omni sua concia').[126] In an attempt to fend off potential challenges to their bequest from unhappy family members they — unusually in this corpus — referred to the Roman *Lex Falcidia* (*pro falcidiae nomine*) which guaranteed family heirs a quarter of the estate.[127] As a further precaution the brothers provided that, in the case of neglect by the monks of Sant'Ambrogio, the hospice would pass under the control of the church of San Giovanni in Monza provided that those laymen who controlled the latter were in agreement ('sine ulla contrarietatem senioribus ipsius ecclesie'). As Gabriella Rossetti suggested, there is convincing evidence that it was the family of the late Hugh of Tours (brother of Ermengard, wife of Lothar I) who may have controlled the Monza church at this time.[128] A charter of October 879 reveals that the holder of the benefice then was Count Liutfred, the last surviving representative of Hugh's family in Italy.[129] Hugh's wife Ava had been given the fiscal estate of Locate di Triulzi in 836 by Lothar I (see above, Chapter 4), and there is a local tradition at Monza that Hugh gave property there to the Monza church before his death in 837.[130] As we have already seen, this church had a long tradition stretching back to the mid-700s of being subject to lay control, and therefore it is in this light that the reference to the benefice in Cologno held by Theopald, priest of Monza, needs to be seen.

It is not surprising that the next two documents in the dossier record a dispute between Abbot Peter II of Sant'Ambrogio and Lupus of Schianno, a vassal of the abbot, which the abbot won with the help of Angilbert, archbishop of Milan.[131] Between 861 and 865 the monastery succeeded in acquiring a lot more property in Cologno and in displacing the dominant position of the *Leopegisi*, as evidenced in eight documents. Their straightened situation was confirmed by four charters written between February 875 and May 876. Two of these were made on the same day, 16 February 875. In the first Andreas, son

---

[126] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, map opposite p. 24, identifies it as the hamlet of Sant'Alessandro, midway between Cologno and Monza.

[127] This phrase may simply mean 'legitimate portion' in this context and does not necessarily demonstrate direct knowledge of the *Lex Falcidia*.

[128] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 71, 78–80.

[129] *CDL* 289. This survives only as a thirteenth-century copy but appears genuine. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 221–26; Castagnetti, 'Transalpini e vassalli', pp. 50–52.

[130] *AB s.a.* 837 (trans. Nelson, p. 37).

[131] *CDL* 207 and 208.

of Walpert, pledged (in return for five solidi) to Abbot Peter that he and his heirs would not sell or otherwise dispose of their property in Cologno without first giving the abbot the option to buy it within a period of thirty days following his death.[132] After that Andreas's heirs could sell it to others without monastic interference. In the second document Rachiberga, Walpert's widow, sold half of her property for sixty solidi. This property had been given to her at marriage by Walpert (*in meta et morginchap*, 'brideprice')[133] and was hers to dispose of subject to the consent of her legal guardian or *mundoald*, in this case Andreas her son.[134] In December Gaidulf 'qui Gaido vocatur', deacon and monk of Sant'Ambrogio, took formal possession of a house and associated land which had been bought from Gisempert, a blacksmith from Milan.[135] The final document of this group is the most interesting. In May 876, Agiulf and Dragulf, minor sons of Walpert of Cologno, went to Amalricus, viscount of Milan, to plead their poverty.[136] Amalricus, having consulted a law book,[137] sent his *missus* Odelfrit of Milan to inspect their property in Cologno. As a result of this, the boys sold everything they had, including the house where they lived, to Bono of *Pariana* to raise cash.

At this point it is interesting to return to the church of Monza. As has been seen, in 853 this church was under lay control and probably competing with Sant'Ambrogio for control over property in the villages just to the south of Monza. In June 862 a charter drawn up in Monza itself recorded an exchange of land in Cologno between Peter, the prior of Sant'Ambrogio, and Teutpert, archpriest and custodian of the church of San Giuliano in Cologno,

---

[132] *MD* 128.

[133] *MD* 129. The witnesses included Lubedei who was one of the abbot's vassals.

[134] The nature of these marriage gifts has been much discussed: see Feller, 'Morgengabe, dos, tertia'; Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et societé*, pp. 53–67; Skinner and Van Houts, *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, pp. 114–16.

[135] *MD* 130.

[136] *MD* 133. They claimed they were starving and naked (*famme et nuditatem perire*) and needed to sell 'for necessity'. For Amalricus, see Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 124–25, and Castagnetti, 'Locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a Milano in età carolingia', pp. 36–38. One of the ten witnesses to this text was Volmundi of Milan, a vassal of Amalricus.

[137] 'Tunc ipse Amalricus vicecomes fecit recolens edicti paginam'. The law in question was *Liut*. 149 (issued in 735) 'On minor children who are found to be in need'. This provided that minors could sell property in times of famine if they were dying of hunger. Strict procedure had to be followed: the case was to be adjudicated by the king's representative or judge, who could not himself buy the property. This procedure was followed in 876.

which depended on Monza.[138] Teutpert appeared again in March 885 when he bequeathed a farm in Cologno to Sant'Ambrogio.[139] In May he took part in a further exchange of land (mostly coppiced willow woods) with the monastery.[140] Some years later in May 892 Peter, archpriest of San Giovanni in Monza, was involved in similar dealings with Sant'Ambrogio, in this case ceding to the abbot the church of San Giorgio in Cologno with associated land in exchange for control over the church of Sant'Eugenio in Concorezzo.[141] There was clearly some problem implementing this arrangement, as in August 892 a dispute went to court in Milan (heard by Count Maginfred). Abbot Peter won this, having shown the charter made in May with Peter the archpriest's signature appended to it.[142] It is from this period that original charters survive in the Monza archive, which suggests that a more active approach to land management and associated record keeping was being taken there at that point.[143] The state of the Monza church becomes a bit clearer in the early tenth century due to a surviving original diploma in its favour granted by Berengar I in July 920 (while he was staying at the not-too-distant royal estate of Corteolona).[144] Berengar granted three estates (Cremella with a monastery there, Bulciago, and Calpuno) to San Giovanni to sustain its thirty-two canons who did not have enough to live on because of the activities of previous *malos ministeriales*. A lengthy exchange of December 943 between Abbot Aupald of Sant'Ambrogio and Tado, deacon of San Giovanni, of land in *Willola*, Cologno, and *Sertole* shows that interaction between the Milanese and Monzese abbeys continued.[145]

The activities of the Monza church, although much less well documented than those of Sant'Ambrogio, do show that Sant'Ambrogio did not, in fact,

---

[138] *MD* 107. There is another copy in the Monza archive.

[139] *MD* 149. This gift was witnessed by four vassals of Abbot Peter.

[140] *MD* 151.

[141] *MD* 155, an original.

[142] *MD* 156.

[143] *CDL* 350, Oct. 891 in which Peter the archpriest exchanged land in Incino with Rachinulf a priest from Lurago: both places are midway between Como and Lecco; and *CDL* 376, Jan. 898, an exchange between Peter a local notary Arioald of land in Monza itself. Neither document featured Sant'Ambrogio.

[144] Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario*, no. 125, pp. 326–28. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 142, discusses Berengar's liturgical relationship with the Monza church.

[145] *CDL* 573, AdSM sec. X 47/187.

have it all its own way in the villages south of Monza. Rossetti argued strongly that the surviving Cologno charters were the result of a very deliberate policy of property management undertaken by successive abbots of Sant'Ambrogio, most especially Abbot Peter II between the 850s and 890s.[146] This was done for what she termed 'strategic' as well as more mundane land-management reasons. The policy was pursued with the help of the archbishops of Milan and resulted in the eventual impoverishment of the *Leopegisi*.[147] Their decline paralleled that of the only other significant local grouping, the *de Sertole*.[148] By the end of the ninth century the result, according to Rossetti, was that Sant'Ambrogio controlled 'vast landed wealth' centred on the Cologno *curtis* which even incorporated land in neighbouring settlements.[149] By that date the monastery also owned the village watermill, that potent symbol of lordly domination.[150] The key event of the early tenth century was the building of a *castellum* by the monastery near the village in the 920s which represented, according to Rossetti, the development of political powers by the abbots (power of *dominium*) over a significant part of the territory of the village.[151] However, these powers did not affect the entire village community, parts of which remained outside the abbots' political jurisdiction and possibly their economic control too. Rossetti's discussion ends in the late tenth/early eleventh century with the increasing presence in the village of new property holders, almost exclusively from Milan, who began in turn to buy up land in the wake of the monastery (a development first noticed by Violante).[152] Does this narrative stand up to close examina-

---

[146] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 96–100.

[147] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 100–127; Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), p. 146, characterized this as 'a serious family economic crisis'. The point is taken up again by Feller, 'Dette, strategies matrimoniales et institution d'heritier', although he glosses this with an argument that the family tried to resist monastic power.

[148] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 128–34.

[149] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, map on p. 177.

[150] *MD* 104 (March 861) and 109 (July 863, 'molino posito in ripa de rivo fluvius Lambro non longe a vico Colonii'). An interesting pledge was made in August 918 regarding its maintenance which spells out what the mill was like. In this document Cologno was termed *villa*. See Chiappa Mauri, 'Acque e mulini nella Lombardia medievale', p. 243; Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 126–59.

[151] The *castrum* appears in *CDL* 573 (Dec. 943, *campo una infra castro*), 694 (April 966), and 993 (Dec. 1000). A *castrum* near Monza is also mentioned in *CDL* 573.

[152] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), pp. 146–48, which

tion? Rossetti's discussion covers four generations of the *Leopegisi* family.[153] By these actions Benedict and his son Walpert intended to maintain the integrity of their family holdings in the village, as evidenced by cautious provisions to safeguard the interests of female family members to avoid family land passing from family control. An example of this is the transaction between Benedict and Walpert and Odo and Agio of Vignate where provision was made for Benedict's daughter Aha to continue living in a house rented from her brothers Gaido and Andelbert, even though the house had been sold to Odo and Agio.[154] However, their intentions were compromised by the system of partible inheritance which encouraged the break-up of their lands. This was serious as Benedict had four children and Walpert had three. Because the monastery was not affected by inheritance rules it stood to benefit simply by default.[155] One reviewer of Rossetti's book thought she gave the impression of 'an all-conquering monastery gobbling up the lands of a depressed peasantry'.[156] As Rossetti herself pointed out, this was not entirely fair as she had written plenty about other churches and laymen involved in the village besides Sant'Ambrogio.[157] Nevertheless, Rossetti's assessment of the economic status of the *Leopegisi* family can be questioned.

Rossetti clearly did not see the *Leopegisi* as peasants but as something altogether grander, 'proprietari di vaste estensioni di terre'.[158] In my view this pushes the evidence too far. Their properties were confined to Cologno and its immediate vicinity (Map 8), and we know far too little of their extent — recorded sizes are few — to say that they were anything more than village notables. Nor do we have enough information about them before 830 to assess the true nature of the impact of Sant'Ambrogio upon them as confidently as Rossetti does. Neither do we know enough about other owners. For example, the properties held by those men who witnessed charters *de Colonia* are unknown to us. Therefore, Rossetti's charting of the decline of this family

showed that these 'private' holders of allodial land were mostly merchants (*negotiatores*).

[153] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 122; Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), p. 145. Rossetti defended her views against Blomquist in Rossetti, 'Ancora sui "loca sanctorum"'.

[154] *MD* 104 drafted at Cernusco by Johannes.

[155] For comparison, see Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 70–76.

[156] Blomquist, 'Review of Rossetti', p. 766.

[157] Rossetti, 'Ancora sui "loca sanctorum"'.

[158] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 101.

may be somewhat overstated. Even so, the *Leopegisi* certainly did find themselves in reduced circumstances. In 876 the surviving family members, Agiulf and Dragulf, two underage children of Walpert, were forced into begging Amalricus, viscount of Milan, to ensure that they received a fair price from their purchaser Bono of Pariana for the last properties which remained under their control.[159] Amalricus sent his representative, Odelfrit son of Inselprand of Milan, to Cologno to inspect the boys' property. It was found that they had no moveable goods at all and land of less than a third of a hectare (eighty *tavole*). They were surely living in poverty. Certainly, this was a real change from the family's situation in the 830s.

Further, it is possible to question Rossetti's (and Feller's) picture of family solidarity in the face of monastic threats. There is evidence that Benedict's son Walpert was unhappy about his father's alienation of property to Abbot Peter II, even though he himself witnessed one of the charters which recorded this in 861.[160] In 865 he appeared in court against the monastery.[161] The abbot claimed that that Walpert had occupied part of the Cologno estate, had cut down part of the woodland there, and was ploughing up monastic land ('terra nostri monasterii aravit'). Walpert disputed the monastic claim that the community had acquired the property from Petrus, *clericus* of *Albairate* (the hamlet of Malnido, south of Monza), who had in turn got it from Walpert's father Benedict, and he claimed instead to have received the property himself from his uncle Ansevert. The monastery demonstrated the truth of its case by producing the charters in which Benedict had agreed to the transfer of his property: a gift to Peter in 842 of property near the 'molino de heredes Nazarii de Tenebiaco'; a sale of 861 in which Benedict sold the mill itself to Peter for forty solidi; and the gift of 863 in which Peter gave the mill to the monastery. Walpert, who had no charters to support his case, conceded and the monastery won. This text clearly illustrates that Walpert was unhappy with his father's actions and had decided to do something practical about it: he occupied the land and exploited it as his own. But the tactic failed, and in the following decade Walpert's brother Gaidulf, his widow Rachiberga, and his sons Andreas, Agiulf, and Dragulf succumbed

---

[159] *MD* 133, drafted in Milan by Ambrosius *notarius*. This is an important example of how children's well-being was dealt with in this period. The boys' guardian was Petrus of *Clevesio*.

[160] *MD* 105, drafted in Milan by Dominator *notarius*. Walpert signed this document in his own hand.

[161] *MD* 114 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 67) held in the *laubia* of the *curtis ducatis* in Milan. Wickham, 'Rural Society in Carolingian Europe', p. 524.

to monastic pressure.[162] Walpert's action reveals a divided family, and in those circumstances he seems doomed to have failed in the end.

There are three *placita* in total for Cologno, a high number for a village near Milan, and one of these cases is worth a more detailed examination as it did not involve the *Leopegisi*. In May 859 Abbot Peter went in person to Archbishop Angilbert II of Milan to accuse Lupus of Schianno, the son of Adelgisus (see above, Chapter 6 and Map 6).[163] He claimed that Lupus had illegally taken possession of the monastery's *curtis* and *xenodochium* in Cologno given to the monastery by the royal *gasind* Aribert. The archbishop immediately instructed his senior lay official Giso *vicedominus*, to summon the aggrieved parties to a court hearing in the city. There Lupus claimed to be the archbishop's own vassal by virtue of an arrangement that he made with Angilbert's immediate predecessor, Angilbert I, and that this meant that he held the Cologno estate from the archbishop as a benefice. The monastery produced documents to support its case, namely Aribert's charter of donation and *libellus* describing returns owed by two tenants to the monastery who worked the estate in Cologno (neither now surviving). Lupus was unable to produce any documentation to back up his claims, and he lost the case. However, Lupus seems not to have been that interested in this land for he did a deal with Sant'Ambrogio regarding properties nearer his home, in Balerna and Ligornetto. Indeed, he perhaps challenged the monastery in order to obtain these.[164]

The monastery, predictably, resisted these challenges with the help of powerful backers. Rossetti emphasizes that such backers were absolutely necessary to ensure that the monastery kept real hold of its lands.[165] This was certainly important in the Cologno example, but as we have suggested, the *Leopegisi* were never as powerful as Rossetti suggests: they did not have links with other powerful owners which could rival Sant'Ambrogio's power. Indeed, there is strong evidence that they may have been cultivators. Anyway, once they had disappeared Sant'Ambrogio entered into a series of transactions with the church of San Giuliano in Monza, which resulted in Milanese control of the church of San Giorgio in Cologno, an *oratorium* previously under the control of the Monza church, and its associated properties, in return for ceding to Monza the *basilica*

---

[162] See *MD* 117, 128, 129, 130, 133, 147, and 149, covering the years 865–85.

[163] *MD* 101. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 94. Wickham, 'Rural Society in Carolingian Europe', p. 525.

[164] *MD* 102. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 81–88; Wickham, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework', pp. 120–21.

[165] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 88–95.

of Sant'Eugenio in Concorezzo, a village two kilometres east of Monza and some seven kilometres north of Cologno.[166] So, by the end of the ninth century Sant'Ambrogio became 'the only lord' in Cologno, and we cannot know if any other local owners rivalled this domination.[167] The owners mentioned in boundary clauses and local residents noted as witnesses or actors in the tenth century (Tables 21 and 22) were not descended from the Leopegisi and not apparently as interested as them in resisting Sant'Ambrogio's local power at that point.

Table 21. Owners in boundary clauses in Cologno Monzese, 830–995

Owners in Boundary Clauses	First Reference	Subsequent References
Ado	830	
Sant'Ambrogio	830	841, 861, 862, 863, 865, 876, 882, 885, 885, 923, 955, 973, 974, 987, 990, 995, 995
Johannes 'Donnolo'	830	841
Ansevert	841	
S. Johannis (Monza)	841	862, 863, 865, 995
S. Benedicti	841	923 (*monasterium*), 960, 995
Benedict	861	
Benedict de *Sertole*	861	
Cunibert	861	
Anselm de *Sertole*	861	
Andebert	861	
Domini regis	862	885 (*silva*), 923
Tadelbert	862	865
S. Natzari	862	865, 923
Gaidulf	862	865, 885 (*et consortes*)
S. Juliani (Monza)	862	885, 923, 960, 987 (twice), 995
S. Alexandri	863	
Leo, presbiter	865	
Agempert cognatis	865	
Ratpald *de Decimo*	865	
Domni Salvatoris	865	

[166] *MD* 149, 151, 155, and 156.

[167] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 48 and 128.

Owners in Boundary Clauses	First Reference	Subsequent References
Walperti	865	
Benefice of Aicho presbiter	876	
Relicum Gaidulf	882	
Heredes Rotpert	882	
Res Albariasca	885	
Agiulf	885	
S. Mauricii	923	995
Adelbertum *clericus*	923	
Angelbert *iudex*	955	987 (twice)
Gisempert *negotiator*	960	987 (*heredes*), 990 (*heredes*)
Natzarius	960	973, 990
Arivert	960	974 (*sedimen*). 995
Johannis	973	987
Adelbert *presbiter*	973	
Adalgisus *iudex*	974	
Bono	987	
Madelbert	990	
S. Maria	995	
Alberic *monetarius de Mediolano*	995	
S. Petri	995	
Heredes de Adelbert	995	
Petrus	995	

Table 22. Residents of Cologno Monzese, 830–995

Residents 'de Colonia'	First Reference	Subsequent References
Johannes 'Donnolo', son of Leopert	830	841
Ansevert	841	
Rotpert	841	
Paul	841	
Natzario	841	853
Donatus, *clericus*, son of Amatori	853	

Residents 'de Colonia'	First Reference	Subsequent References
Roperga, wife of Donatus	853	
Leopert, a servant	853	
Hadelberga, daughter of Donatus and Roperga	853	
Ragisenda, daughter of Donatus and Roperga	853	
Benedict, son of Leopigi 'Donno'	853	861, 861, 863
Gisempert	853	875 (*ferrarius*)
Lupus, son of Adelgisus of Schianno	859	
Petrus	859	
Walpertus. son of Benedict	861	861, 862. 876
Gaido/Gaidulf, son of Benedict	861	862, 863, 875, 875 (*diaconus et monachus*), 882, 885
Andelbert, brother of Gaidulf	861	861, 862. 885
Aha, daughter of Benedict	861	
Hermefred/Ermenfrit	862	862, 863
Hilderatus	862	
Senevert	862	
Guido	863	
Andreas, son of Walpert	875	
Ragiberga, widow of Walpert	875	
Andreas, son of Ragiberga	875	
Donatus	875	
Bonivert	875	
Ermenissi, son of Ermenfret	875	
Agiulf, son of Walpert	876	882
Dragulf, son of Walpert	876	
Andelbert, son of Ermenfret	885	966
Johannes (infant *servus*), son of Leo, *nacione eius italic*	955	
Natzarius, son of Donatus	960	973, 990
Bono 'Bonizo'	987	
Johannis, brother of Bono	987	
Giselpert, son of Bonipert	987	
Arivert, son of Ambrosius	987	

Residents 'de Colonia'	First Reference	Subsequent References
Johannis, son of Dominici	987	
Angelbert, son of Grasebert	995	

Sertole, 803–966

As a comparison with the history of the Leopegisi, it is possible to examine another local family who lived at nearby *Sertole* (now Cascina Santa Maria, just north of Cologno). *Sertole* is first mentioned in 803, three decades before Cologno, in a charter recording the sale of land there by Natzarius of *Tenebiaco* to Donatus of *Sertole*, a merchant (*negotians*). Donatus paid 120 silver denarii for two fields *in fine Sertolasca* which Natzarius's father had purchased from Simone de *Sertole* and which Natzarius had subsequently inherited.[168] He shared ownership with his brother Alpert, a cleric. The property was bounded by land owned by Alpert, the churches of Santa Maria and San Nazaro, and the heirs of Raginpald, Johannes, and Donusdei, three monks (although which monastery they were from is not recorded here). The charter was witnessed by Walpert, son of Simone, and two brothers from Sesto San Giovanni, Dominator and Cunipert. Natzarius was mentioned again in 865 in a reference to a mill owned by his heirs in *Tenebiaco* which was near the Ponte Sunderasco on the banks of the River Lambro.[169] Ownership of a mill suggests that the family were locally important. *Sertole* itself next appears in the court case between Lupus and Sant'Ambrogio heard in May 859. During this the monastic side produced, among other evidence, a *libellus* formerly negotiated by Donumdei, monk and *prepositus* of Sant'Ambrogio from Donatori of *Sertole* and Petrus of Cologno.[170] This document is now lost, but it seems likely that this Donusdei was the same monk mentioned in the 803 sale, making the existence of a *libellus* likely. The exchange between Peter I and Benedict of the Leopegisi made in May 861 records that both Benedict and Anselm of *Sertole* had property in Cologno adjacent to the 'prato ad Cabrario', and in the case of Anselm it was quite a lot: 'hoc est ipsa sorte Anselmi tavolas centum'.[171] In June 862 an exchange between Teutpert, archpriest of San Giuliano di Monza and Peter I, was validated by six local worthies who included Petrus, Benedictus, and Anselmus,

---

[168] *MD* 36: 'qui ex comparatione advenit genitori meo, de Simone de Sertole'.

[169] *MD* 114: 'molino de heredes quondam Natzerii de Tenebiago'.

[170] *MD* 101.

[171] *MD* 105. A Cunibert was also mentioned, perhaps the same one as in 803?

brothers from *Sertole*. Benedict and Anselm signed their own names on the agreement, demonstrating very basic functional literacy.[172] The following year in March, Anselm himself exchanged land in Cologno with Peter, a cleric from *vico Zolo*.[173] The property sold was that mentioned in 861, a meadow of one hundred *tavole* 'in fundum et finite Coloniascas ad Causario prope Lambro'. Anselm again signed his own name. This transaction was noted in a court case later in the year. In 865, Anselm again witnessed a transaction between Sant'Ambrogio and the Leopegisi.[174] Then there is a gap in the record until 923 when one of Anselm's sons, Adelbert, a deacon in Milan, exchanged land in Cologno with Rachibert, abbot of Sant'Ambrogio.[175] This charter allows us to expand the family tree (Figure 15) to four generations, as it was witnessed by Ambrose, Adelbert's brother, and four of his nephews, another Adelbert, cleric and notary, and Aribert, Autzeni, and Anselm, the sons of Aribert.

In 943 another exchange between Sant'Ambrogio and San Giovanni in Monza reported that some land in *Sertole* was owned by the *heredes Anselmi*, a phrase which appears again in 966.[176] By that time *Sertole* also appears to have had a *castrum* (*sedimen infra castro*). Clearly this family, like the Leopegisi, had to engage with the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, and in the same way they may have been impoverished as a result. In contrast their heirs *are* mentioned in tenth-century charters. It may be significant that by the time a *castrum* had appeared in *Sertole* Sant'Ambrogio's position had already been consolidated in Cologno when a *castrum* was built nearby. This is first mentioned in a boundary clause of a charter of 943, but Rossetti argued that it was constructed sometime in the 920s.[177] If so, that was a full generation before the *Sertole* fortification. There is no evidence, in this case, that Sant'Ambrogio had received any royal grant to do this, and it is therefore very likely that this represented a transformation of the monastery's economic domination into political powers over the local dependent population. However, the castle was not built in

---

[172] *MD* 107.

[173] *MD* 108.

[174] *MD* 117.

[175] *CDL* 502.

[176] *CDL* 573 and 694.

[177] *CDL* 573, 'campo una infra castro'. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 134, accepted by Settia, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana*, p. 140, drawing on Settia, 'Lo sviluppo degli abitati rurali in alta Italia', pp. 159–60 and 165–68. Rossetti, 'Formazione, e caratteri della signoria di castello'.
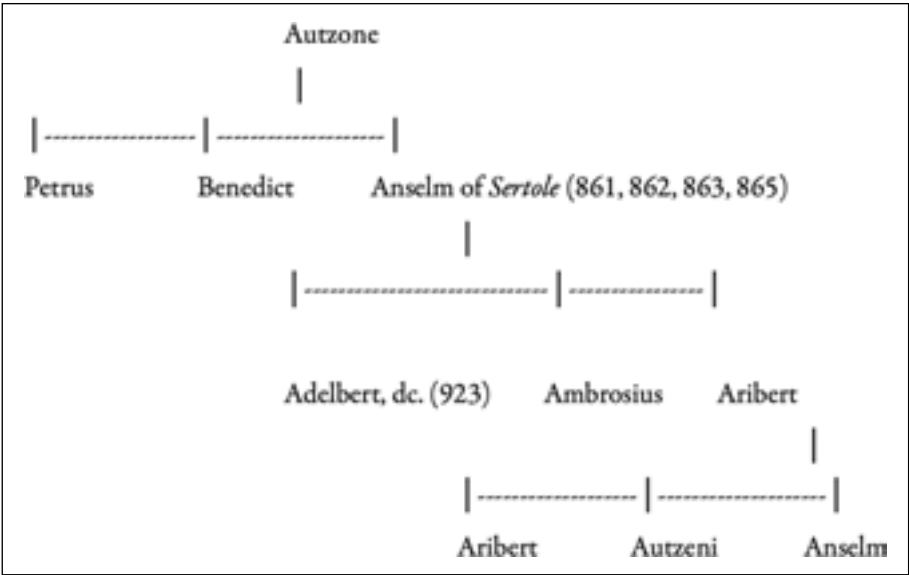
Figure 15. Family tree of Anselm of Sertole. © Author.

Cologno itself but nearby in San Giuliano, so the village settlement itself was not fortified, and in fact there is clear evidence that people lived in Cologno outside the castle as well as within the fortifications, as was a common north Italian pattern.[178]

The comparative histories of Gnignano and Cologno demonstrate how a monastic institution was able to fit in with existing tenurial patterns. In the case of Gnignano, which was midway between the two political centres of Milan and Pavia, aristocrats in the circle of the Carolingian elite helped to bring this about. In Cologno things seem to have been a little different in that the monastery was able to work with some members of the much less grand Leopegisi family to achieve the property transfers it, and perhaps they, wanted. This had to be done in the context of a nearby powerful rival church, the ancient foundation of San Giovanni at Monza patronized by Lombard rulers and aristocrats (and later by the Carolingian Berengar I), which had interests in Cologno as well. The formation and continual renegotiation of relationships at the micro level was therefore vital for the successful exploitation of land at the micro scale. The Gnignano example shows that aristocrats could be involved at this

---

[178] Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 128–29.

micro level which directly connected them to the land, an important fact about early medieval aristocracies which should not be forgotten. The monastery thus helped to connect transnational lay elites with local notables. The monks also had a significant role in environmental management, shaping the local watery landscape long before better known Cistercian examples in this area. The resulting production really mattered as a source of both food and income for the monks, and the grain and grapes as well as other crops from Gnignano and Cologno therefore helped Sant'Ambrogio to thrive as an institution. It is likely that some of this production was intended for a wider market (facilitated by the *mercatum publicum* near Milan's old forum over which Sant'Ambrogio had clear rights by 952) although this is not straightforwardly demonstrated from these charters if they are read in isolation. Part III therefore takes up the issue of connectivity at the macro scale to see how local production might have entered even a long-distance trading network.

Valtellina

The Valtellina is an alpine valley which has been settled for millennia.[1] It was favoured by Roman emperors for its wine according to Vergil, and there is still a significant wine industry there today.[2] Following Ambrose's example new churches were built in the region, notably San Carpoforo in Como, its earliest cathedral.[3] In the sixth century Ennodius, who knew the area in person, praised it for its fertility. The *via Valeriana* (named after a military commander of the third century AD) ran along the valley floor on the north side of the Adda,[4] and in the early medieval period the valley continued to provide a significant route into Italy from north of the Alps — for kings and their armies, pilgrims, and traders.[5] Parts of the valley had a long history of the extraction of soapstone (Ital. *pietra ollare*) and production of small vessels using it which have been found in excavations

---

[1] Mariotti, *La Valtellina nei secoli* appeared too late to be used in this chapter. There are several important articles dealing with the early medieval history of the valley.

[2] Puleo, *The Valtellina and UNESCO*, pp. 5–6.

[3] Lizzi, 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', p. 161.

[4] Pedrana, 'Sentieri e strade storiche in Valtellina e nei Grigioni', pp. 12–22.

[5] Particularly when coming from Bavaria: McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, p. 399. Zironi, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio*, pp. 90–103, and Matthews, *The Road to Rome*, pp. 39–44, are helpful on routes to Italy from the north (although not this one), and Nelson, 'Viaggiatori, pellegrini e vie commerciali' for links between Franks and Italy more generally.

in Milan,[6] Brescia, and across the Po Valley.[7] This production seems to have reached a peak in the eighth and ninth centuries.[8] The higher mountain slopes were likely sites for the grazing of transhumant flocks on rich summer pastures (known as *alpeggio*).[9] Given the clear strategic and economic importance of the valley over a long time span, the lack of serious research into its history even in modern times is rather puzzling.[10] Less puzzling, is the predictable neglect of its early medieval past.[11] Nineteenth-century histories skimmed over it rapidly; for example, Lavizari's two-volume work had only three pages about this period.[12] More recent studies have been somewhat deeper, but these still undervalue the period and also tend to privilege unreliable evidence, especially dubious royal *diplomata*.[13] However, there have been some excellent studies of the history of the church in the area, especially the landlordship of the church of Como, which seems to have dominated the pre-Carolingian history of the valley.[14]

The publication of valley-wide excavations in the last ten years has documented a significant number of small finds of late antique military equipment (e.g. at San Bartolomeo de Castelàz, an isolated church site in the mountains

[6] For example, Fedele and Pagani, *Il volto di una piazza*, p. 34 (found in Piazza Sant'Ambrogio).

[7] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, III.2, 27–28, dealing with the sixth to eighth centuries.

[8] Alberti, 'Produzione e commercializzazione della pietra ollare in Italia settentrionale', p. 336.

[9] Cf. evidence from Santa Giulia di Brescia for transhumance in the Valcamonica in that period: Archetti, '"Fecerunt malgas in casina"', pp. 488–89, and Galetti, 'Allevamento e produzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dell'alto Medioevo', pp. 739–41; Scazzosi, 'Lombardy', pp. 237–39 (Val Muggiasca), 239–43 (vines in the upper Valtellina).

[10] Quadrio, *Dissertazioni critico-storiche intorno alla Rezia*, published in 1755–46, is the key early modern history of the area, still useful today.

[11] There is no study for this valley like that of Helena Carr's excellent thesis on the Rhaetian valleys in the early medieval period (Carr, 'Sanctity and Religious Culture amongst the Alpine Passes') or for an earlier period Bielmann, 'A Christianisation of Switzerland?'.

[12] Lavizari, *Storia della Valtellina*, I, 47–51.

[13] Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*; Sertoli Salis, *I principali toponimi in Valtellina e Val Chiavenna*; Orsini, 'Vescovi, abbazie, chiese e i loro possessi valtellinesi'; Mazzali and Spini, *Storia della Valtellina e della Valchiavenna*, I, 21–52. These contain useful if often uncritical outlines of the early medieval history of the Valtellina. There is an excellent book (Della Misericordia, *Divenire comunità*) dealing with the social history of the valley in later Middle Ages, which also includes chapters on the Sottoceneri in that period.

[14] Martinelli Perelli, 'Luci ed ombre nella storiografia sulla Valtellina medioevale'; Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda'.

above Bormio in the far north-east of the valley). These objects fit well with a picture of this valley as of strategic importance throughout the early medieval period.[15]

Lombards and Franks in the Lower Valtellina

Due to the valley's status as a borderland giving access to several Alpine passes, there is a strong possibility that some sites in this valley were indeed fiscal land under the Lombards, although no genuine document demonstrating this has survived.[16] An interesting grant by King Liutprand (2 April 724) to the church of San Carpoforo in Como of land in Delebio (in the lower valley on the southern side of the River Adda not far from Lake Como itself), survives in a late version which might be based on a kernel of truth.[17] The probability that some Valtellina land was Lombard fiscal property is supported by the existence of a series of early Carolingian diplomas relating to the valley, which seem to have regranted out land most likely acquired directly from the Lombard kings at the conquest. The Frankish monastery of St Denis (alongside St Martin of Tours) had rapidly benefitted from Charlemagne's invasion and conquest of Lombard Italy, with a grant of immunity on its properties in 'Longobardia vel Valle Tellina, quae moderno tempore ad ipsa casa dei delegavimus', a document issued to Abbot Fulrad of St Denis on 14 March 775.[18] This grant was possibly reconfirmed in 824 (the surviving document is certainly spurious but might contain a true core),[19] cer-

---

[15] De Marchi, 'La Valtellina tra tarda romanità e alto medioevo', pp. 639–45.

[16] Darmstädter, *Das Reichsgut in der Lombardei und Piemont*, p. 82; Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 30–31, claims the valley was 'altes langobardisches Fiskaland'.

[17] Carpoforo was a soldier martyred under Diocletian, *c.* 305–07. Mazzali and Spini, *Storia della Valtellina e della Valchiavenna*, I, 40, and Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi, 'Nuovi orientamenti sulla basilica di San Carpoforo'. The donated lands were probably in Morbegno, Delebio, Roncaglia, Musso near Dongo, and Colico.

[18] Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 94, pp. 135–36. It is translated into English in Loyn and Percival, *The Reign of Charlemagne*, pp. 144–45, and briefly discussed by McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 217. Fulrad, abbot from 751–84, had acted as one of Charlemagne's *missi* to Rome, and so he conceivably visited his monastery's Valtellina properties. He also had extensive properties in the Alsace-Alemannia borderlands as evidenced in his will of 777 (Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 28–29).

[19] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 3, pp. 54–59. The property was '(res) que erant site in Valle Tellina in ducatu Mediolanense, ut, sicut actenus per confirmationes ante-

tainly in 833 (an original diploma),[20] and again in 843 (another original).[21] In the grant issued from Soissons most probably on 7 October 833, Lothar I conceded to the monastery of St Denis the right to set up (*construere*, literally 'cultivate' 'work') a 'mercatum in Valle Tillina in loco Haenohim super lacum Cumensem',[22] but the exact location of this place with its Germanic name has proved elusive. The most likely identification on linguistic grounds is Nuova Olonio, on the northern shore of Lake Como, just north of Dubino.[23] There, twelve free local men were to be allowed to operate the market on behalf of the monastery without hindrance from others.[24] Whether this actually occurred in practice cannot now be known, but the existence of a diploma issued from Aachen on 21 October 843 confirming earlier grants by Pippin, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious and referring to the monastery's property 'in regno Longabardorum [*sic*] in locis, qui apellantur Vallis Tellina ac Burmas

cessorum regum easdem res pars Cumensis ecclesie tenuerat, ita et in futurum per eius teneret confirmationem'. There had been a dispute between St Denis and the Bishop of Como about it, and in this charter, issued at Compiègne in favour of the bishopric of Como, Lothar supposedly confirmed the property to Como. Oddly not discussed by Gini, 'L'archivio vescovile di Como e i suoi fondi documentali'.

[20] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 13, pp. 78–80, issued from Soissons at the very point Lothar was deposing his father Louis (De Jong, *The Penitential State*, p. 48). The empress Judith was at that time imprisoned at Tortona, roughly midway on the road south between Milan and Genoa. *AB s.a.* 833 (trans. by Nelson, p. 27).

[21] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 80, pp. 199–201. On the intricate relationships between king/emperor and the recipients of his charters, see Screen, 'The Importance of the Emperor', pp. 33–45 (covering the years 840–43), and Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40'. The difficult Carolingian family politics of these years made the Valtellina of particular strategic significance given that Italy was the source of the imperial title.

[22] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 13. The reverse of this grant has, in capitals, 'Pre(ceptum) Hlotharii de mercato in Valle Tellina'.

[23] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, p. 79. *Haenohim* is a Frankish form of *Aunonium* which ended up as Olonio. The site — near to where the River Adda joins Lake Como — is also an obvious one for a place of exchange. Nuova Olonio is a small hamlet within the comune of Dubino. There has been some archaeological investigation of this important site: Arslan and others, 'Geophysical Investigations of the Olonium Roman Site', pp. 179, 172, 184. The location of the Roman market/toll station was most likely at Ponte del Passo. A small palaeochristian church was found nearby by geophysical analysis. Markets in this area are discussed by Rapone, 'Il mercato nel regno d'Italia', p. 133.

[24] 'ut prefate ecclesiae quosdam liberos homines numero duodecim sibi utiles in eadem valle commanentes a publico immunes esse concederemus obsequio'.

sive Postelaues et Marcelisco atque Milanianum',[25] while it obviously demonstrates continued interest from St Denis in the area, at the same time perhaps suggests a limited real control here. The fact that twelve local men had to run the market presumably meant that St Denis employed someone, possibly one of them, as its local agent. Other Frankish aristocrats held land in this area as well as St Denis, including Matfrid the controversial Count of Orléans who had received land 'jure beneficario vallem Tillinam' from Louis the Pious before the count's death in 836 (in Italy due to epidemic disease).[26] Lothar eventually restored this property to St Denis on 3 Jan 848.[27] Clearly the latter document is the outcome of a dispute about ownership after Matfrid's demise. Later, Gerulfus *ministerialis* of Louis II bought land from Godiprand, Louis II's *vassus*, in 864,[28] and the interest of kings and aristocrats in the area persisted long after in later centuries.

Putting these fragments together, it would seem that several powerful institutions and individuals had interests at key strategic sites in the Valtellina before the monks of Sant'Ambrogio started to become active in the lower part of the valley in the early ninth century as the result of several donations. In particular the siting of a market at *Haenohim* (Roman *Olonio*, most probably at Ponte del Passo) quite close to Dubino, a royal estate given to Sant'Ambrogio in 835, must have been important to the successful functioning of that estate centre.[29] These royal documents do not provide much other reliable detail about the local landscape, but it is important to note that Dubino, *Olonio*, and Mantello are all alongside the River Adda, the main artery of the valley and navigable at

[25] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, p. 200. The exact locations of these settlements in the Valtellina remain uncertain, but Bormio and Poschiavo are likely sites, in the high Valtellina beyond Sondrio. The workers were referred to as *mancipia*.

[26] Many others died in this epidemic, including Abbot Wala of Bobbio: *AB s.a.* 836 (trans. by Nelson, p. 36). According to the author of the *AB* (trans. by Nelson, p. 35) in this year Louis wanted to ask Lothar 'about the restitutions of property which though it belonged to churches in Francia was situated in Italy and had thus been subjected to unchecked spoliations by Lothar's supporters'.

[27] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 100, pp. 238–40. Matfrid: Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 55 n. 14 (and others in the valley at pp. 36, 44, 65; and his map of Frankish presence here at 40–41); Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*, pp. 38–40 with references.

[28] *MD* 113 (Nov. 864), an original drafted at Mantello (near Dubino) dealing with land in 'locus Cesxini' (probably Cesino).

[29] For Carolingian markets and toll stations in Alpine valleys, see McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 640–44.

this point. As control of the valley was of strategic importance to Frankish rulers, it is not surprising that they maintained close ties with successive bishops of Como, which was the nearest see and the largest settlement in the vicinity with a significant Roman past. Situated at the bottom of the western branch of Lake Como, the town had the potential to function as an economic gateway between the Valtellina and Milan in the south. As already suggested, Como is documented at this period only from much later charter evidence, most of which is highly suspect and probably forged outright.[30] The archaeology of the site is quite well developed and suggests that Como — a significant Roman town — was a viable settlement site again by the eighth century.[31] The two most important church sites of San Carpoforo and Sant'Abbondio — both with late antique origins and rather obscure early medieval phases — have also been well studied, but no genuine documents have survived before the early eleventh century.[32] Several bishops of Como appear to have been active builders.[33] It is clear that Bishop Amalricus who held the bishopric of Como and abbacy of Bobbio (subsequent to the death of Wala in 836) at the same time under Lothar and Louis II was an influential figure politically.[34]

Sant'Ambrogio in the Valtellina

The early medieval presence of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in the lower Valtellina is evidenced by a mere twelve charters covering the period 814–918 (Table 23). These documents allow us to observe a small range of social relationships in this area on eleven precisely dated occasions in the early Middle Ages.

---

[30] Besta, 'I diplomi regi ed imperali per la chiesa di Como' is still useful. The key documents are Mühlbacher, *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, no. 202 (issued in 803 in favour of Bishop Peter of Como) and Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 2 (issued 823). See below (Part III) for other relevant charters and those relating to Isola Comacina, the small island in the lake. Carminati and Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense', pp. 44–48, is crucial for the latter.

[31] Castelletti and Nobile, 'Como' is a useful starting point.

[32] Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi, 'Nuovi orientamenti sulla basilica di San Carpoforo'; Martinelli and Perelli-Cippo, 'Sant'Abbondio 1010–2010'.

[33] Miller, *The Bishop's Palace*, p. 79. The bishops obtained comital rights in 1002.

[34] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 77 issued in 843 in favour of the monastery of Bobbio with the intercession of Amalricus, incoming Bishop of Como (and Abbot of Bobbio), and Wanner, Ludovici II diplomata, nos. 10 (852) and 31 (860). Amalricus: Bullough, '*Leo qui apud Holtharium magni loci habebatur*'; Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 101–03.

Table 23. Valtellina charters in the Sant'Ambrogio collection

Date	Edition	Scribe	Place of Redaction	Type of Charter
814 Mar.	*MD* 45	Nanno	*Wattingo*	*dispositio seo traditio*
822 May	*MD* 47	Jona	Milan	*notitia per perpetim firmidatem*
835 Mar.	*MD* 58	Ambrosius	Milan	*preceptum*
835 May	*MD* 59	Dructemarius	Pavia	*diploma*
837 Dec.	*MD* 63	Ursus	Sant'Ambrogio	*promissio/livellus*
864 Mar.	*MD* 113	Crispinianus	Mantello	*cartola vinditionis*
865 Mar.	*MD* 116	Angilbertus	Como	*notitia*
867 Apr.	*MD* 119	Leotardus	Unknown	*notitia brevem pro futuris temporibus securitatem et firmitatem*
870 Nov.	*MD* 122	Rachibert	Sant'Ambrogio	*notitia*
918 Apr.	*CDL* 475	Ingelbert	Milan	*notitia*
918 Nov.	*CDL* 478	Unknown	Gravedona	*venditio*
Undated (but before 1000)	*CDL* 1002	Unknown	Sant'Ambrogio?	*breviario*

Such a small sample allows only a restricted historical reconstruction as eleven dated charters do not constitute a coherent dossier, unlike the rather more substantial dossiers of Campione, Gnignano, Cologno, Limonta, and Inzago. This fact in itself may imply that Sant'Ambrogio had less influence in this distant valley at least until the eleventh century when two surviving inventories list considerable holdings in the area.[35] This is not surprising given the other powerful interests present here as already seen. The sequence of events which can be derived from such a small number of documents covering a two-hundred-year period is self-evidently very incomplete and therefore allows a lot of room for imaginative reconstruction.[36]

---

[35] *CDL* 1002, listing property pertaining to the estate at Dubino and undated but earlier than Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', pp. 227–31, which is eleventh-century and lists property throughout the valley.

[36] Balzaretti, 'Lands of Saint Ambrose', pp. 236–41. Since 1989 I have changed my mind on several points and considered several of these texts from the perspective of narrative in Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records'.

First, a brief overview of the chronology is needed. The Valtellina is first mentioned in the Sant'Ambrogio corpus in a text dated 3 March 814, less than two months after Charlemagne had died and therefore a date which is probably not coincidental given the political uncertainty in Italy resulting from his demise.[37] It is dated 'regnante domno nostro Bernardo vero excellentissimo rege, anno regni eius in Aedalia [*sic*] secundo', the only surviving original charter from Lombardy to be dated in the reign of Bernard.[38] This charter records that Abbot Deusdedit was a potential beneficiary to the will of Rotfrend of *Wattingo*, son of Sichemarius, a man about whom nothing else is known.[39] The next charter is dated 822 and records that the monastery went to court in Milan in a dispute about the personal status of one of its female workers from the village of Cercino.[40] This document is also significant within the corpus as a whole because it is the first surviving dispute record involving Sant'Ambrogio. Like the 814 charter it appears to come out of the blue. In March 835 an estate at nearby Dubino was mentioned (along with seven other properties) in a *preceptum* which Angilbert II, Archbishop of Milan, issued in favour of Abbot Gaudentius.[41] This corrupt text reports that the archbishop wished to retain ownership of Dubino because he wanted to 'exchange' it ('excepta curte Dublini, quam nos juxta comutationem comutare volumus'),[42]

---

[37] *MD* 45 (an original). This edition is a great improvement over *CDL* 90 and *CDA*, doc. 32, which are at odds in many places. The notary's poor handwriting is largely to blame. Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, I, 95; Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, pp. 132–33; Balzaretti, 'Elites and Silver in Milan', pp. 420–22.

[38] Noble, 'The Revolt of King Bernard of Italy'; Depreux, 'Das Königtum Bernhards von Italien und sein Verhältris zum Kaisertum' and *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, pp. 134–37; Nelson, *Courts, Elites, and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Art XIV, p. 10. The fact that it is a rare survival is in itself significant.

[39] The location of *Wattingo* has proved elusive, but the rest of text makes clear it was somewhere in the Valtellina, conceptualized here as a valley (*de Valtelina*). Deusdedit was Sant'Ambrogio's third abbot (Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 293–94).

[40] 20 May 822: *MD* 47 (= *CDL* 97), an original. Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records', pp. 27–28.

[41] *MD* 58. See above, Chapter 4, for this *preceptum* and Zagni, 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–IX', pp. 10–12; Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, p. 133; Ambrosioni, *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale*, pp. 267–68. Although this document is suspect in some of its details, the grant of these estates was confirmed by the undoubtedly genuine diploma of Lothar of 5 May 835. The seven estates were *Oleoductus*, Campione, *Ceresiolla*, Agrate, *Lucum Sinterani*, *Casteniade*, and *Catenadam*.

[42] Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, p. 138. Dubino had a population of 599 in the 1861 census and 3,270 in 2004.

which implies that Angilbert already owned the estate having perhaps acquired it from St Denis which had been given extensive rights in the Valtellina by Charlemagne in 775, as seen above. However, Lothar's diploma of 5 May 835 confirmed Sant'Ambrogio's possession of *eight* estates namely *Oleoductus* ('oil receiving site'), Campione, Capiate, *Ceresiolla*, Agrate, *vicum Sinterani*, *Castaniadam*, *Gattunadam*, and Dubino.[43] As there is no mention here that the archbishop wished to exchange Dubino it may be that that phrase was added to the text of his *preceptum* at a later stage, or that there was some dispute about its ownership.[44] The existence of a contract dated December 837 between a certain Crescentius and Abbot Gaudentius for Crescentius to act as the manager of this estate strongly suggests that Angilbert had changed his mind by this time.[45] Then there is a gap of over forty years, when nothing is heard of the Dubino estate. In this period it was perhaps granted out as a benefice to a vassal or vassals of the abbot.

The sequence resumes in November 870 when Abbot Peter secured compensation in court for the murder of one of his dependents from Delebio, not far from Dubino.[46] An inventory (*breviario de rebus*) was made of Sant'Ambrogio's property in and around its Dubino estate sometime before the year 1000. It is perhaps of late tenth-century date, but could plausibly be dated earlier as it would make sense that the estate was inventoried between its acquisition by the monks in 835 and before the contract with Crescentius of 837.[47] This is more likely given that the estate of Limonta was inventoried at this period, as were the properties of the monastery of Bobbio at the request of Abbot Wala.[48] In this document Dubino is the focus: there were three stone-built farms with eight associated huts. The mixed landscape near these farms is described and included vineyards, meadows, some arable, as well as woodland, including

---

[43] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 26 (AdSM sec. IX 23; *MD* 59). The differences between the two lists of estates are best explained by faulty copying of Angilbert's *preceptum*, with *Clapiate* (Capiate) missed out in error and several other names misspelled.

[44] Or of course that the phrase was added later.

[45] *MD* 63; Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, p. 138. There might, of course, have been two different estates in Dubino.

[46] *MD* 122.

[47] *CDL* 1002 = Manaresi and Santoro, *Gli atti privati*, IV, no. 905. Porro-Lambertenghi dated this simply as 'before the eleventh century', which is accepted by Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', p. 219, n. 65, on palaeographical grounds.

[48] Richter, *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 121–24.

chestnuts, walnuts, apples, oaks, and beech. The reference to walnuts hints at the production of oil used for *luminaria* as evidenced elsewhere in early medieval northern Italy where olives were not available.[49] By far the largest amount of land was given over to chestnuts and meadows. There is no reference to any workers, and the only other owner mentioned with bordering land was *sancti Abundi* which must refer to the church of Sant'Abbondio in Como (the cathedral dedicated to this saint in 818). As we know, this church was showing interest in the lower Valtellina in the 820s, if not before. If the inventory does not describe the state of play in *c.* 835–37 but rather later, the charters recording putative acquisitions in the intervening period must have been lost (although there are six charters from near this part of the Valtellina associated with the Isola Comacina dossier in this period).[50]

There are several other interesting charters which help to contextualize Sant'Ambrogio's activities in this valley. Two charters dating from March 864 and April 867 demonstrate the continued involvement of royal vassals in the area. In the first, Gerulfus *ministerialis* of Louis II bought land in *locus Cesxini* (Cesino) from Godiprand, a Frankish vassal of Louis II, for eleven pounds of silver (a large sum suggesting a significant amount of property and/or a very productive estate). The charter was drafted in Mantello, just over a kilometre east of Sant'Ambrogio's estate at Dubino.[51] In the second, Gerulfus entrusted, in the presence of nine *boni homines* 'Franks and Lombards' who included two of his vassals, two of Peter's, one of the emperor's notaries, and Leo, a goldsmith,[52] several properties including some in the Valtellina *iudicaria mediolanensis*, presumably including Cesino, to two executors (Peter, son of the judge Paul, and Ercembald, his own vassal) to sell and then distribute the money raised to the poor for his soul (*pro remedium anime sue*).[53] A court case held in Como in 865 recording a dispute between Sant'Ambrogio and a two local men over property in Dongo and Gravedona (on the opposite side of the lake to Dubino)

---

[49] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, p. 302.

[50] Below, Part III.

[51] *MD* 113 (original). The use of the word *comparador* ('purchaser') here is unusual in this corpus. Cf. Balzaretti, 'Elites and Silver in Milan', pp. 425–26. Neither man appears in any of Louis II's diplomas.

[52] Half of the witnesses were literate enough to sign their own names.

[53] *MD* 119 (original). It is unclear where this document was redacted, but the presence of a goldsmith among the witnesses suggests that Pavia might be the likely venue: Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, p. 143. He also freed his workers entrusting them *in manus sacerdoti* without specifying which priest.

resulted in the confirmation of monastic ownership.[54] Another dispute case heard in April 918 concerning property in *Mercai et Roboreto* in the Valtellina had the same outcome.[55] This document mentions land owned collectively by 'Lombards' adjacent to Sant'Ambrogio's property which may refer to local free men known elsewhere as *arimanni*.[56] In November 918 Petelpert of Gravedona (*villa Gravedona*) sold land in Ponte (in Valtellina) and Chiuro to Allo of Chiuro.[57] Although there was quite a lot of property at these two villages in the higher reaches of the valley between Sondrio and Tirano, and although numerous other owners were mentioned including Sant'Abbondio in Como, there was no reference to Sant'Ambrogio here. By the eleventh century this had changed as is demonstrated by a lengthy inventory (*Breve ricordationis de ficto de Valtellina*) of monastic property which extended as far east as Tirano.[58] By this period, Sant'Ambrogio was producing large quantities of cheese in this region presumably for consumption or sale elsewhere. This fact emphasizes the undoubted importance of animal husbandry in the valley, especially sheep and goats.

From so few charters it is hard to grasp what Sant'Ambrogio was doing in this valley at many points (Map 9), and a continuously detailed narrative cannot be constructed. Instead, we need to consider the surviving documents in a different way, focusing on their diplomatic form as a clue to what was happening here. As has been seen the first text in the sequence may have been provoked by Charlemagne's death in January 814. His grandson Bernard's rebellion against

---

[54] *MD* 116 (tenth-century copy).

[55] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 129 (= *CDL* 475, an original re-edited by Natale & Piano, doc. 17, pp. 457–60). This charter records a mixed landscape of meadows, fields, and chestnut woods in both *Mercai* and *Roboreto*. Other owners were S. Abbondio, S. Benedict, and 'Lombards' (*Langobardorum*). There are several references too to common land (*cummunalias*) characteristic of grazing lands in mountain environments but uncommon elsewhere in the Sant'Ambrogio corpus.

[56] Gasparri, '"Nobiles et credentes omines liberi arimanni"', p. 48.

[57] *CDL* 478 (Natale & Piano 18).

[58] Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', pp. 227–31, dated 'eleventh-century'. This is the longest of the four surviving earlier medieval inventories of Sant'Ambrogio lands. It shows that very substantial renders of food and money were owed to the monastic community from places which had entered the monastic orbit during the previous two centuries (Cercino, Cino, Cosio, Delebio, Dongo, Dubino, Regoledo, Tirano, and Sondrio) as well as from lands newly acquired during the eleventh century. Produce from across the valley was brought to Dubino, Campione, and Capiate which acted as central depots.
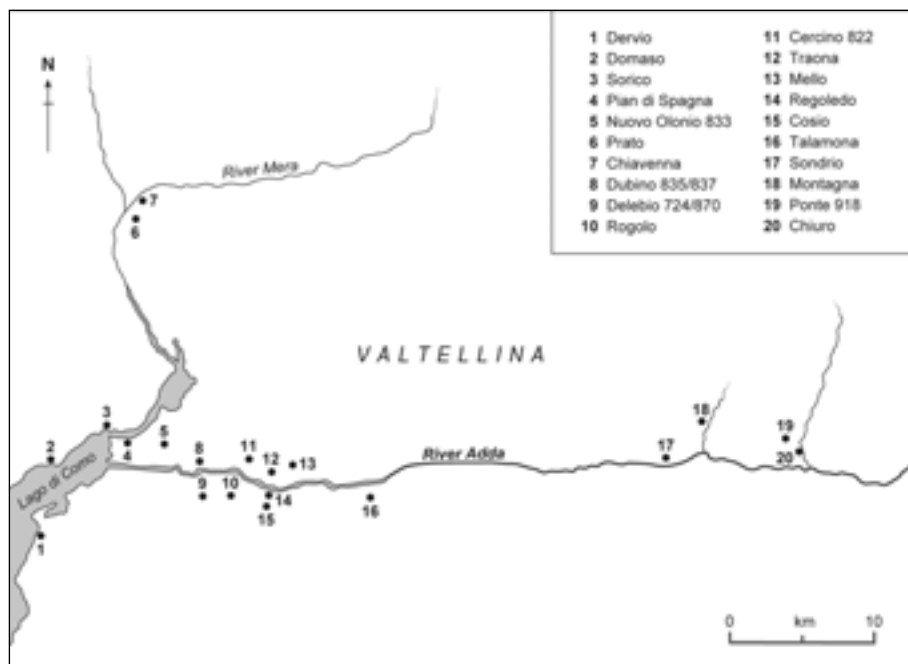
Map 9. Properties of Sant'Ambrogio in the Valtellina. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

Louis the Pious began a few years later in 817 and was to collapse in April 818. Bernard was famously to die as the result of the ritual punishment for treason of blinding, and was possibly buried in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio.[59] The Chronicle of Moissac, a detailed (although late) source for this rebellion, claimed that in 817 Bernard had put soldiers on the passes of Italy to prevent Louis and his men entering the country.[60] It seems possible that the actor of this charter — a man called Rotfrend nicknamed 'Prando' — might have been one of these soldiers given the rarity of Italian charters naming Bernard, the location of his activities close to the northern edge of the *regnum Italiae*, and the fact that he was making a will. Rotfrend's charter is of curious form. Nanno, the notary who wrote up the text, termed it 'dispositio seo ordinatio vel absulutio', an odd combination of testament and formal manumission document, but in the witness list he also termed it *dispositio seo traditio* and *iudicatum*. The text

[59] De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 28–29. Above, Chapter 4.

[60] *Chronicon Moissiacense, s.a.* 817 (ed. by Pertz, p. 312).

narrates a sequence of donations that Rotfrend made, mostly to churches. First, he gave to the oratory of San Quirico in Dervio 'portione mea de Valtellina' comprising vines (*de viniola*) and houses *in insula* (this probably refers to the Olgiasca peninsula jutting out into Lake Como just north of Dorio),[61] and land in Dorio, *Banialla*, Gagino, and Piona (a *domo coltile*).[62] This donation is interrupted by a statement that a man called Punno could buy these properties if he wishes and that the cash (*precio*) he paid would be distributed (to the poor by implication) for the sake of Rotfrend's soul. If Punno did not buy then the property was to devolve to 'sancti Petri pro missa et luminaria me aver parentorum meorum'. Saint Peter's is unidentified but was presumably a small church where Rotfred lived. Additionally, the church of San Protaso in Vercurago should have his property in Vercurago.[63] The location of these properties is very interesting as they form a coherent lakeside group, on the eastern shore of Lake Como, including Vercurago, further south on the eastern side of Lake Garlate below Lecco, as there Lake Como rejoins the Adda. This was, in fact, the main route from the Valtellina to the plain, and Rotfrend terms it throughout the text as his territory (*terredoria*).

Rotfrend also had property in Milan 'super ponte sancti Eustorgio' which he bequeathed to Deusdedit, abbot of Sant'Ambrogio 'ubi eius sancto corpo requiiscet'.[64] However, for the abbot there was the same catch as for the other churches: Rotfrend added another clause offering first pick to Punno, who could buy it from Rotfrend by means of a charter of sale (*cartola legidimam wenditionem*) for two pounds of coined silver, which would then be given to the abbot. If Punno, however, did not want it then the abbot would become the owner and use it to fund Masses and lighting for the sake of Rotfrend's soul. Rotfrend also provided for his 'men', making sure that their obligations to the new owner would be the same as they had been to him. They could also opt to be freed. An earlier charter, presumably listing the men involved, had

[61] San Quirico e Giulitta has a fine eleventh-century campanile. Dervio is overlooked by the remains of a fifth-/sixth-century fort at Castelvedro: Bonora Mazzoli, 'Ricerche di topografia antica 2004–2007', p. 186.

[62] Piona is now the site of a medieval abbey. Before this there was a small church dedicated to Santa Giustina: a ruin of the seventh-century apse survives. This was built for Bishop Agrippinus of Como, *c.* AD 617.

[63] The main Roman road from Bergamo to Como passed through Vercurago, and crossed the River Adda at Calolziocorte/Olginate (see below, Chapter 10).

[64] Why he had land in Milan is not known, but the fact of it is interesting as his base was far away.

already been drawn up ('in anteriore iudicatum instiduit'). The use of the word *iudicatum* strongly implies that this document was the outcome of some sort of dispute, even a political dispute.

Unfortunately, nothing more is known about Rotfrend beyond what this charter records, although the fact that the witnesses were all apparently Valtellina locals may say something useful about Rotfrend's associates.[65] In terms of the wider Sant'Ambrogio corpus this charter is particularly important, for it happens to be the first charter in which an abbot of Sant'Ambrogio can be seen dealing in property, some twenty-five to thirty years after the monastery was founded in the late 780s.[66] This is rather a long gap — a whole generation — and needs explanation. The most straightforward reason is that the monastic community was initially small and remained so, and therefore did not need much land to provide the income needed to sustain its members. Another explanation is that it may just be chance that this is the first charter to record what we could term an 'active' abbot. Quite how the abbot came to meet Rotfrend, what actually happened to the Milanese property, and whether this transaction provided the Milanese community with any other contacts in the valley are all unknown. But it is, given the activities of St Denis in the valley, interesting that Rotfrend was from this area. His legacy to Sant'Ambrogio was surely a sign of his political support for Bernard, Charlemagne's grandson, and those in Milan who were on his side.

As we have seen, two documents definitely record disputes with monastic dependents in the ninth century (822 and 870), and Rotfrend's charter (814) may contain evidence of an earlier dispute. There seems to have been a dispute between St Denis and Count Matfrid too. Two other texts (865 and 918) also evidence nearby dispute cases which involved the monastery in this region. Dispute records, although highly formulaic in structure and language, have come to be regarded as amongst the most useful sorts of charter because they reveal the views of those who opposed the monastic institutions which generally preserved, and sometimes drew up, our records.[67] They provide clues with

---

[65] Benedict, son of Orso; Lobo, son of Orso of *Baregias*; Raginald, son of Arioald of *Trevesine* (Tremezzina?); Lamessio, son of Lobo of *Angilo* (nr. Cassano d'Adda?); Sigeprand, son of Deusdedit of *Watingo*; and Lazaro (who alone signed his own name).

[66] Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', p. 292.

[67] Davies and Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*; Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*; Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*; Brown, *Unjust Seizure*; Brunsch, 'The Authority of Documents in Early Medieval Italian Pleas'; Costambeys, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy'. For further bibliography, see Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records', pp. 15–16.

which to read against the master narrative. In the Valtellina example these disputes, like many others,[68] are particularly revelatory because they deal with the daily lives of the poor who, although their labour sustained elites, are still relatively neglected by early medieval historians.[69] It is clear that these particular dispute records are contentious texts which should be read against the grain in order to get at the truth. The *notitia* of 870 provides a classic example of this:

This is a notice of how (*notitia qualiter*) Leo, priest and monk of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, and also Magnefred of Delebio in the territory of the Valtellina, dependant of that monastery (*pertinens eidem monasterio*), came to an agreement together, in the presence of Peter, venerable abbot of the same monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, and of Ambrose, and Ambrose, judges of the district of Milan. And present with them were Leo the silversmith, son of Grasebert of Trivulzio, Odelbert of Lampugnano, Odelfred, son of a certain Iselprand of Concorezzo, Achinald, the notary, Bonus of *Pariano*, Rodebert and Autpert vassals of Sant'Ambrogio, Aribert, clerk of *Soreliate*, and others. Leo, priest and monk, who spoke on behalf of the aforesaid monastery against the aforesaid Magnefred, said that Magnefred himself had in sin come upon a certain Meleso, who was an *aldius* of that monastery from the village of Delebio, and that he had killed him; whence justice should be done on behalf of the monastery (*unde a parte ipsius monasterii iustitia facere deberet*). But Magnefred, confessing straightaway (*statim concredens*), spoke on his own behalf and declared this: 'This is the truth, I cannot and do not seek to conceal it, because when sinfully I fought with the *aldius* of the monastery, I hit him, whence Meleso died; but I have so few moveable goods with which I could give or pay the fine; but I have a little property in the form of my small house and its land: I beg that you, on behalf of the monastery, should accept and have that which there is, for this fine. But since that which I have is hardly of sufficient value for the fine, you should receive of my movables, which I have, to the point at which the fine is paid off'. So, being present, Magnefred himself handed over (*per fuste de manu*) into the hand of the aforesaid Leo, priest and monk, who was present on behalf of the monastery, [those things] for that fine which he had incurred because, as he had said, he had killed Meleso, *aldius* of the monastery. And for that reason he gave for that fine those little houses and property, to fulfil the composition as was owed according to the laws, and as that property had so little value, Magnefred himself owed, from those movables which he had, the amount necessary to pay off the fine, to the monastery. This was done at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio,

[68] Albertoni, 'Law and the Peasant'.

[69] Banaji, 'Aristocracies, Peasantries and the Framing of the Early Middle Ages'; Faith, 'Forces and Relations of Production in Early Medieval England'; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*. Panero, 'Servi, coltivatori dipendenti e giustizia signorile', *Servi e rustici*, and *Schiavi, servi e villani nell'Italia medievale* are useful overviews of peasant dissent.

in the twenty-first year of the lord Louis emperor, in the month of November, in the fourth indiction. Ambrosius the notary was present. Bonus was present. Odelfred was present. I Aribert the clerk was present. I Adalbert was present. The mark of the hands of the above-mentioned Rodebert and Audepert, who were present. I Rachibert the notary wrote out this record and was present.[70]

From this text it is clear that by 870 at Delebio Sant'Ambrogio's workforce was servile and that there people returned the fruits of their labour to the main estate centre at Dubino (and from there presumably to the nearby market at *Haenohim* if that still functioned at this date). Clearly, most if not all of these people were poor, lived in simple huts, and owned few possessions which was of course the norm across Carolingian Europe. In this case the voice of poverty is heard in Magnefred's sad little speech:

> Hoc veritas est, velare non quero nec posso, quia in peccatis, dum me cum ipse Melesone aldione istius monasterii commisi, sic eum ferivi, unde Melesus [*sic*] mortuus fuit; sed minime tantum habeo de mobilibus, unde ipsa compositio dare aut persolvere possum; sed habeo in aliquantulum de casellula et terrula mea: peto ut eam, in quantum est, pro ipsa compositione a parte istius monasterii recipere debeatis de mobilia mea, in quo habeo, recipere et habere debeatis. Sed in quantum minus est valente de ipsa compositione, dum usque habeo, recipere debeatis de mobilia mea, in quo habeo, usque ad ipsa compositione implendum.

This speech was ignored by the many scholars who have referred to this charter, as it is presumed to be 'formulaic'. While it is impossible to be sure if these were Magnefred's actual words, it is possible that they were something along these lines. Magnefred would have spoken them in his vernacular, not in the more formal Latin which has come down to us, but it would not have been difficult for Rachibert the scribe to have translated from one to the other. Magnefred told his story with some passion in the first person whereas the monastery's position was set out coolly in the third person:

> Eo quod ipse Magnefredus in peccatis venisse super quondam Melesone, qui fuit aldius ipsius monasterii de suprascripto vico Alebio, et sic eum occidisset, unde a parte ipsius monasterii iustitia facere deberet.

It would seem that someone chose the rhetorical devices of this text carefully with the result that Magnefred effectively condemned himself. It was a simple but effective *literary* decision and fairly represents the probable drama of an

---

[70] *MD* 122, discussed by Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records', pp. 28–29, with further bibliography.

unusual occasion, for what might be termed 'domestic' killing is very rarely recorded in early medieval European charters.[71]

Although this *notitia* was not included by Manaresi in this edition of official Italian court records from this period because it is supposedly a 'private' document, it remains well known to those familiar with Italian court cases. Antonio Padoa Schioppa, in a wide-ranging survey of local Carolingian judicial practices, characterized it as 'a very rare example of private composition for murder'.[72] Chris Wickham, while acknowledging that the case originated in a violent crime, suggested that the criminal aspect was incidental to the real business of the transfer of land and movables from Magnefred to the community of Sant'Ambrogio.[73] In content it appears a straightforward case of a type occasionally seen in Carolingian Europe.[74] Wendy Davies discussed two very similar cases of the 860s in which the abbot of the monastery of Redon in East Brittany secured civil compensation for murdered dependants, arguing that killing of low-status people was not perceived primarily as a criminal act but as simply damaging the monastery's material interests, which provided a useful pretext through which the monastery could extract compensation for damage.[75] Magnefred's case is similar because Abbot Peter *did* gain land from Magnefred, land transferred to monastic ownership through a ritual process publically performed ('per fuste de manu tradavit in manu') which is paralleled in a few other Sant'Ambrogio charters.[76] However, in this case the abbot presided over the court, developing his judicial powers as well as those of lordship in this area at this time, where court cases were normally conducted by counts and their agents, as in the examples from 822 (Milan), 865 (Como), and 918 (Milan).

---

[71] There are two others in this collection. (1) Persendus reached an agreement with his cousin Toto in 789 (*MD* 29) for compensation for a *servus* who he had killed. (2) The brother of the deacon Anspert (the future archbishop) had killed someone, and before his brother could progress further in the church hierarchy, he was required in 857 by the Emperor Louis II to pay the compensation owed (*MD* 98).

[72] Padoa Schioppa, 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese nell'età Carolingia', p. 12; Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), p. 58 n. 18; Keller, 'Der Gerischtsort in oberitalienischen und toskanischen städten', p. 31; Wickham, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework', p. 118, n. 25.

[73] Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*, p. 118.

[74] Cf. Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento nell'Italia centrale*, pp. 20–29.

[75] Davies, *Small Worlds*, p. 196. Brown, *Unjust Seizure*, p. 181, discusses a similar case from Bavaria in 853.

[76] Visconti, 'Su alcune "notitiae investiture" contenute in *CDL*'.

Wickham's conclusion that 'there is nothing unusual about the procedure of the case' is not the whole story because it denies that the form of this particular record is relevant to understanding its meaning. Within the small dossier of Sant'Ambrogio charters dealing with the Valtellina as in the wider charter corpus, this record is definitely unusual as a record. The charter is not an original but an *un*authenticated copy of the late ninth or early tenth centuries (AdSM sec. IX 82),[77] which takes as its diplomatic model the 822 *notitia* already referred to (AdSM sec. IX 11). That text also recorded the resolution of a dispute between the Sant'Ambrogio monks and some villagers in nearby Cercino:

> When they met together, that is Dominicus and his wife Luba inhabitants of the Valtellina, in a place called Cercino and on the other side Nonio monk and *prepositus* of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio situated outside the wall of the *civitas* of Milan, in the presence of Gausarius the *gastald*, Aribert *locopositus* of the *civitas* of Milan, Johannes the *scabinus*, Rachibert the priest, Tholomeo and Autpert of the Porta Argentea, Marchardraxo, Odelfrit of *Calvariate*, and many others in that gathering, they said that he should make a signed pledge to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio that the aforementioned Luba wife of Dominicus called 'Camonno' together with her relations should become dependants of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio, and whilst the two sides were meeting in that gathering, as had been arranged, so those hearing the case asked the aforementioned Dominicus called 'Camonno' if he could vouch by oath for the free status of Luba his wife or not. Dominicus spoke and declared that he could not vouch or swear for either her free status or that of her relations, Ursus, Martinus, Bonellus, Lubus, Arasuronda, and Laurentia, and so he declared in the presence of the aforementioned men that Luba and her relatives should be dependants of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio. After this declaration and statement had been made, he appeared before those who were hearing the case and they judged that as a consequence of the statement of Dominicus, Nonio monk and *prepositus* should be reinvested with Luba his wife and her relatives, so Dominicus called 'Camonno' being present invested Nonio monk and *prepositus* of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio with Luba his wife and her relatives by his hand. And in this way the dispute was ended; then so that the decision be implemented, the aforementioned men required I Jona to write this notice for the perpetual stability of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and it was read to them. Drawn up in Milan, in the ninth year of Louis our lord emperor, on the twentieth day of May, in the fifteenth indiction, gladly. So that we remember the above things properly, we have affixed the following below. Luba herself was asked by those hearing the case if she could vouch for her own free status; she

---

[77] Unauthenticated copies are rare within the collection, as notarial 'authentication' gave legal validity to the copy.

declared as her husband had done that she could not vouch for her own free status or that of her relatives and that therefore they should be dependants of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio. Sign of the hand of Gausarius *gastald*, who was present at these events. I Aribert was present. I Autpert was present. Sign of the hand of Marchidraxo, who was present at these events. I Johannes was present.

The monastery of Sant'Ambrogio had claimed that Dominicus and his wife Luba were of servile status and owed dues to the monastic community accordingly. The couple were apparently asked separately to declare their free status in the court room. Neither did so. Their own words were not reproduced in this text, but its scribe Jona (almost certainly an Irish monk with a name such as this),[78] who wrote 'this notice for the perpetual stability of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio' (a standard formula), made sure that it was absolutely clear in the final text that Luba had uttered her own servility:

> Quod superius menime memoravimus, subter adfiximus. Interogada est ipsa Luba ad suprasciptis audidoribus, ut si ipsa aliquid poterint perportare de sua livertate; qui professa est et ida manifestavit sicuti iugale suo Dominico, quod nulla de sua livertate nec de sua agnitione facere nec perportare poterit, nisi pertinentis esse deveri suprascripti monasterii sancti Ambrosii.

This passage is a deliberate commentary on the conclusion of the case made within a record which was not an 'official' one dictated by the chairman of the court to his scribe, but instead drawn up by a monk locally to record the victory of his own monastery. It appears that the monks wished in future to remember total capitulation, exemplified by the suppression of the losing side's actual 'oral performance' within the written record itself.

If the *notitia* of 822 provided the model for the scribe (Rachibert) who drafted the 870 record (not of course necessarily in 870 but after), it cannot be certain on diplomatic grounds alone that either the content or the form of the 870 *notitia* is above suspicion. Indeed its form does not match its content in the way one might suppose because, although on the surface it appears to record a court case using the normal formulae, structure, and phrasing of north Italian *placita* records, the text as we have it follows only some of the standard diplomatic structure common to such records in Italy. Generally speaking Italian cases begin by recording judges and witnesses; then the respective parties appear and put their arguments; and then the judges decide their verdict,

---

[78] Kershaw, 'English History and Irish Readers in the Frankish World', pp. 140–41, on Irish scholars at Milan in the mid-ninth century.

which is announced to the assembled company.[79] This 870 *notitia* is truncated in one very important respect, for it omits the standard clause announcing the court's decision and simply assumes that the abbot decided the case. Direct comparison with the phrases announcing the court's decision in the 822 *notitia* establishes this point clearly:

> ida iudigaverunt ut secundum Dominicioni professione vel manifestione revistire deverit de suprascripta Lubane coniuge sua vel agnitionis eius suprascripto Nonio munachum et preposito ad parte monasterii sancti Ambrosii [...]. Et in eo modo finida est hanc altregatio; unde qualiter acta vel deliverada est causa, hunc notitia pro perpetim firmidatem ad parte monasterii sancti Ambrosii suprascripti audi-doribus mihi Ionam scrivere admonuerunt, et eorum relicto est.

In 870 there is no such wording, good evidence that the actual scribe may have been a monk rather than a professional *notarius*, a monk who perhaps assumed that abbots could pass judgement alone in cases involving their dependent workers. This is a clear example of 'private' justice, in an area and at a time where 'public' justice was ostensibly still going very strong.[80] There is a more serious problem with the 870 'dispute record': it does not in fact record a dispute. Its quirky form and content suggest an unofficial redaction copied in the late ninth or early tenth century,[81] a period when the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio was putting great pressure on its tenants elsewhere, notably at the estate of Limonta on the eastern branch of Lake Como, partly through its sophisticated use of written documents.[82]

Why this *notitia* was made and why this remarkable statement from a lowly dependent is included in this record is impossible to establish with certainty. It may be that by including reported direct speech Rachibert the notary (*notarius*, i.e. a trained person) was trying to mimic the more formal style of a *placitum* record, to give this *notitia* greater authenticity should it ever be needed as evidence. Maybe notaries and other scribes were part of a written culture which valued the spoken word highly, and automatically included it in the texts they

---

[79] Balzaretti, 'The Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement', p. 2. Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, pp. 109–13; Albertoni, 'Law and the Peasant', pp. 417–21.

[80] Intelligently questioned by Costambeys, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy', pp. 139–40.

[81] A good example of the 'creativity in the use of documents in disputes' discussed by Costambeys, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy', p. 151.

[82] Below, Chapter 9, with references.

drafted? Or perhaps his monastic employers asked him to include it, because the monks wished to make sure that the killer Magnefred got his just reward in heaven?[83] Otherwise, it is hard to see why such a process was recorded in writing at all: surely Magnefred could not realistically hope to challenge the abbot's judicial power? The answer implicit in Petrucci's 1984 article (above, Chapter 2) which is supported by the researches of Charles Radding, his translator, into court procedures in ninth- and tenth-century Italy, that documents were made as the result of a 'process entirely internal to [their] own making' (or to put it another way *for their own sake*), is unconvincing.[84] For Magnefred to travel all the way to Milan, for the abbot to take the time to hear his evidence, and for a record to be produced would seem to have been an unnecessarily protracted way of acquiring a very small amount of property, in Magnefred's diminutives 'casellula et terrula mea'.

Even if Wickham is correct that in most instances cases come to court because 'there is no other means by which a party can get his way',[85] this cannot have been true in Magnefred's case, for as a monastic dependant Magnefred had few legal 'rights', although it is unlikely that this was a concept known to him or anyone else involved. He was in a very weak practical position. He had little or no direct access to the written word, by this time an increasingly important method of proof in disputes, partly because of the record-keeping activities of monasteries.[86] He was not, apparently, given a copy of the *notitia*, as was customary practice. Therefore, it was highly unlikely that either Magnefred, as a dependant of the monastery, or his family could have successfully disputed in the future any accusations made against him by the monastery in these circumstances, meaning that this is not an example of a record made and later kept to ward off potential challenges from disgruntled relatives.

Here — as throughout this book — it should be stressed that single records (the stuff of microhistory) are part of a wider world (macrohistory). This means that it is for good reason that the 822 *notitia* is the first complete dispute record in the Sant'Ambrogio collection.[87] Political changes in the wake of

---

[83] Clanchy, 'Medieval Mentalities and Primitive Legal Practice', p. 88: 'If there was going to be a Last Judgement, it was not irrational to prepare documentation for it'.

[84] Petrucci, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy*, p. 239; Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence*, pp. 44–63.

[85] Wickham, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework', p. 118.

[86] Brown, 'Charters as Weapons' and 'When Documents Are Destroyed or Lost'; Brunsch, 'The Authority of Documents in Early Medieval Italian Pleas'.

[87] Excepting the fragmentary *ChLA*, XXVIII, no. 847 (= *MD* 12), itself a dispute about

Bernard's rebellion were underway, and in the following year a new archbishop took over (Angilbert II) and other significant charters appear in the collection (e.g. in the Gnignano dossier, above, Chapter 7). The 822 *notitia* is interesting within a wider political context as well, because it shows the Milanese monastery aggressively subjugating its workforce in a valley which Charlemagne had once donated to the monastery of St Denis in 775. Perhaps Sant'Ambrogio's abbot feared possible future challenges from St Denis (or Sant'Abbondio) to his community's rights in the area, challenges certainly made later by the monastery of Reichenau over land in Limonta. The *notitia* created written proof of Luba's unfreedom and that of her family and their labour where none had existed before, and this document would help to ward off others who might claim rights over these and similar people.[88] For people like this with so many cards stacked against them, written records must have seemed yet another weapon to enforce their servitude.

In the early ninth century, if we accept that the surviving charters represent a real situation, Sant'Ambrogio had fewer interests in the Valtellina than the major local churches, notably Sant'Abbondio in Como,[89] and much larger and wealthier communities such as Santa Giulia in Brescia and Saint Denis. By the late tenth century smaller communities including Santa Cristina in Olona also had land around Lake Como.[90] There is sparse evidence for what its servile workers were producing, although wine is certainly evidenced. Although Sant'Ambrogio acquired further lands locally in the 830s, all its land at this period could still be managed effectively from a single estate (*curtis*) at Dubino (two kilometres north of Delebio, Map 10). A charter of December 837 (*in beneficario nomine*) sheds more light on productivity as it records an agreement between the monastery, represented by Abbot Gaudentius, and Crescentius from Delebio (Magnefred's village) by which the latter became the estate-man-

servile status at Campione dating to around one hundred years earlier; Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 312–14.

[88] Panero, *Schiavi, servi e villani nell'Italia medievale*, p. 52, argues that Luba and her children were merely *pertinentes*, never *servi* or *ancillae*, and that mixed marriages of the sort recorded in this document were a means to escape the more servile sorts of bond.

[89] The early private charters of this monastery have been lost (Perelli Cippo, 'Ricerche sul borgo di Velate') and the surviving Carolingian grants in favour of it and of the bishops of Como are probably not entirely authentic (Besta, 'I diplomi regi ed imperiali per la chiesa di Como'; Besta, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, pp. 127–41; Odegaard, 'Imperial Diplomas for Menaggio and Comacina'; *CDL* 94, 101, 104, 189, 205, 281, 863).

[90] Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 37–38, including Dervio, Dario, Gravedona, and Menaggio.

ager (*actor et scarius*) for the Dubino *curtis*, responsible for renders of wheat, wine, mutton, wool, cheese, and poultry.[91]

> (December 837). I Crescentius, son of a certain Marifrit from Valtellina territory, of the village called Delebio, promise and pledge to serve and obey you Gaudentius venerable man, abbot of the monastery of Saint Ambrose, where his holy body lies, and your successors, for five complete years, and to look after, govern, and work without negligence the estate under monastic jurisdiction sited at Dubino with all things and tenants which pertain to it, as becomes a good agent and manager; and so I promise that if any neglect or worsening be done to those properties or the income reduced compared to that previously returned, that I and my heirs should restore everything in double [quantity] from my own property to the monastic side. Moreover the monastic side should have the power to take a pledge from me and confiscate my property, just as if I were one amongst the other tenants of the monastery, and I must (then) restore everything lost. Moreover I the above Crescentius should submit to the above penalty, and I should retain in return for my service and having agreed to the above in the name of a benefice, such wine and wheat as I used to supply to that monastery in the usual manner, and in the same way wethers,[92] cheese and poultry, which I [also] supplied customarily each year in addition to the wheat and wine, and in advance for an entire year I agree to these arrangements as set out in the charter issued for me hence in the same way, wheat and wine is conceded by me, as is agreed between the parties. Done at the aforementioned monastery gladly.

> The sign of the hand of Crescentius, who asked for this promise to be made, and it was read to him.

> The sign of the hands of Theopald notary and Laudepert inhabitants of the *civitas* of Milan, witnesses.

> I Andreas of Milan subscribe to this promise having been asked by Crescentius, witness.

> The sign of the hand of Paul, son of John of Milan, witness.

> Rotpert notary subscribes to this charter having been asked by Crescentius, witness.

> I Ursus writer of this charter, completed and gave it over afterwards.

This charter, like the two *notitiae* also translated here, is evidence that the production of written documentation was a necessary aspect of the creation of a local servile workforce by an incoming monastic owner in a society directly affected by a relatively recent change of political regime and ongoing political strife. It is with some irony that Crescentius achieved higher social status

---

[91] *MD* 63 (= *CDL* 131, an original enacted at Sant'Ambrogio).

[92] Castrated sheep or goats, usually used to produce wool.
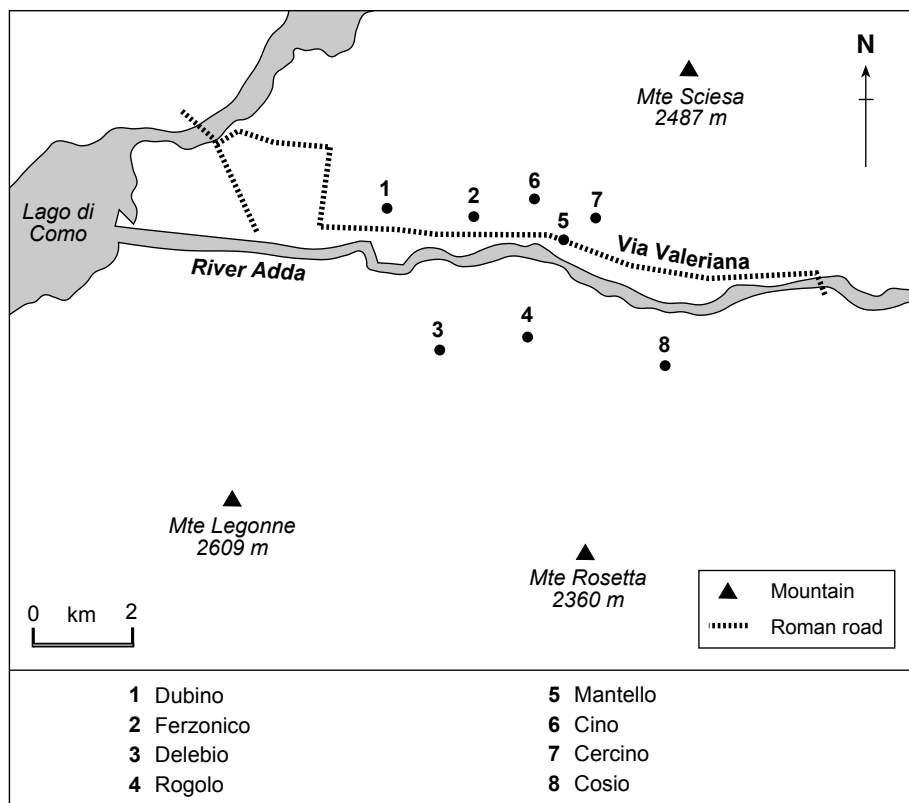
Map 10. Dubino estate. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

within the local community by making himself party to a document which to us appears to involve him in a very one-sided and, from his point of view, demanding agreement. Five years was a very short lease and exposed him to seasonal vicissitudes. A couple of bad harvests and he would be ruined. He accepted that if his management should prove negligent, 'insuper potestatem habeat parte ipsius monasterii meae pignorandum et distringendum, sicut unus ex aliis masarii ipsius monasterii, usque damna omnia restituero'. This latter phrase, easily ignored in the rush to extract 'what happened' from the text, reveals all: Crescentius too had signed away his freedom, albeit of the economic rather than the personal kind.[93]

---

[93] Violante used this charter as evidence of *improving* conditions for dependents in the ninth century (Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), p. 101 n. 44).

While local agents (*scarii*) like Crescentius must have occasionally — or even regularly — liaised with visiting monk-managers from Milan,[94] the lower Valtellina remained firmly within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Como. It was a considerable distance from the apparently more sophisticated society of Milan, the monastery's physical, spiritual, and political home.[95] An estate manager would have to deal with all day-to-day business and had to protect his master's property to the best of his abilities. Other churches had property in Dubino itself, including Sant'Abbondio in Como (see above) and also Santa Maria in Velate, an institution which had sizeable landholdings elsewhere in northern Lombardy by the end of the tenth century, although we do not know when its acquisitions in most places began. A *breve memorationis* relating to this church (dating to before 959) records oil renders from Dubino, and one might imagine that Sant'Ambrogio would also have been interested in oil renders as it was at Campione and especially at Limonta.[96] But olives and their oil are not mentioned by Crescentius in 837 nor in any other local charter until its own eleventh-century inventory. Perhaps it is not straining the evidence too far to suggest that tenants of even humble status may, potentially at least, have been able to play off one church against the other and that this helps to explain the particular interest of Sant'Ambrogio in defining the status of its dependants and the precise nature of their relationships with the monastery in writing. These charters were probably thought necessary to guard against potential challenges from other ecclesiastical institutions. Sant'Ambrogio too had its place in the world, and things may not have been as one-sided as the rather hectoring tone of these texts may lead us to believe. Nevertheless, the tactic of writing things down seems to have paid off: Sant'Ambrogio went on to accumulate so much property in this area that an extended inventory had to be made of it all sometime between the tenth and eleventh centuries.[97] There were no more disputes.

Read alongside other charters of this type this may appear to be the case, but read as part of the corpus it certainly was not.

[94] *Praepositi*, interestingly also first evidenced in this area in the 822 *notitia*.

[95] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 51–89.

[96] Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, p. 16: 'In Dublino Laurentio reddit oleo libras .X. Avico reddit dinarios .VIIII. et oleo libras .III'. The online edition of the Velate charters by Merati, *Le carte della Chiesa di S. Maria del Monte* (which supersedes Manaresi, *Regesto di S. Maria di Monte Velate sino all'anno 1200*, nos 1–12 covering the years 922–93), reads 'Dublate'. Santa Maria was under the direct jurisdiction of the archbishops of Milan. Sant'Ambrogio appears on several occasions in the property bounds of these charters.

[97] *CDL* 1002, discussed by Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', p. 219.

Taken together, these charters suggest that the Sant'Ambrogio monks tried consistently from the ninth to the eleventh centuries to manage their estate at Dubino. Management involved, above everything else, organizing and controlling a workforce drawn from neighbouring settlements. All the documents we have deal explicitly with this issue, beginning with the 822 enserfment of Luba and her family. The Valtellina dossier shows the monastery trying to use the written record to secure subservience, which took legally variable forms: *pertinens* (in 822 and 870), *massarius* (in 837), *aldius* (a 'half-free' man in 870).[98] This very precise choice of vocabulary and of tone is found throughout the Sant'Ambrogio texts where similar (and other) descriptive terms are used for the legal status of dependants.[99] How these people reacted to monastic activities varied according to their own circumstances, but it should not be forgotten that the status which these men and women thought they had may not have been that which the monastery claimed for them in writing (revealing the sometimes literal truth of Le Goff's 'document as lie'). Initially the legal niceties may have mattered more to a monastic community keen to define its status within the wider world than to those over whom monastic power was exercised. But direct intervention by the monks in the lives of their workforce may nevertheless have forced Luba to define her own servility and Magnefred to surrender his meagre livelihood in the hitherto unfamiliar context of an urban court.

The next chapter argues that some of Sant'Ambrogio's dependants who lived at Limonta near Lake Como — which was not very far from the Valtellina — were able for some time to resist monastic ambitions for social control over them because as a community they came to understand the importance of having their obligations to the monastery preserved in writing during the long process whereby the monastery extended its political control over them. Magnefred's case is rather different because it would seem that by 870, seventy-odd years before the Limonta disputes were resolved, Sant'Ambrogio had already achieved significant seigneurial powers in Dubino and the surrounding area. The practical consequences of these powers which impinged most sharply

---

[98] Whether any of these terms denote what we might term 'peasants' is, of course, debatable. Patricia Crone's still compelling definition of peasants is 'rural cultivators whose surplus was forcibly transferred to a dominant group of rulers' (Crone, *Pre-Industrial Societies*, p. 8). There is a stimulating discussion of these issues using north Italian evidence by Panero, 'Servi, coltivatori dipendenti e giustizia signorile', particularly at pp. 568–77. He argues in favour of widespread servitude. Rio, *Slavery after Rome*, pp. 83–85 (*aldius*), 199–201 (*massarius*). Cf. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*.

[99] For parallels, see Chapters 1, 6, and 9.

on dependants were the abbot's occasional chairmanship of court cases involv-
ing them and the existence of a retinue of vassals who accompanied the abbot
on visits to those monastic estates where they worked.[100] Under these circum-
stances — vassals could surely use force if required to — it was fully possible
for the monastery to compel Magnefred to hand over what little property he
had. It remains interesting that this *notitia* was written up later in a form which
paid particular attention to Magnefred's confession and submission in his own
voice, apparently for the sole satisfaction of the monks. Such a document may
help us understand what it was like for an individual peasant trying to remain
independent in the face of lordly pressures, and in this case the fact that the
record was made at all constitutes its real significance.

---

[100] Sergi, 'I rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari', pp. 147–51.

LIMONTA AND INZAGO

This chapter is the last to deal with the significant dossiers within the Sant'Ambrogio collection, and it builds on the analysis undertaken in the previous three chapters to reach some more general conclusions about monastic exploitation of land and people in villages within the hinterland of Milan. The first half is devoted to the estate of Limonta, which is probably the best-known material within the Sant'Ambrogio collection, requiring some brief comments on historiography from the seventeenth century onwards. The history of monastic involvement at Limonta can be usefully compared with the other upland sites in the Sottoceneri (Campione) and the Valtellina (Dubino). That comparison shows that things turned out rather differently at Limonta as it was the site of a bipartite estate on classic lines whereas the other two sites seem not to have been. Certainly, the monastery had a rough ride at its Limonta estate, which was the object of numerous disputes over a long period. In the end the monks were victorious. The second part of the chapter deals with Inzago, on the edge of the plains, and is most sensibly compared with Gnignano and Cologno. Again, this throws up interesting differences as the involvement of aristocrats from north of the Alps was greater at Inzago and Gnignano than at Cologno, for reasons which are not entirely clear. Putting Limonta and Inzago into the same chapter also invites comparison of upland and lowland histories, which is further explored in Part III.

Limonta: Environment, Evidence, and Historiography

In 1624 Roberto Rusca, the Cistercian monk who looked after the estates of Limonta and Civenna for the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio, published a short book describing their many beauties.[1] Rusca painted an idyllic view of Limonta, a hamlet forty kilometres north of Milan, which he knew as Elimonte. The tiny settlement tucked away on the shore of Lake Como boasted wonderfully pure water from copious springs, and hills covered in vines and olives. Its green meadows were filled with flowers. Indeed it was 'the most favoured site in the whole world'.[2] His eulogy continued with a detailed description of the site, which comprised five hills.[3] The land was, according to Rusca, miraculously productive of chestnuts, olives, wheat, panic grass, maize, and good wines, all of it grown 'without undue effort by the labourers' ('senza fatica de lavoratori').[4] His patrician attitude towards the countryside was hardly uncommon among seventeenth-century gentlemen and suggests he did not really understand the plight of the typical farm labourer. Nevertheless, the detail of the description remains useful, unlike his work on Campione printed the following year, because Rusca quoted from the charters he knew in the monastic archive explaining to which parts of Limonta these documents related. He quoted, with reasonable accuracy, from donations of Charles the Fat (21 March 880) and of Otto I (10 October 951).[5] In addition to his interest in Limonta's past he also provided valuable snippets regarding its present: in 1621, for example, the population was 220 souls.[6] He also found time to take a swipe at the errors displayed in other books, notably Francesco Ballarino's *Compendio delle croniche della città di Como*, which had appeared in 1619 and had treated the historical texts far too casually. Rusca's work is valuable because it is the first detailed investigation into the history of one of Sant'Ambrogio's most important estates (Map 11), owned and exploited by the monastery for nearly a thousand years between 835 and 1797. His snapshot of Limonta at a time when traditional

---

[1] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, forty-eight pages in total. Ambrosioni, *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale*, pp. 179–80, has a brief sketch of his life and works with further references. Above, Introduction to Part 2, for Rusca's view of Campione.

[2] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, p. 5.

[3] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, pp. 7–13.

[4] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, p. 13.

[5] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, pp. 26 and 14 respectively.

[6] Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, pp. 26–27.

Figure 16. Limonta, 1886. Engraving. In author's possession.

patterns of land use still existed is an early modern microstudy which can help to decode the early medieval evidence in a 'realistic' way.[7]

Limonta (267 m above sea level) is still a small place (pop. 313) within the larger comune of Oliveto Lario which also includes Onno and Vassena. Figure 16 represents it in a late nineteenth-century engraving, but given the constricted nature of the site, it has not changed much over the centuries. It occupies the eastern side of the land between the two branches of Lake Como.[8] At the present time Limonta and Onno are in the diocese of Milan, but Vassena — midway between them — is within Como diocese, a division which may date back to the early medieval period and may indeed be due to the gift of the Limonta estate to Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. Olive oil production is still a significant part of the local economy as the oil produced here is highly prized for its quality rather than quantity which is relatively small (DOP Laghi Lombardi-Lario). Paul the Deacon had composed an early poem in imitation of Vergil extolling the virtues of Lake Como in which he praised the olives (and lemons)

[7] Moreno, *Dal documento al terreno*, pp. 38–44, and Balzaretti, Pearce, and Watkins, *Ligurian Landscapes*, pp. 1–6.

[8] The properties of Rotfrand of *Wattingo* (discussed above, Chapter 8) were on the opposite side of the lake, a little further north.
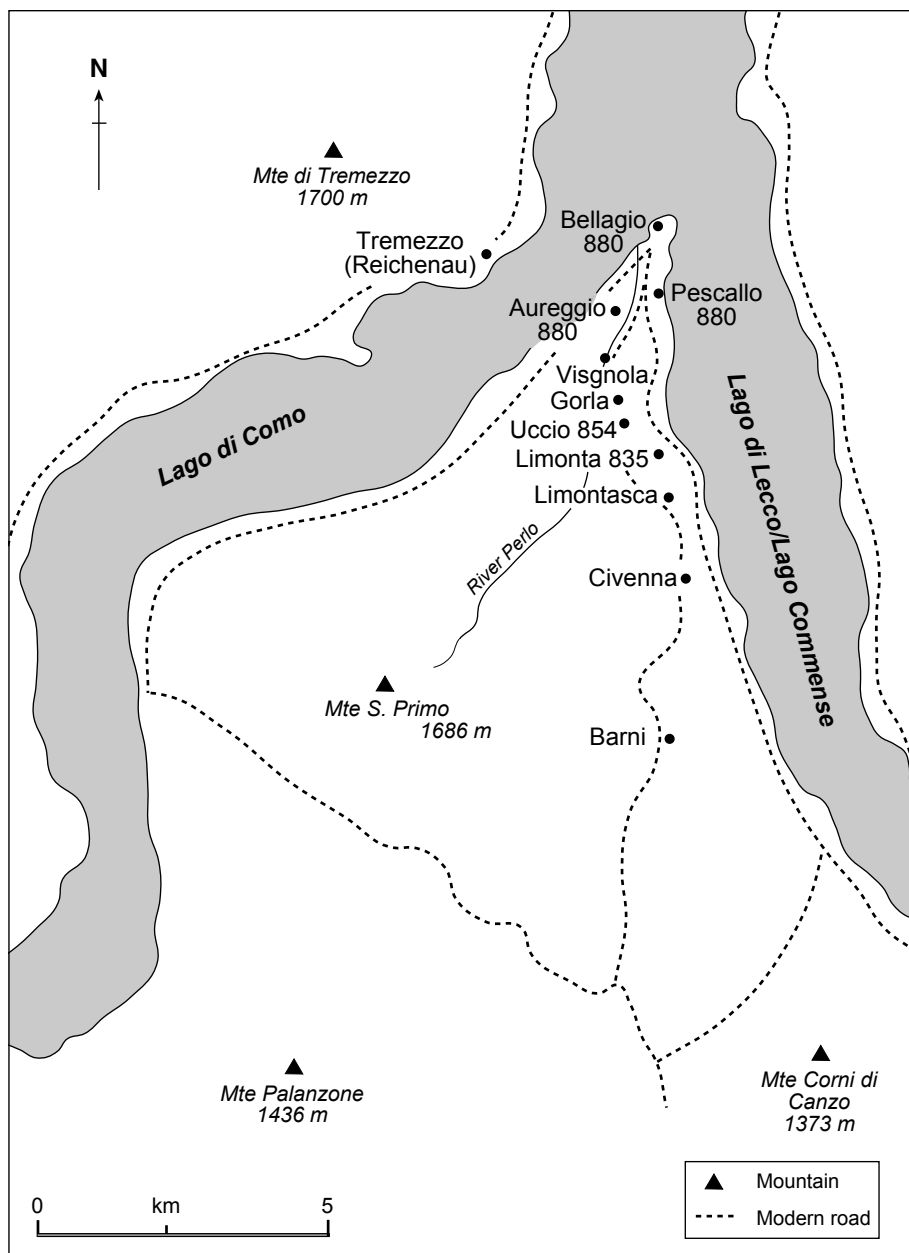
Map 11. Limonta estate, *c.* 880 AD. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

which grew on its shores: 'cinctus oliviferis utroque es margine silvis; numquam fronde cares cinctus oliviferis' (On both sides you are surrounded by woods full of olive trees. You never lack foliage, you are surrounded by woods full of olive trees).[9] This lake had been famous since the Roman period for its mild climate, and several villas were built around it then (and many more since). It is clear that Limonta, like Campione on Lake Lugano, was of interest to kings most probably because of its ability to produce olive oil reliably for liturgical use.[10] But it is possible that this specialization may also have been developed to supply the wider market. In this respect the Limonta documents reveal telling details about the cultivation of the local landscape, as will become clear.

The surviving sequence of charters begins in 835 when Limonta was the focus of a centrally-organized, productive estate which had been transferred from Carolingian to monastic ownership on 24 January of that year in a grant made by Lothar I.[11] The estate was divided into demesne and outlands in 'classic' bipartite Frankish fashion.[12] However, caution is advised here, as evolution and adaptation was more typical of Carolingian estate organization than stasis.[13] It is unclear both how and when the Carolingians acquired Limonta (or indeed how it was organized before 835), but given its location it was probably part of the Lombard fisc and thus acquired as a result of Charlemagne's conquest, as was the Valtellina.[14] A reconstruction of its early medieval history is possible from a dossier of twenty-two documents which was kept at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio (Table 24).

---

[9] Lines 9–10, trans. Kurt and Renate Smolak (presented in Session 1316, Leeds IMC, 9 July 2014). Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus*, pp. 1–6, found in several ninth-century manuscripts including St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 899, fols 5–6 an important book of ninth-century poetry produced at St Gallen (digitized at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0899/5/0/Sequence-703>). Paul also referred to the island within Lake Como (*Larius*) in *HL* v 38, to which Cunincpert fled during the rebellion of Alahis against him. This is now Isola Comacina, although Paul did not call it that (Carminati and Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense', pp. 19–22, 33–35).

[10] Fouracre, 'Eternal Light and Earthly Needs' is crucial for *luminaria*. Cf. Fouracre, '"Framing" and Lighting'.

[11] Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40', pp. 237–39.

[12] Toubert, 'Il sistema curtense'; Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, pp. 33–49; and especially Devroey, 'The Economy', pp. 117–23. For an assessment of the origins of this type of rural organization which stresses the dynamic nature of estate structures, see Halsall, 'From Roman *fundus* to Early Medieval *grand domaine*'.

[13] Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, p. 33.

[14] Darmstädter, *Das Reichsgut in der Lombardei und Piemont*, pp. 97–103, beginning with Paul the Deacon's references to Isola del Lario.

Table 24. Limonta charters, *c.* 835–998. Documents preserved as originals
          are highlighted in **bold**.

Document Number	Date	Form and Place of Redactions
MD 61 (late 9–10 c)	Before 24 January 835	*Breve inquisitionis*
MD 61a (late 9–10 c)	Before 24 January 835	*Invenimus in pago Mediolanensi villa que vocatur Lemunta*
MD 57	**24 January 835**	***Diploma*, Lothar I** (Pavia)
MD 61b (late 9–10 c)	After 24 January 835	*Breve de corte Lemunta* (Sant'Ambrogio?)
MD 58 (13 c auth.)	March 835	*Preceptum*, Angilbert II (Milan)
MD 59	May 835	*Diploma*, Lothar I (Pavia)
MD 60 (10–11 c)	**May 835**	***Diploma*, Lothar I (Pavia)**
MD 92	**February 854**	***Cartola vinditionis*** (Lecco)
MD 118 (12 c)	February 866	*Preceptum*, Tado (a forgery)
MD 139	**November 879**	***Brevem securitatis et firmitatis seu ad memoriam retinendam*** (Uccio, Limonta)
MD 141	**21 March 880**	***Diploma*, Charles the Fat**
MD 143	**30 March 880**	***Diploma*, Charles the Fat**
MD 144 (late 12–13 c)	17 May 880	*Notitia pro causa memorationis* (Como)
MD 146 (9–10 c) and 146a (O)	**30 November 882**	***Notitia pro securitate ipsius monasterii*** (Limonta)
MD 148	**December 884**	***Cartola venditionis*** (Isola Comacina)
MD 152	**July 885**	***Cartula ordinationis*** (Milan)
MD 157 (12 c)	893	*Preceptum*, Anselm (a forgery)
MD 160	**October 896**	***Notitia pro securitate ipsius monasterii*** (Sant'Ambrogio)
CDL 416	**July 905**	***Notitia pro securitate ipsius monasterii*** (Bellano)
CDL 417 (10–11 c)	July 905	(*notitia*) (Milan?) (a forgery?)
CDL 427 (frag. O)	*c.* **908**	**(*notitia*)** (Pavia)
CDL 596	**10 October 951**	***Diploma*, Otto I**
CDL 625 (10–11 c?)	September 957	*Charta concordiae* (Milan) (a forgery?)
CDL 939	5 January 998	*Diploma*, Otto III (Pavia) (fabricated?)

As can be seen from Table 24, the types of document relating to this estate are in large part different from those for any of the monastery's other estates in this period because the bulk were produced by royal or episcopal chanceries rather than by local notaries for 'private' interests. There are seven royal *diplomata*, three inventories apparently associated with these diplomas, three episcopal *precepta*, six *notitiae* recording the outcomes of court cases, and just three 'private' charters (dated 854, 884, and 885). Although over half are preserved as originals, several documents are fabricated or even outright forgeries. This type of documentation and its pattern of survival suggests that this estate was highly valued by the community of Sant'Ambrogio, which was prepared to go to great lengths to keep control of it when challenged both by the Alemannic monastery of Reichenau and by its own dependents.[15] Although the texts were preserved in the monastic archive, nevertheless they give some insight into the views of those who opposed monastic encroachment, as already seen in the examples of Cologno Monzese and the Valtellina.

The Limonta charters have been studied by many historians from the seventeenth century onwards,[16] with a focus on the interactions between lords and peasants, particularly the various disputes about servile status reported between 835 and 998. The dossier is equally instructive about the use of written documents during a protracted dispute process.[17] Close reading of the texts, coupled with an appreciation of how they came to be preserved in the forms we have them, indicates that monastic record-keeping in this instance was not impartial: the monks had an agenda which remained consistent for a long period of time.[18] Scholars have shown that charters from all over western Europe were often altered in the medieval period when these rights were

---

[15] For Reichenau's friendship networks, see Le Jan, 'Reichenau and its *Amici Viventes*', esp. p. 270 on links with some north Italian bishops, including Noting, Bishop of Vercelli. There were no links with north Italian abbots.

[16] Classic discussions: Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 106–08; Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio'; Toubert, 'Il sistema curtense', pp. 32, 52; Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, pp. 66–69. More recently: Balzaretti, 'Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement' (I have changed my mind on several key points); Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 582; Panero, 'Servi, coltivatori dipendenti e giustizia signorile' and *Servi e rustici*; Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, pp. 257–59, 381–82. Cf. Albertoni. 'Law and the Peasant'.

[17] Cf. Brown, 'Charters as Weapons' and *Unjust Seizure*, pp. 200–206; Costambeys, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy'.

[18] Cf. Sennis, '"Omnia tollit aetas et cuncta tollit oblivio"'; Geary, 'Land, Language and Memory'.

challenged as part of a dispute process precisely because they recorded title to valuable rights over land and people. Documents are now regarded as artefacts whose meanings were constructed by use and especially in contexts of performance, like the 'court room' or the 'assembly'.[19] These sites of oral performance allowed documents to have a direct and meaningful impact upon the peasants who encountered them, even though they could not read. This is a significant cultural phenomenon which could do with further study.[20] Some peasants effectively became functionally 'literate' in the *use* of charters even when they could neither write nor read because the increasing demands of monastic institutions for ever greater productivity forced them into contact with situations and locations where document use was common. For them, grasping how written proofs worked became a necessary part of defending themselves from undoubtedly rapacious lords. Before explaining this in detail it is first necessary to outline the Limonta story, which is complicated because crucial texts survive in versions copied many years after the date of the events they report. The first version of the story can be told using those texts which survive as single-sheet originals (highlighted in bold in Table 24), eleven documents in all.

Limonta in 835: From Royal to Monastic Property

The story begins on 24 January 835 when Lothar I donated the Limonta estate to the monastery at the request of his wife Ermengard for the soul of her brother Hugh who was buried in Milan at the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio (*cimiterio scilicet sancti Ambrosii*):

> conferamus quandam curtem nomine lemunta cum casa indominicata et capellam ad se adspicientem dictatam videlicit in honore sancti Genesii, nec non oliveta vel mansas sex cum mancipiis ibidem commanentibus vel aspicientibus triginta quatuor vel omnibus pertinentiis vel adiecentiis suis.

> [We confer a certain estate called Limonta with its demesne house and chapel pertaining to it dedicated in honour of Saint Genesius, and the olive groves and the six farms with their thirty-four dependants who live there or nearby and all appurtenances.][21]

---

[19] Costambeys, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy', pp. 139–40; Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas*, pp. 42–51.

[20] Balzaretti, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records'; Albertoni. 'Law and the Peasant', p. 436.

[21] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 23 (= *MD* 57), AdSM sec. IX 21.

The commemorative context of this particular gift suggests that Limonta's oil was, in part, destined for *luminaria* in the Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio to keep Hugh's memory alive, and perhaps that of Charlemagne as well given the date of its issue — the twenty-first anniversary of this death — and his connection to the monastic community.[22] Ermengard was a controversial figure whose 'evil' role in the demise of Bernard, Charlemagne's grandson, featured as a theme in several influential texts of the period.[23] Given the contention surrounding Bernard, this gift therefore sent a clear message to the community of Sant'Ambrogio about which side it was meant to be on in Lothar's disputes with his father Louis.[24] The security of the donation was suggested by the use of *tenere* and *possidere* (in the phrase 'sub pertinentia eiusdem loci teneant atque possident') which assured possession if not perhaps outright ownership (always a complex issue in this period). As the legal basis of monastic possession, this text was frequently referred to in subsequent disputes and provided the crux of the monastic case against its various adversaries.[25] How Lothar obtained the estate and what was going on at Limonta before 835 is uncertain, but it had probably been fiscal land. The timing of the gift during the expulsion from Francia to Italy of Lothar and many of his followers by Louis in Pious in 834 was obviously important (see above, Chapter 4).[26] Lothar could have been

All editors regard this diploma as completely authentic. Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', pp. 4–5, 9; Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 137; Screen, "Lothar I in Italy, 834–40', p. 238.

[22] 'ad decorem luminis et procurationem ecclesiae ornamenta'.

[23] De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 29, 203.

[24] It is worth noting here that Ermengard's father, Hugh, Count of Tours, had followed Lothar into Italy and died in the autumn of 837. He was buried at Monza. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux*, p. 263. The family are known as the Etichonids who originated in Alsace, which remained their power base: Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 156–60.

[25] It was confirmed by Charles the Fat in 880: 'Confirmamus etiam cohortem Lemontam cum massariciis et pertinentis ad eandem cohortem respicientes, sicut divae memoriae Hlotharius per suum preceptum statuit eidem monasterio ad habendum pro remedio animae suae vel nostrae et regni stabilitate'; by Otto I in 951: 'Confirmamus etiam curtem Lemuntam predicto monasterio, sicuti dive memorie Lotharius rex per preceptum statuit suum, cum casa indominicata et capellam ad se aspicientem in honore sancti Genesii dicatam nec non oliveta vel mansa sex in locis subnominatis: Villa, Selvaniate, Madrunino, Cautunico, Ucto, Civenna, cum servis et ancillis et aldionibus et aldiabus ad eam curtem aspicientibus'; and by Otto III in 998 (*MD* 141, *CDL* 596, and *CDL* 939).

[26] For the last years of Louis the Pious and his relations with Lothar, see De Jong, *The Penitential State*, pp. 46–58, and Screen, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40'.

given Limonta by his father Louis the Pious or have confiscated it from a local owner when he arrived in Italy at this time.[27] His gift was one among many: between 834 and 840 at least twenty-one *diplomata* were issued in his name to Italian recipients, including the monasteries of Nonantola and Farfa, as well as Sant'Ambrogio, in part to reward followers and ensure local support but also at the request of these institutions.[28]

Between 835 and 879 there is no information about the Limonta estate which can be derived from certainly authentic texts. Although this might suggest that Lothar's donation of 835 ensured that Sant'Ambrogio simply took over complete and effective ownership of this valuable property, two entirely genuine charters of sale relating to places nearby show this is not quite what happened. In 854 at least one small lay proprietor was living in Uccio (*vico Auci*, which according to later charters was an outlying part of the Limonta estate), for he sold some land (sixty-seven *tavole*) directly across the lake in Lierna to another layman for 160 denarii.[29] This land was sited at 'Mandronio'. From a charter of 884 it is clearer still that Sant'Ambrogio was not the sole owner in the area, significantly even in Limonta itself. In December 884 at Isola Comacina (conventionally the island on the western branch of the lake not far from Tremezzo, but perhaps a wider territorial descriptor) Lupus, son of Dominicio from Madronino *sito Lemunta*, sold a field and a piece of pasture in Limonta ('in fundo in munte Lemonti vico') to Leonasus, son of Leo from Cantonico *sito Lemunta*. The property was bounded by other properties owned by men from Madronino, Cantonico, and, crucially, *villa Lemunta* itself.[30] This demonstrates that 'Limonta' was not simply a monastic estate (the *villa* with its demesne) but also a *vicus* where freemen lived, who owned and sold property, which at least raises the possibility that monastic claims about the servility (*servitio*) of Limonta inhabitants made at this time in other documents were untrue or at the least partial.[31]

---

[27] A diploma issued on 8 May 835 claims it was *ex fisco nostri* (see below).

[28] Jarnut, 'Ludwig der Fromme, Lothar I und das Regnum Italiae', p. 358. He made another grant to Sant'Ambrogio on 5 May 835 and possibly 8 May 835.

[29] *MD* 92, an original (AdSM sec. IX 52) written at Lecco by Ropertus, *clericus*. Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), p. 100; Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, pp. 148–51. The witnesses included Lundoald, 'vasso de Bernardi ex genere francorum'. It is not clear who this Bernard was.

[30] *MD* 148 (an original, AdSM sec. IX 106). Presumably this and the preceding charter were preserved in the monastic archive because the community at some point acquired them as a result of a purchase of land in Limonta or its immediate vicinity.

[31] The profound differences between medieval and modern concepts of truth need to be borne in mind of course: cf. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, p. 3. As does Devroey's point that the

Limonta Disputed: 879–910

The main sequence of charters commences in November 879, thirty-five years after the initial grant with a 'breve securitatis et firmitatis seu ad memoriam retinendam',[32] which records that Peter of Seprio and Adelprandus, two vassals of Appo (himself a vassal of Charles the Fat), went to Limonta (to the 'casam et curtem illam in Lemunta justa laco Comense et nominatur Ucto' [Uccio], which was the house of Ursevert and Johanne, sons of Aribert) with the abbot of Sant'Ambrogio.[33] Abbot Peter produced a *preceptum* (i.e. diploma) of Lothar (presumably that dated 24 January 835) and a *diploma* of Charles the Fat (which is now lost), and both documents were shown to those present and then read out aloud ('ostendens ipso Petro abba preceptum [...] legebatur').[34] The crucial clause from Lothar's diploma is quoted almost verbatim. Then the house in Uccio and the inhabitants to which the texts referred were transferred from the control of Appo with Abbot Peter's consent to that of the *missi* Peter of Seprio and Adelprandus in a ritual ceremony 'per columna de eadem casa et limite ostii'.[35] It would seem that Appo had held the land as a benefice from the monastery, possibly for a long time, and although the community's sense of ownership was firmed up by this document ('ut justa dona predictorum regum in eundem persisteret monasterium'), Uccio at least was to be literally farmed out to these two laymen.[36] The performance of the ritual transfer and the written record which turned that act into documented history were meant to ensure that the local inhabitants witnessed the event and that the matter was seen by all to be at an end.[37] Leo, as a representative of the group of tenants,

---

personally 'free' could nonetheless be liable for 'servile' labour services: Devroey, 'The Economy', p. 119.

[32] *MD* 139 (an original, AdSM sec. IX 98 = *CDL* 291). Bartoli Langeli, 'Private Charters', pp. 216–17, and Bartoli Langeli, 'Sui "brevi" italiani altomedievali', p. 14.

[33] It is possible that Peter had some official role within the comital organization of Seprio.

[34] The importance of reading aloud is noted by McKitterick, 'Latin and Romance', p. 140.

[35] Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', p. 5.

[36] The meaning of *beneficium* has been thoroughly reconsidered by Fouracre, 'The Use of the Term *beneficium* in Frankish Sources' in the context of early medieval gift-exchange (also Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 87–89). It was discussed in the mid-ninth century by Hincmar who cautioned against kings who might have too close an involvement with ecclesiastical lands (Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, pp. 248–49). The early history of the Limonta estate perhaps falls into this category.

[37] Visconti, 'Su alcune "notitiae investiture" contenute in *CDL*' gathers together all the evidence for these ceremonies which consisted of walking the bounds of the property and pick-

used his hand to symbolize the consent of the whole community to the ritual transfer. What happened next must therefore have surprised the monks.

The reference in this document to an existing grant by Charles the Fat made before November 879 is interesting as Charles had at that time only recently taken over as king in Italy from his brother Karlmann.[38] If this grant really existed it is now lost, but there is good reason to suppose that Charles was in the area as he tried at this point to intervene in the ongoing dispute between Archbishop Anspert of Milan and Pope John VIII. Four months later, on 21 March 880, Charles the Fat did issue a *diploma* of confirmation to memorialize Lothar and himself (*pro remedio*) and in response to the intercession of his archchancellor Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli and one of Milan's suffragans.[39] The right to hold an inquisition about their properties was also granted to the community.[40] Charles's diploma provoked a rapid response from the monks of the distant but powerful monastery of Reichenau — an institution he had personally favoured — and both monasteries came to court before Charles in the cathedral of Como on 17 May 880.[41] The document (no doubt controversially) described Como as a town within the County of Milan, and so it was correct juridically to hold a dispute about property within the county here, but it was also presumably a more neutral venue than Milan itself, politically dominated by the excommunicated Archbishop Anspert. The king had ordered an *inquisitium* of local men to decide which monastery owned Limonta, demonstrating clearly the political sensitivity of the case given that Charles had

---

ing up earth or sticks as signs of possession. Cf. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas*, pp. 44–46.

[38] MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, p. 91. Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 11a.

[39] *MD* 141, AdSM sec. IX 100 (= Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 21). Liutward's career is reassessed by MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 178–85.

[40] 'Ubicumque autem et undecumque necesse habuerint, tamquam de dominicatis nostris ita de rebus ipsius sacrati loci vel familiis inquisitionem fieri volumus, ita dumtaxat ut ipso rum commendatos libellarios seu cartularios absque abbatis ipsius monasterii aut praepositi conscientia contra leges pignerare aut aliquod contrarium facere nullus praesumat'.

[41] *MD* 144 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, doc. VIII, pp. 581–85), AdSM sec. IX 128. Some have thought this a fake (Biscaro, 'Note e documenti santambrosiane', p. 335), others genuine (Manaresi). Although a copy made by Ambrosius of Valnexio in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the diplomatic and language of the copied text is appropriate to its presumed date. It could, nonetheless, have been confected using genuine surviving texts. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 115, and MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, p. 87.

himself confirmed Sant'Ambrogio's possession less than two months before. Men from Bellagio (*villa Belasio*), Pescallo, Auregia, and Visgnola testified for Sant'Ambrogio on the basis of Lothar's *preceptum*, which they knew because they stated they had been present at the document reading and *vestitura* of November 879. For example, the testimony of Conibert was:

> Scio mansos illos sex in Lemonta pertinuisse de curte illa Lemonta, quod pars monasterii sancti Ambrosii tenere videtur a quando dominus Lotharius imperator curtem ipsam in Lemonta a parte sancti Ambrosii per preceptum confirmavit abendum mansos ipsos sex cum omni integritate suorum de curte ipsa Lemonta pertinebant et aspitiebant.

> [I know that those six *mansi* in Limonta pertained to the estate of Limonta, namely the part which the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio was seen to hold from the time when the lord emperor Lothar confirmed by his precept that estate in Limonta to Sant'Ambrogio that those six *mansi* pertained with everything included there to the Limonta estate.]

The case was decided in favour of Sant'Ambrogio. Reichenau persisted with its case, which resulted sometime between 894 and 896 in a hearing in Pavia before two *missi* of King Arnulf. As a result, this time Reichenau was invested with possession of the Limonta *mansi*. This case is reported within a text recording a subsequent case of October 896 when Sant'Ambrogio's representative claimed that the earlier Pavia case had been invalid because Arnulf had prevented Sant'Ambrogio's participation: 'pro persecucione ostili ipsius Arnulfi ad eorum placitum venire' (because of the hostile persecution of Arnulf himself we were not able to attend that hearing).[42] Sant'Ambrogio won in 896 because the Reichenau advocate failed to attend in Milan, probably because the case was heard before Lambert, son of Guy of Spoleto, and Arnulf's rival for the kingship.

The close spiritual relationships which the monastery of Reichenau may have cultivated with some parts of northern Italy are hinted at by entries in its confraternity book for monastic communities in Brescia, Leno (near Bergamo), and Nonantola, but significantly it contained none for the area around Milan or Como.[43] By contrast, when King Lambert died in October 899 he was buried at Sant'Ambrogio, which demonstrates the close connection between this king and the monastery (above, Chapter 4). The Reichenau episode shows how

---

[42] *MD* 160 (= Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 101), AdSM sec. IX 119, an original. Wickham, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework', p. 119 (n. 27).

[43] Autenrieth, Geuenich, and Schmid, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, pp. 97[C1], 105[D1] (Brescia), 3[A2], 19[C1], 111[D1] (Leno), 3[A2], 21[C1] (Nonantola).

a quite straightforward dispute between equals could drag on because of the political instability of late Carolingian Italy which meant that no ruler quite had the power to lay it to rest.[44] The use of written texts in the course of the hearings was vital. In 879 Lothar's diploma had been read out to the rural population, some of whom remembered it in court the following year. Nevertheless, although Sant'Ambrogio exploited Lothar's initial diploma on whatever occasion it could, this document was not enough in itself to give the monastery an unchallengeable right to Limonta in perpetuity. The case with Reichenau was really only resolvable and was in actuality resolved by political intrigue. Crucially there is nothing in the texts to make us think that these *notitiae* were not drawn up entirely according to the normal procedures.[45] As the majority of texts recording the Reichenau case are bona fide originals, there is no reason to think that Sant'Ambrogio was using texts as anything other than legitimate evidence in a courtroom. This is very different in texts concerning the *servi* where their obligations were in dispute, because the monastery had much more to lose in terms of the actual productivity of their property and was in a position to try to take advantage of the dependants' apparent illiteracy and presumed servility. It is not coincidental that after the dispute with Reichenau was concluded, the bulk of the remaining Limonta texts have survived as copies rather than as originals, mainly copies made in the tenth century as will become clear.

Problems with the *servi* first surfaced midway between the two Reichenau hearings in 882,[46] perhaps because they took their chance as a result of the challenges made by Reichenau. That case was heard in town courts, but in November 882 the 'court' physically travelled to the *villa Lemunta* itself where the hearing was conducted by Ariprand (*vicedominus* of Anselm, Archbishop of Milan) and Abbot Peter II of Sant'Ambrogio rather than by royal *missi* or comital representatives. Eleven hand-picked god-fearing *adstantes* were present including two vassals of the abbot (Bonus and Adelgisus) and Andreas (prob-

---

[44] Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 158, and MacLean, "'After his death a great tribulation came to Italy…'".

[45] See above, Chapter 4. Bartoli Langeli, 'Private Charters', p. 217.

[46] *MD* 146 (AdSM sec. IX 104, an original) and *MD* 146a (AdSM sec. IX 104, a ninth-/tenth-century copy of the same text on the same parchment sheet). The original is obscured by ink spillage, which may have been deliberately intended to obliterate the record. On the back of the parchment, in the hand of the copyist, is 'Notitia iudicati: homines de Lemunta qualiter coligere debeant olivas et premere et oleum evegare' (Notice of judgement: in what way the men of Limonta must collect olives and press and transport the oil). In the main text the place names, the verb *reddere*, and the references to Lothar's *preceptum* are all underlined for emphasis. Cf. Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', pp. 8, 11, and 18 (n. 44).

ably the cleric who commissioned the funeral stone of Archbishop Anspert who had died in December 881).[47] None of these men were from the Limonta area: they seem to have been in the archbishop's own retinue. It was, in a very tangible way, a textbook example of seigneurial justice and could well have been very intimidating for the locals.

Sant'Ambrogio claimed that the *servi homines* and their families (forty-seven individuals are named in the text from Civenna, Cantoligo, *Madronino*, and *Selvaniaco*) were tied to the Limonta estate as *servi* ('serfs', of explicitly unfree status), who owed labour services to the estate by virtue of residence there, comprising the cultivation, harvesting, and pressing of olives and the transportation of the oil to the 'curte domni regis Deusdedit' (possibly Desio just north-east of Monza in the Brianza).[48] In support of this position the monastic side produced the *diplomata* of Lothar and Charles (already discussed) and reinforced their statements with a claim that it was a long-established custom (*a lungo tempore*) of the area that these *servi* performed these services. The *servi* acknowledged a requirement to make some return to the monastery but stated that this did not involve and had never involved olive cultivation, even when the estate had been in royal hands (i.e. before January 835). They made it quite plain that they owed no labour service for the estate's principal crop and had never owed it:

> Vere hoc negare non querimus, quia cum lege non possumus, quod aldiones imperialis non fuissemus; et verum est quod ad ipsi augusti in ipsum sanctum locum dati fuimus, et censum reddidimus, et reddere debemus annue de personis et rebus pro aldiaricia in ipso monasterio, sicut nos antea fecimus, et ceteri nostri fecerunt parentes; nam hoc verum non est, quod nos aut nostros parentes vel consortes olivas de prenominatas olivetas coligere aut premere vel evegere debuissent aut debeamus.

> [Indeed we do not seek to deny, because according to law we cannot, that we had not been imperial *aldii*; and it is true that we were given by the emperor to that holy place, and we returned renders, and we should return annually of persons and things *pro aldiarica* to the monastery, just as we did before, and as our parents did; but it is not the case that we or our parents or our wives once had to collect, press, and transport olives from those aforementioned olive groves, and nor should we be obliged to do this.]

[47] Above, p. 217.

[48] Darmstädter, *Das Reichsgut in der Lombardei und Piemont*, p. 330. No reason is given for this identification, although as Desio is midway between Lecco and Milan on the Monza road it is a plausible location. The tenth-century form is *Deusio* (Olivieri, p. 212), and 'Deusdedit' is clearly a scribal error.

When the two sides were asked to produce evidence of their claims, the *servi* could not produce a document, and furthermore the witnesses called to testify to customary practices under oath — five 'nobiles et credentes liberi arimanni' from Bellagio — testified in favour of Sant'Ambrogio on the basis of their knowledge of Lothar's diploma.[49] These free men were those who witnessed the 879 *vestitura*, testified for the monastery in the 880 Como case against Reichenau, and this time won the day for Sant'Ambrogio.

Crucially the case concerned the status and obligations of the monastic workforce in a degree of detail which earlier texts do not lead us to expect. While Lothar's grant of 835 was explicit in terms of ownership, as was normal in royal grants it did not go into much detail about actual renders or labour service obligations. As already seen, the monastery was given rights over a demesne house, its chapel, olive groves, and six *mansi* with thirty-four associated dependants termed *mancipia* (not *servi*). These provisions are consistent with the charter of 879. The 882 *placitum* differs strikingly in the all-encompassing formula with which it refers to these dependants:

> isti prenominati servi homines vel ceteri suorum parentes et vicini ac consortes suorum, omnes habitantes in prenominatas locas [...] sunt servi de ista curte Lemonta.

> [the aforementioned servile men and the rest of their relatives and their neighbours and associates, all the inhabitants of the aforementioned places [...] are serfs of the said estate of Limonta.]

Further examination of the wider context of these events indicates that the monastic claims expressed in the text may have conflicted with the actual situation on the ground. It is clear that in 884 some freemen were still living in Limonta. Probably some of these men were the so-called 'serfs' because in the boundary clauses of the 884 charter men named Lupus, Dominicio, Bonus, and Dognolinus from *Madronico* are listed; these names appear also in the lists of *servi* in the *placita* of 882 (and in one dated 905). The first three names are common in the Sant'Ambrogio collection and may not necessarily be the same people as those referred to in 884, but the name Dognolinus is uncommon, occurring in these three texts alone: it almost certainly represents the same man each time.[50] It is likely that the 884 text provides evidence of at least some of

---

[49] Tabacco, *I liberi del re*, p. 94 (n. 296), and Gasparri, '"Nobiles et credentes omines liberi arimanni"'.

[50] Dognolinus does not occur in any other pre-eleventh-century charters from Lombardy but does occur as Domnulinus in several Lombard period charters from Tuscany: Jarnut,

Sant'Ambrogio's so-called *servi* in possession of property rights in Limonta and its vicinity, and therefore not being *servi* at all. If this was the case it becomes clear why these men were in dispute with the monastery: Sant'Ambrogio was trying to increase its domination over them rather than simply maintaining a long-established status quo as it claimed. This has long been understood. That the monastery achieved this by writing them into the records as *servi* indicates how important the written word was to the community in maintaining its position of power over these men and women.

The 882 *placitum* presents another problem. If there were freemen selling property in Limonta itself, why did they not testify to Limonta customs in court rather than men from Bellagio, a village about two kilometres away? Limonta is such a small place that everyone living there would surely have known about the court case and the customs of the area. A neglected charter of 885 provides the answer, for it records that Ambrosius, son of Ado, a coiner (*monetarius*) from Milan, gave a chestnut wood (*silva castana*) in Bellagio and an olive grove in Quarzano to Abbot Peter of Sant'Ambrogio for the sake of his own soul and Peter's whom he termed *amicus*.[51] This is the first evidence of monastic property in Bellagio, and it is surely not coincidence that it dates to these years. Crucially in the 882 case an Ado of Bellagio (presumably the father of Ambrosius who had perhaps retired to Bellagio) testified as a witness in favour of Sant'Ambrogio. This connection suggests that the monastery was establishing a presence in Bellagio as well as Limonta with the consequence that it acquired friends there who included friends from the city that could and did testify in court cases in Sant'Ambrogio's favour.[52] The odds were slowly turning against the country folk in their battle to remain at least 'half-free' (*aldii*).

However, the dispute was unresolved in 882 and returned to court in July 905 once again locally at the *villa Bellano* ('in laubia solarii sancti Ambrosii cur-

---

Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche, p. 102. There is overlap in this document of (common) names from 'Cantonico' too.

[51] *MD* 152, AdSM sec. IX 110, enacted at Milan. The oil was to be used for *luminaria* in churches under Sant'Ambrogio's control in Capiate (S. Nazaro), S. Siro Olona, and Pavia (S. Pietro). If his wishes were not carried out, then the gift would go to the Milanese monastery of San Vincenzo instead. Cf. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 98. On 'friendship', see Barrow, 'Friends and Friendship in Anglo Saxon Charters'; Althoff, *Family, Friends and Followers*, pp. 73–79 (Carolingian political friendship bonds); Gilsdorf, *The Favor of Friends*, pp. 52–69 (on mutuality in friendship bonds).

[52] Another way of looking at this is to see Bellagio and Limonta as different communities with different interests. On the spatial and social ramifications of this, see Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 193–202.

tis'), an estate of the archbishops of Milan, ten kilometres north of Limonta on the opposite side of the lake.[53] The hearing was chaired by Archbishop Andreas himself in the presence of twenty-seven *adstantes*, a sizeable task-force which may suggest that the monastery was having genuine difficulty in enforcing the decision of 882 upon the recalcitrant *servi*. As might be expected though, the case was yet again decided in favour of the monastic side represented by Abbot Gaidulf and his advocate Adelricus, with the important addition that the monastery claimed that the *servi* had to transport the abbot and his retainers on the lake when required and owed renders which included one hundred *libras* of iron and an increased money render of seventy solidi.[54] Between 906 and 910 the dispute progressed to the royal court at Pavia, where the *servi* again lost.[55] They had again claimed to be *aldii* not *servi* ('aldii esse deberent non servi').[56] Between 882 and 910, therefore, the dispute had evolved from a local monastic difficulty to the court of last resort in the Italian kingdom.

The mechanisms which resolved the dispute in the 950s are less clear as there are no texts at all which refer to Limonta between 910 and 951. What eventually happened was clearly achieved outside any framework of 'public justice' which by this date in northern Italy had effectively ceased as claimants to the Italian throne struggled to maintain their effective political power.[57] It

[53] Two documents report the proceedings of this case. (1) Natale & Piano, doc. 6 (= *CDL* 417, AdSM sec. X 6) was thought an eleventh-century forgery by Manaresi ('Un placito falso per il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano') whereas Natale and Piano suggest it is an original document. (2) Natale & Piano, doc. 7 (= *CDL* 416 and Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 117, AdSM sec. X 7) also an original in their view. Cf. Padoa Schioppa, 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese nell'età Carolingia', p. 23; Panero, *Schiavi, servi e villani nell'Italia medievale*, pp. 54 ('di una falsificazione documentaria per accrescere gli obblighi di non-liberi'), 75 (n. 57), and 93.

[54] Natale & Piano, doc. 7, at p. 433: 'et per lacum Comensem abatem eiusdem monasterii vel sui missi navigare deberemus, adque et pro omni anno retdere [*sic*] debemus ferrum libras centum'. Again the monks argued for custom established *a lungo tempore*. Cf. Tizzoni, 'Mining and Smelting in Medieval Lombardy', pp. 232–33, for iron ore mining in the Alps north of Bergamo from the eleventh century onwards, but not before.

[55] It was heard before Berengar I and the highest nobility. The text which records this — Natale & Piano, doc. 8 (= *CDL* 427 and Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 122, AdSM sec. X 8) is a damaged original, but it is apparent that Sant'Ambrogio won. See Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), p. 107, and Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', p. 11.

[56] Natale & Piano, doc. 8, at p. 436.

[57] Sergi, 'The Kingdom of Italy', pp. 355–57. Cf. Fouracre, 'Carolingian Justice'; Wickham, 'Justice in the Kingdom of Italy in the Eleventh Century'; Fouracre, 'Marmoutier and its Serfs in the Eleventh Century'.

comes as no surprise that Sant'Ambrogio had already employed both its friends and its documents to secure the enforced servitude of the men and women of Limonta and to record the fact for posterity. There was little alternative in a world of shifting allegiances. It was only on 10 October 951 that Abbot Aupald managed to extract a diploma from Otto I with the intercession of his brother Brun which confirmed monastic possession of the Limonta estate, including the *oliveta* and six *mansi* in Villa, *Selvaniate*, *Madrunino*, *Cautunico*, Uccio, and Civenna, together with all types of dependant: *servi*, *ancillae*, *aldii*, and *aldiae*.[58] As this did not specify which sorts of dependant lived in which places, this seems to have been some sort of compromise which acknowledged that some men were indeed *aldii* and some *servi*.

Limonta Remembered: 951–998

Between 879 and 951 the ostensibly original and authentic charters already cited suggest that Sant'Ambrogio successfully increased the level of renders and other obligations on the inhabitants of the Limonta estate. The picture described has been largely based on original texts which are consistent with each other in what they record and which do not appear to have been substantially altered at any point after their initial production. The fact that the names of many witnesses to events were recorded in writing is also important: it was risky to falsify records in the face of living memory which could be performed in public as spoken testimony. However, as memory of Lothar's donation of 835 faded over time, it became possible to present the 'story' of the estate differently in texts which dealt with the moments of greatest pressure on the *servi*: the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries. It turns out that these charters — intended by the monks to tell *the* story of Limonta — in fact provide the clues necessary to uncovering a different, and perhaps truer, story of straightforward exploitation.[59]

The record of Lothar's initial gift of January 835 survives in two other early medieval versions of a *diploma* ostensibly dated 8 May 835, also issued in the

[58] *CDL* 596 (= Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 138), AdSM sec. X 196, an original. The formula of confirmation is close to that of Lothar's in 835 with the significant addition of more precise words for dependents and detailed references to where they lived. Comment: Rusca, *Descrittione di Elimonte*, p. 14; Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', p. 5; Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 170–71; Tomea, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo*, pp. 515–16. Otto had recently declared himself king in Italy (Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 180).

[59] Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters'.

name of Lothar.[60] This text noted the previous donation and added to the earlier donation formula not only the phrase *ex fisco nostri* but also the names of six men who worked the estate, the composition of their families, and an 'olivetula in locis Aucis et Conni' (Uccio, just north of Limonta;[61] *Conni* is unidentified). The resulting donation has, in its detail, the characteristics of a precise inventory of human property.[62] The information presented by this fabricated *diploma* can be linked to three other imperfectly preserved texts which appear to date to the 830s.[63] These were copied on a single parchment sheet by a single scribe at some point in the late ninth or early tenth centuries, most probably at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio.[64] All three texts dealt with inquiry into the detailed obligations of dependants at Limonta and its environs, and are therefore crucial for understanding the wider dispute. None is dated or precisely datable, for each is an extract taken from longer texts now lost. The fact of their loss may itself be significant as they may have been deliberately destroyed.[65] The first text, part of a royal *inquisitium* carried out by three officials to clarify ownership of a *casale* at *Conni*, records that the *archpresbiter* of the church of Missaglia (San Vittore, *c.* twenty kilometres south-east of Limonta in the Brianza hills) had claimed that *Conni* was not part of the Limonta estate but belonged to his church.[66]

---

[60] Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 27 (= *MD* 60), AdSM sec. IX 24a, a tenth-century copy. There is another unauthenticated eleventh-century copy which may be roughly contemporaneous with it, and both were presumably copied at the monastery or on its behalf. While some have argued for the complete falsity (e.g. Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 365) or the complete authenticity of this text, it is likely that both of the additions are later monastic interpolations, which very probably arose as part of the dispute process.

[61] S. Cristina in Olona owned a farm with olives here in the late tenth century: Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, p. 38.

[62] Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', p. 10, points out that the list was made to name family heads, rather as in Carolingian polyptychs. Bartoli Langeli, 'Private Charters', p. 216, and Bartoli Langeli, 'Sui "brevi" italiani altomedievali', pp. 5–8, deals with lists.

[63] Best edition: Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, pp. 19–25 (= *MD* 61, 61a, and 61b; Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, nos III–V), AdSM sec. IX 27 (a twelfth-century copy). These were discussed at some length by Angelo Fumagalli in *CDA*, doc. XLI, pp. 172–78, and Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, pp. 381–82. Cf. Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, p. 154.

[64] Natale in his discussion of this copy argues that it was produced in 905, but this seems a too exact reading of the available evidence.

[65] Sennis, 'Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages'.

[66] The reference to an *archpresbiter* perhaps helps to date the document, as archpriests are not mentioned in Italian capitularies before the reign of Louis II (earliest reference 845/50, Azzara and Moro, *I capitolari italici*, p. 168). Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 334–

It claims that the royal *missi* questioned nine men from Bellagio, asking them what they knew about *Conni*, and that all nine testified for the crown, claiming that for the last forty years the men of *Conni* had grown, harvested, and pressed olives there and had subsequently been accustomed to take the oil by boat to a royal estate in Pavia. As was common in Carolingian inquisitorial procedures across Europe, the outcome hinged on the verbal testimony of elders as to customary practice, and this was reproduced in the text in the form of reported speech (just as in the reports of court proceedings).[67] Hitherto this document has with some reason been regarded by scholars as referring to a time before the Limonta estate was granted to Sant'Ambrogio (835) and thought to provide clear evidence that the status of the workforce of Limonta had already been the subject of some dispute prior to monastic involvement.[68] However it is equally possible that it refers to the inquisition ordered by Charles the Fat *c*. 880 into the history of the estate. Were this the case the references to 'forty years ago' would fit rather well with events which had taken place around 835.[69] The reference to witnesses from Bellagio being favourable to Sant'Ambrogio also ties in with what else is known about that place in the 880s, as has been seen.

The second text is apparently an inventory of the estate made while it was still in royal hands (before 835).[70] It relates that the *villa Lemunta* was in two parts: the demesne, comprising the farmhouse and chapel dedicated to St Genesius,[71] to which five *manentes* returned collectively annual renders of rye,[72] wine, pigs, rams, chickens, and eggs; and the rest, the *terra absens*, where

35, on the roles of late ninth-century archpriests. Bougard (*La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, p. 381) dates this text to between 852 and 865 by identifying the named *missi* in other charters. His identifications are possible but not certain.

[67] Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe*, p. 14, on the importance of unwritten custom in early medieval societies.

[68] Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', p. 12.

[69] It also fitted with the legal requirement that church possession in disputes about possession between churches (in this case Sant'Ambrogio and Riechenau) was for forty rather than the more common thirty years: *Aist*. 18, issued in 755 (and based on a novel of Justinian). Bluhme, *Edictus*, p. 169; Fischer Drew, *The Lombard Laws*, p. 236.

[70] Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, p. 381, expresses doubt about the traditional dating. This short text can be put into perspective by comparison with similar texts of the period from northern Francia, notably the much more detailed polyptych of Saint-Germain-des-Près (*c*. 829) discussed by Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, pp. 38–39.

[71] The cult of Genesius, a martyr under Diocetian, originated in Arles, spreading to parts of Spain and to Rome.

[72] Behre, 'The History of Rye Cultivation in Europe', pp. 150–51, demonstrates that envi-

an unspecified number of *servi* worked and returned an annual render of five solidi, and two *aldii* who paid four solidi. Here too there was an olive grove which returned sixty *libras* of oil. All was confirmed by the testimony of the agent (*scarus*) Domnus.[73] A certain Madericus held parts of the estate as a benefice, but the text breaks off before revealing which parts. Once more this text does not in fact have to refer to a time before 835 because we do not know what happened at Limonta between 835 and 879 with certainty.[74] Indeed it describes a bipartite structure fully compatible with Lothar's grant of 24 January 835 and could, therefore, have drawn directly on that text rather than anticipated it.

The third text is another incomplete inventory and can certainly be dated post-835, as it explicitly records monastic rights over Limonta.[75] According to this text the demesne was worked by six *famuli* (the word also used in a spurious charter of '957' discussed below) and their families,[76] with an *olivetum* at *Cornula* (most probably Gorla near Bellagio) cultivated by an unspecified number of men who provided no returns as such but tended the olives in return for food and shelter. The non-demesne comprised *cortis diversiis* ('diverse estates', being a curiously inexact usage for an inventory), *oliveta* in *Aucis* and *Conni*, and tenant plots elsewhere. At this point the text stops in mid-sentence, even though there was plenty of parchment left to fill, perhaps indicating that this copy was copied from an earlier incomplete text.

It should be recalled that of texts claiming to refer to 835 or thereabouts only Lothar's diploma of January 835 is undeniably preserved in the form in which it was first written down. The latter reveals that the Limonta estate was bipartite and that the part beyond the demesne, which comprised an olive grove and six small farms, was worked by thirty-four *mancipia*. It is possible, although admittedly not certain, that all the other information, and in particular the presence at Limonta of various grades of dependants (*servi*, *aldii*, and *famuli*), was gathered together in the late ninth or early tenth centuries at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and quite possibly was compiled there from

ronmental remains from a considerable number of sites suggests a considerable rise in the cultivation of rye in this period across Europe.

[73] Compare Crescentius *scarius* at Dubino in 837, Chapter 8, above.

[74] The 879 *breve securitatis* shows that Limonta had been held as a benefice by Appo. Madericus may have preceded him.

[75] Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, p. 382.

[76] *Famuli* are also mentioned in *MD* 21 (774), in the Campione dossier. Rio, *Slavery after Rome*, p. 203, discussing Limonta.

documents associated with external enquiries made in the course of the various court cases between 880 and 910 with a view to winning the disputes which the monastery was involved in then. Possibly this collection of copied-out fragments reflected the genuine pressure which Sant'Ambrogio was putting on its Limonta workers and the degree to which it was inquiring into their lives and indeed attempting to quantify and regulate their obligations.

However, there is another possibility given that two documents with later tenth-century dates ('957' and '998') are also most probably fabricated. In monastic minds their dispute with their workers came to a definitive end with a lengthy charter ostensibly produced in September 957. This reported that a large group of *famuli* appeared before the abbot and his assembled monks in the abbot's first-floor chamber at Sant'Ambrogio and implored him to set out the customary renders which they owed from the Limonta estate to the monastery in a document.[77] Abbot Aupald agreed, but his terms were harsh: high money rents and an obligation upon the *famuli* to cultivate, harvest, and process olives at the *expensa domnica* and in person take the resulting oil to Milan. They had additionally to promise to ferry the abbot and his *fideles* across Lake Como and to provide fish for important feast days four times a year. Those who were tied to the *villa* only harvested the olives without pressing them. The text claims that the *famuli* agreed to these heavy labour service demands, increased renders, and awkward transport obligations: precisely those things which they had claimed they did *not* owe in 882 and which are not evident in Otto I's diploma of 951.[78] The charter also claims, rather improbably, that this came about at the impassioned request of the *servi* themselves. It is not impossible that the involvement of so many local men in court cases held in cities had indeed encouraged them to demand for themselves a record of their customary arrangements in documentary form, as on this occasion both the monastery and its workforce had their respective rights and obligations enshrined in a text:[79]

---

[77] *CDL* 625, AdSM sec. X 205, termed an original by Porro-Lambertenghi. It is in the form of a *breve*, and may well be suspect. It is, bizarrely, dated by the regnal year of the abbot. It 'borrows' much of its diplomatic from the *placita* form. Porro termed it a *charta concordiae*, although this is not a recognized diplomatic form. Cf. Tagliabue, 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio', pp. 298–99. Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 103–06, on humiliation rituals and prostrations made by the elite.

[78] Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', pp. 8, 10, 13.

[79] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), p. 108.

De quo breve duo uno tenore scripti sunt, unum eis datum, et alterum in monasterio reservatum. Illi vero qui de villa Lemonta videntur esse, non debent olivas premere nec lignis ad ipsas olivas dare, nec evegere ipsum oleum, sed tantum debent omnes colligere, et vasa eorum ad utilitatem predicte olive, quantum opus est, debent dare, seu et simul omnes debent ceteri adjurare ad incaricandum, prout necesse fuerit.

[Two copies [lit. 'briefs'] were written of this text, one given to them and the other kept in the monastery. Those people seen to be from villa Limonta do not have to press olives nor beat the olives with sticks, nor transport the oil, but they must all collect the olives and put them into pots and carry out as much of this work as is needed, and they all swear an oath to do whatever is necessary.]

In the end this document simply protests too much to ring true. Physically imposing, both the names of St Ambrose and Aupald were capitalized throughout (unique in this collection). It was witnessed solely by religious (Abbot Aupald and fifteen other monks, priests, and deacons) and yet drew on a documentary form (the *placitum*) which required lay witnesses to be valid,[80] and another (the inventory) which required no witnesses at all. It is also peppered with words and phrases perhaps more characteristic of the feudal language to be found in documents of a rather later period. It is true to monastic memory of what the outcome of the Limonta dispute should have been but, in my view, not in fact what really happened.

Another dubious document — a diploma attributed to Otto III (Pavia, 5 January 998) — supports the view that between 957 and 998 Sant'Ambrogio's economic exploitation of Limonta and the Bellagio peninsula may have intensified.[81] Although this document may not have been issued by Otto's chancery, the characterization of the Limonta estate given by this text is valuable, especially if the text, like the '957' charter, was actually produced by the mon-

---

[80] Most Sant'Ambrogio charters are witnessed by a mixture of lay and clerical men, so an all clerical witness list is very odd, found only in *MD* 28, 30, 73, 118 (a fake), *CDL* 61 (a certain fake), which are all suspect documents in some respect.

[81] *CDL* 939, AdSM sec. X 180 (= Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 265). *CDL* suggested the document is an original whereas the *MGH* editor correctly regarded it 'of dubious validity'. The surviving copy is unauthenticated and appears to use a genuine diploma of 8 February 997 as a source (Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 236). That confirmed the estates of Pasiliano, Feliciano, and Monte (originally donated by Kings Hugh and Lothar in 942) and the immunity to Sant'Ambrogio, but did not specifically mention Limonta and Civenna. In another original diploma (missing its dating clause) Otto did confirm Limonta to Sant'Ambrogio with reference to Lothar's original gift but without any circumstantial detail (Sickel, *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, no. 266, undated but placed in January 998 by the editor).

astery to claim greater rights than it was entitled to. This diploma ostensibly confirmed the Limonta *curtis* with an additional grant of four adjacent *curtes*: *Grasegallae*, *Lencili*, Nesso (where the community had had land since at least the year 874),[82] and Barni. These properties extended monastic presence from the shore to the mountainous interior used for grazing ('monte compascuum qui dicitur Belasinus'), and the primary motive for these gains seems to have been the intensive production of hay (*fenum*, presumably for fodder). The requirement was that the *famuli* of Limonta and Civenna do everything necessary to make hay.[83]

> ea videlicet ratione ut famuli eiusdem monasterii sancti Ambrosii de Lemonta et Ciuenna potestatem per huius nostri mondburdi paginam deinceps habeant in suprascripto monte per iam dictas sibi coherentias fenum fatiendi, ligna incidendi et cetera quae illis sunt necessaria.

> [And in this manner, so that the dependants of the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio from Limonta and Civenna should be able hereafter by the protection of our document to use the aforementioned properties upon the abovementioned mountain to make hay, to burn wood, and all the other things necessary for those things.]

Even greater increased demands were made in the second *placitum* of 905.[84] Although some editors regard this as an original, that status relates to form more than content and there is no reason why the demands made in it were simply that: 'demands' about which agreement was not reached. That text suggests that the monastic *servi* should undertake entirely new heavy labour obligations including planting and pruning monastic vines at Capiate, lime extraction, cattle slaughter, grain threshing, and even submission to tonsure, in addition to the provisions concerning olives. They also had to pay a high money rent. All this was to be done by those same *servi* from the various hamlets and not just Limonta and Civenna as in Otto III's diploma.[85] The link between Limonta

---

[82] *MD* 125 (874).

[83] It is possible that whoever drafted the '998' diploma had either mistakenly or deliberately written *fenum* (hay) instead of *ferrum* (iron) as reported by the 905 text. The reference to 'burning wood' (perhaps to make charcoal) might in that case be better interpreted as the use of fire to produce iron.

[84] Natale & Piano, doc. 7.

[85] This is recorded in *CDL* 417, which was long considered a forgery notably by Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, I, 605, and Manaresi, 'Un placito falso per il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano' (followed by Castagnetti, 'Dominico e massaricio', p. 19 n. 46). Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), p. 107 n. 64, agreed that this

and Civenna recurs in an authentic text of November 1018 in which Abbot Gotefred defended his community's ownership of a hillside known as Alpe Muntedella and Quadrone, and described as 'meadow and shrubland' (*pratas et buscalias*).[86] The Archbishop of Milan, Bishop of Como, and Abbot of Civate all agreed not to interfere with this right. After this point all challenges to the presence of Sant'Ambrogio here ceased.[87]

The production of oil at Limonta undoubtedly made it a valuable property, and it is no surprise that Sant'Ambrogio should have wanted to exploit its full potential. It is hardly surprising that the monastery of Reichenau — which owned an estate at Tremezzo directly across the lake from Bellagio — also claimed ownership of Limonta.[88] It is more surprising that, as a result of

---

placitum was a forgery made in 905 which revealed the intentions of the community in 905, and therefore argued that the *servi* were better off in 957 than they had been in 905. This view was invalidated both by the fact that the text of 957 is also a fake (Violante thought it authentic) and by the new dating for the parchment of 905 to the late tenth/eleventh century in view of the parallel references to lime production in the diploma of Otto III by Zagni, 'Note sulla documentazione arcivescovile milanese nel secolo x', pp. 17–24. Natale & Piano, doc. 6, term it 'original', and other more recent opinion has accepted it as a genuine text: Bougard, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie*, pp. 109 n. 3 and 257 n. 16, and Gasparri, '"Nobiles et credentes omines liberi arimanni"', p. 45 n. 42. The submission to the tonsure is a unique reference in this collection: monks are more likely to have known about this custom than lay notaries as attempts to make *servi* into monks or clerics against their will were legislated against in several Eastern councils. A letter from Pope Zacharius to Boniface in 748 refers to priests in Saxony: 'many of them are tonsured serfs who have fled from their masters', Emerton, *The Letters of Boniface*, LXIV, pp. 120–27. This reference therefore further supports monastic authorship of this record.

[86] Manaresi, *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, II.2, no. 302, pp. 605–08.

[87] Bertoni, 'L'inizio della giurisdizione dell'abate di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano sulla corte di Limonta e Civenna'. The activities of the monastery of San Pietro di Civate (a few kilometres south-east of Lecco) in this region only become clear from the early eleventh century (the Basilica of San Pietro al Monte — 662m above sea level — is perhaps the most important surviving Romanesque building in Lombardy). The Benedictine community claimed Lombard origins (Spinelli, 'L'origine desideriana dei monasteri di S. Vincenzo in Prato e di S. Pietro in Civate'). The monk Hildemar (d. *c*. 850) wrote his commentary on the Rule of Benedict here: De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 142, and 'Growing up in a Carolingian Monastery'. He had been invited there with his fellow monk Leodegar by Archbishop Angilbert II, who oversaw the translation of the body of San Calogero to Civate in the early 840s (Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, p. 90). The community had links with the monastery of Pfäfers in Chur-Rhaetia.

[88] 'Ita ut pars monasterii augiensis diceret mansos ipsos in Lemonta pertinuissent de curte Tremecia, que curte pars augiensis tenere videtur'. This is the only evidence for Reichenau's ownership of an estate here. A certainly fake charter supposedly records the confirmation (dated

the strong objections of workers at Limonta to Sant'Ambrogio's demands, the conflict repeatedly ended up in court over a very long period. Such conflicts between monastic houses and their servile dependants are not without parallel elsewhere in the ninth century, which in Italy was certainly a time of ecclesiastical expansion. Within this corpus the Valtellina cases make the most obvious comparison, while elsewhere there is the well-known example of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Molise which was involved in disputes with the inhabitants of the village of Carapelle between 779 and 872 which resulted in 'a feudal control' by that monastery over previously free peasants.[89] My suggestions concerning the rituals of dispute and submission of the *servi* reinforce such a feudal characterization. But what is distinct is the apparent understanding which the Limonta *servi* had of the power of written documentation and the attempts — by their prolonged involvement in court cases — which they made to ensure that the written record contained the truth about their situation (that monastic demands were *unjustifiably* increasing). Texts were produced by monks particularly self-conscious records such as inventories and *placita* which do not quite fit the usual diplomatic forms employed by local notaries at this time. At Milan these did not become part of a cartulary compilation as often happened with monastic charters elsewhere, but nevertheless they helped to constitute the monastic community's official memory of its own history.[90] These and altered copies of royal *diplomata* were produced precisely at the turn of the ninth/tenth centuries when things seemed to be going against the community politically (above, Chapter 4), in the turmoil caused by challenges to Carolingian rule. The contrast with the Reichenau case is instructive: here the texts were not altered, for surely the adept adversary would have noticed in court. That Sant'Ambrogio deliberately manipulated some records to ensure that its version of events prevailed suggests that peasant resistance to their demands was seriously worrying to them and, while not ultimately successful in escaping monastic clutches, did perhaps tip power relations between them and the monastery in their favour for a while. The monks of Sant'Ambrogio, in all likelihood originating from wealthy families, may have persisted with a view of manual labour similar view to that expressed by Roberto Rusca in 1624 about

Rome 881) by Charles the Fat of the gift of this estate to Reichenau by his brother Karlmann: Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 178, pp. 293–95.

[89] Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento nell'Italia centrale*, pp. 20–29.

[90] Declercq, 'Originals and Cartularies'; Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form'; Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Van Houts, *Medieval Memories*.

the ease of working the land in Limonta, *senza fatica*, a literary device that is easily put to rest by more 'realistic' readings of the early medieval Limonta dossier. Life for the Limonta *servi* was anything but easy and was made more difficult once the monks of Sant'Ambrogio appeared on the scene.

Limonta was clearly an important estate to Sant'Ambrogio: the struggle to keep hold of it demonstrates as much. The nature of local production was in part constrained by the local topography and weather, which means that it is not surprising that the demesne was focused on rye, pigs, sheep, and wine, rather than the wheat which was typical of the lowlands. However, Limonta's value, like Campione's, did not reside in these mundane products but rather in its olive trees. The various *diplomata* do not record much detail about these, and it remains hard to be sure how extensive these groves were. Six *oliveta vel mansi* worked by at least thirty-four people would not have produced vast quantities of oil, so it may be that production was largely used for commemorative lighting in churches. The quantities certainly do not appear to have been particularly large: 60 *libras* is noted in the brief inventory compared with 250 *libras* in Toto of Campione's will. More detail emerges as has been seen from the documents reporting disputed obligations which reveal that workers had not surprisingly to press the olives for oil but also to transport the oil to another monastic estate at Desio en route to Milan itself. These transport services were clearly unpopular but vital to the success of the operation.[91] A charter dated 882 shows that oil from other nearby properties was to be taken to Capiate, San Siro Olona, and even as far as Pavia. These references may imply that the oil was being traded, although there is insufficient evidence to be certain. Some of the more extreme obligations, such as rowing the abbot across the lake and making iron, may have been things the monks would like to have had done for them, but as they are reported in problematic texts they may not have happened at this time, but perhaps later.[92] However, the fabricated charter of 957, although not to be trusted in details about relationships between monks and workforce, does clearly expose disputes *among* the workforce at Limonta about which parts of the oil-production process they should have to undertake: collecting the olives, beating them with sticks, putting them in pots, pressing for oil, transporting the oil, to say nothing (it is never mentioned) of looking after the trees (pruning

[91] Cf. Devroey, 'Les Services de transport à l'abbaye de Prüm au IXᵉ siècle'. Fouracre, 'The Incidence of Rebellion in the Early Medieval West', p. 124, points out that the Limonta workforce rebelled against local conditions not against the political system as such.

[92] Menant, 'Pour une histoire médiévale de l'enterprise minière en Lombardie'.

and so on). This is important, as it may indicate that the production of oil here was indeed sufficiently specialized to be destined for 'the market'.

Inzago: A Lowland Village, 840–985

The final dossier to be studied in this book relates to the lowland village of Inzago (about twenty-five kilometres north-east of Milan). Inzago is close to the River Adda, one of the major rivers in the region which flows from the Valtellina via Lake Como to Lodi and Cremona in the south.[93] It has long been a natural border between Milanese territory and those of Bergamo and Lodi. Much of the area appears to have been settled in Roman times, and at least one bridge over the Adda is recorded, not far from Monte Barro.[94] There is good evidence from the Lombard period of the strategic importance of sites along its course. At the end of the seventh century King Cunincpert fought a battle with his rival Alahis at *Coronate*, most probably Cornate d'Adda.[95] Paul the Deacon claimed that the king had built a monastery there dedicated to St George to commemorate his victory.[96] In the late 1990s excavations in the field around the town unearthed a Roman villa, with a late antique necropolis, upon which a later layer of Lombard-period tombs was found. A little further south a major Lombard cemetery was uncovered at Trezzo sull'Adda in the 1970s.[97] This contained richly furnished graves of warriors which included some with gold seal rings, clearly evidence of high social status.[98] Trezzo is on a large bend in the river and clearly of strategic value. This is also the case with Cassano d'Adda further south (and contiguous with Inzago).[99] Cassano has recently turned up a series of seventh-century graves without weapons suggestive of local small-scale

[93] Buratti and others, *Adda*, pp. 92–104.

[94] Talbert, *The Barrington Atlas*, Map 39 *Mediolanum*. Monte Barro itself is a site where a significant sixth-century 'palace' with fortifications has been discovered: Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne*, pp. 456–57.

[95] *HL* v 39. Roffia, *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda*, pp. 202–03, and Simone Zopfi, 'Cisterna e necropoli', pp. 1–2.

[96] *HL* vi 17. No physical trace has yet been found. The current parish church is late medieval.

[97] Roffia, *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda*; Lusuardi Siena, 'La necropoli longobardo in località Cascina S. Martino' and 'Alcune riflessioni sulla "ideologia funeraria" longobarda'.

[98] Lusuardi Siena, *I signori degli anelli*.

[99] Roffia, *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda*, pp. 182–202.

settlement in that period.[100] On 19 October 877 Karlmann, at the interven-
tion of the former empress Angilberga, issued a diploma in favour of a nun-
nery in Piacenza from Cassano: 'actum in curte sancti Ambrosii que vocitatur
Cassianum iuxta Attuam fluvium' (which implies that Sant'Ambrogio had an
otherwise unrecorded estate here by this date).[101] Named witnesses of charters
dealing with Inzago and neighbouring settlements also suggest a considerable
influx of Franks, Alemans, and others from north of the Alps throughout the
ninth century.[102]

Into this long settled and politically complex landscape a single man emerges
around the year 840: Anselm of Inzago (Map 12).[103] Some of his activities and
those of his family can be reconstructed from a fairly small surviving dossier.
Anselm himself is recorded in at most seven surviving charters, and at least
three others which have been lost.[104] In these documents only the barest threads
of Anselm's life history are visible,[105] but what there is can be related to wider
issues and themes in the history of this period. He first appears on 27 April
840, witnessing a document of gift drawn up in Ghisalba, in the territory of the
civitas of Bergamo.[106] Several gifts were being made by Sighelberga (daughter

---

[100] *Notizario* (2010–11), pp. 250–51, 259–60.

[101] Kehr, *Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris Diplomata*, doc. 5, pp. 291–
92. For comparison with the local context a bit further down the Adda around the royal estate at
Corteolona, see MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 91–96.

[102] Castagnetti, 'Transalpini e vassalli' and 'Una famiglia longobarda di Inzago (Milano)'.

[103] This section is a reworked, expanded, and modified version of Balzaretti, 'The Politics of
Property in Ninth-Century Milan'. That article (p. 753) and this section is influenced by micro-
history, especially by Edoardo Grendi's view of that methodology, which I have a much better
understanding of now than in 1999. As that article and Chapters 6–9 of this book demon-
strate, I do feel that early medieval microhistory is (just about) possible using charters. Cf. West,
'Visions in a Ninth-Century Village', pp. 13–14.

[104] Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', pp. 173–83; Rapetti, 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus
loci*', p. 24. Anselm and his family are the subject of Castagnetti. 'Una famiglia longobarda di
Inzago (Milano)' which makes more of the (supposed) ethnic allegiances of these people than
I do.

[105] Nelson, 'Writing Early Medieval Biography' deals mostly with elites, but the methodo-
logical points are more widely applicable.

[106] *MD* 66. Anselm 'signed' as 'Anselmo de Andiciago in hanc donatione rogatus Siciperga
testis subscripsi', but because the surviving version of this charter is an authenticated contem-
porary copy, his actual signature is not preserved. Count Rotcarius (Hlawitschka, *Franken,
Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 256) held a *placitum* in Ghisalba in February 843
(Cortesi, no. 14, an original). The latter was drafted by the notary Ingheberto (the sole occur-
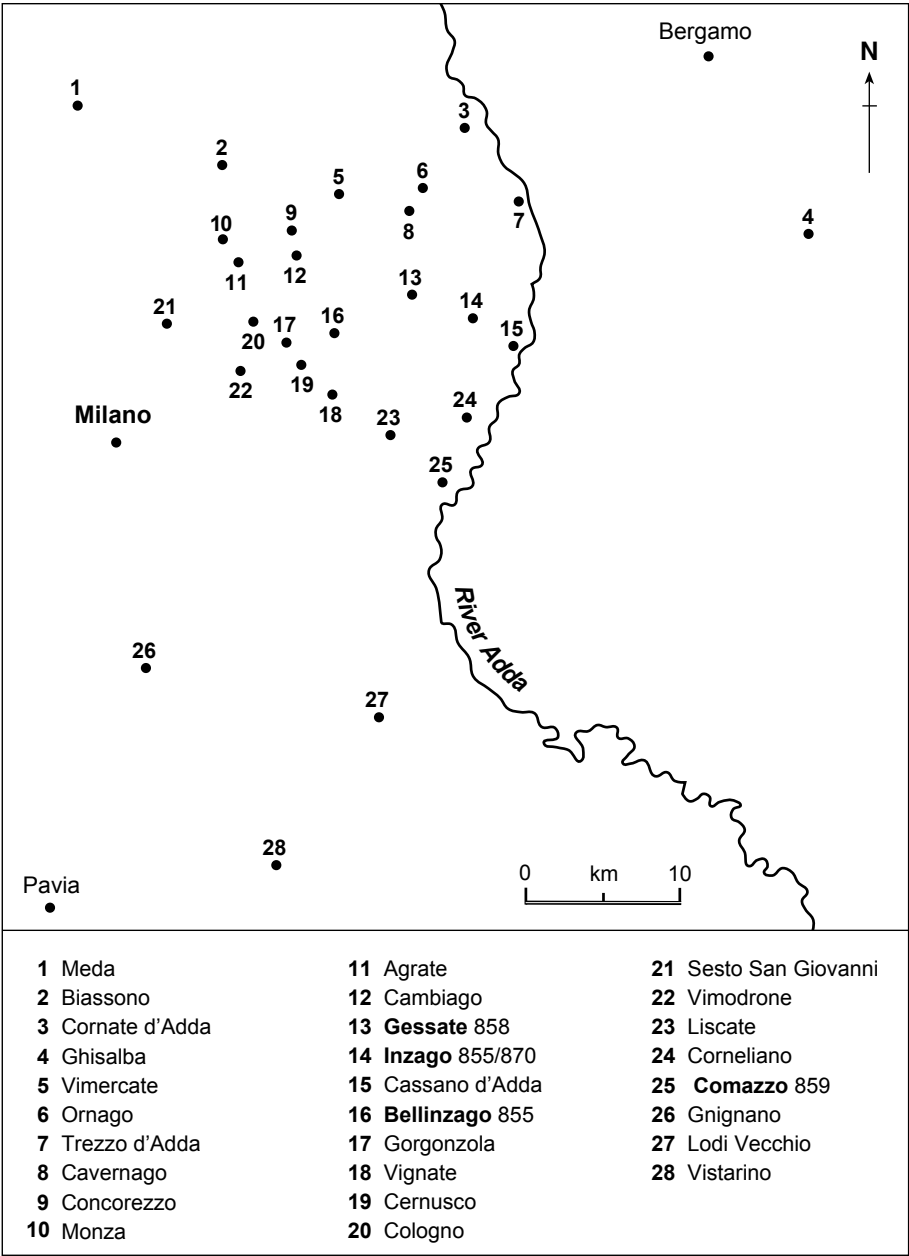
Map 12. Anselm of Inzago's world. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

1	Meda	11	Agrate	21	Sesto San Giovanni
2	Biassono	12	Cambiago	22	Vimodrone
3	Cornate d'Adda	13	**Gessate** 858	23	Liscate
4	Ghisalba	14	**Inzago** 855/870	24	Corneliano
5	Vimercate	15	Cassano d'Adda	25	**Comazzo** 859
6	Ornago	16	**Bellinzago** 855	26	Gnignano
7	Trezzo d'Adda	17	Gorgonzola	27	Lodi Vecchio
8	Cavernago	18	Vignate	28	Vistarino
9	Concorezzo	19	Cernusco		
10	Monza	20	Cologno		

of Oto who also witnessed the transaction), who was entering a convent and as part of that life-changing process disposing of some of her wealth.[107] She gave some established tenanted properties to the archpriest Garibald and his brother Laudebert who gave her a small reciprocal gift (*launichild*).[108] Quite what connection Anselm had to Sighelberga, her father or Garibald and Laudebert is unclear. He might have been related to one or another of them. The fact of his witnessing suggests at the least that he was a figure of some local significance whose 'world view' probably took in the town of Bergamo (around twenty kilometres north-east from Inzago as the crow flies) or even Brescia considerably further afield. Anselm was evidently of the legal age for witnessing (eighteen) in 840 but was probably older (see below). Subsequent charters indicate that he died sometime between March 870 and March 874 at least in his early fifties (or possibly older). He was therefore a near-contemporary of Louis II, and although he surely never met that ruler Anselm certainly had met men who must have known Louis first-hand, such as Autprand (a relative) who was the king's trusted vassal as we shall see.[109] Such face-to-face connections were no doubt a significant aspect of his social existence.

Anselm married a woman called Gottenia in or before 855, and they had at least two children, Gundelasius and Gariberga. As part of the arrangements associated with their marriage Anselm had received property in Bellinzago (very near Inzago) from Gottenia's father Garibald (of *Criberiago*) as dotal gift.[110] He also bought some houses and land in Inzago from Garibald (and his

---

rence of this name in Cortesi's edition). An 'Ingelbert' witnessed Sighelberga's charter and could well be the same person. Certainly present on both occasions were Ambrosio and Alfre *scabini*, Willebado archdeacon, and Teuderolf his advocate.

[107] The convent she was going into is not stated, but it is likely to have been Santa Giulia in Brescia, by far the most important in this region. A 'Sigelberga' is recorded on fol. 32v of that community's memorial book (Geuenich and Ludwig, *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, p. 173), the only time this name is listed. She was probably a wealthy woman, as the charter lists fourteen of her servants.

[108] Wickham, 'Compulsory Gift Exchange in Lombard Italy', p. 202, on the Lombard imagery of such transactions in this period. This archpriest may have later become Bishop of Bergamo.

[109] For government and the elites around Louis, see Delogu, 'Strutture politiche e ideologia nel regno di Lodovico II' and Bougard, 'La Cour et le gouvernement'.

[110] *MD* 93 (17 June 855), drafted in Gorgonzola which borders Bellinzago. The land was accompanied by a gift of cash (*scerfa* cited by Niermeyer, p. 944) in gold and silver. On marriage and associated property arrangements in Lombard society, see Skinner, *Women in Italian Medieval Society*, pp. 37–38, to be compared with Stone, 'Carolingian Domesticities', pp. 236–37.

son Anselm), which Garibald had obtained by charter from Wago of Gessate and the heirs of Wago's deceased brother Rahunbert.[111] Anselm paid six pounds of coined silver for this, suggesting that he was a wealthy man by the standards of his day.[112] All these events are recorded in a charter which is particularly interesting because the wives of both Garibald and his son Anselm, Tadeltruda and Wadelberga, witnessed it ('per consenso et largietate conjugi noster'), a rarity in this and many other charter collections.[113] In 856 Anselm probably witnessed an exchange of property between the Abbot of Sant'Ambrogio and Tagiberga, Abbess of San Vittore in Meda (midway between Milan and Como).[114] In January 858 he, like his father-in-law Garibald, acquired property in Gessate from Wago, bought for forty solidi.[115] The boundary clauses in this charter reveal that he already had land in this village. In December 859 he bought more land in Comazzo from Ermempert of *Aello*.[116] That land was bounded by property owned by 'Oto' and 'Oto and the *xenodochium*': this Oto might have been the same man as Sighelberga's father mentioned in the charter of 840 (see above). The reference to a hospice in Comazzo is interesting as it is otherwise undocumented. In February 865 Anselm may have witnessed a gift

[111] Gessate is the neighbouring settlement a couple of kilometres to the north-east of Inzago. This property was worked by a tenant (*libellarius*) called Auderace, demonstrating that Garibald and Wago were not cultivators themselves.

[112] The sanction appended to this charter was high: ten pounds of gold and fifty pounds of silver.

[113] *MD* 93, a long and formal charter drafted in Gorgonzola which was sale, transfer, and investiture all in one. On women as witnesses, see Giovè, 'Donne che non lasciano traccia', p. 200, discussing this charter. The document was also witnessed by the *gastald* Walderic and several of his Frankish vassals.

[114] *MD* 95, drafted at Sant'Ambrogio by Flambertus. The signature is simply *Autelmo*. The identification of Anselm's signature in the witness list of this charter is therefore speculative. The history of San Vittore is examined by Orsini, 'Il monastero di San Vittore di Meda nell'altomedioevo', which I have been unable to see.

[115] *MD* 99 specifically *vitata Sorbalo* (half a *jugerum*) and *stallaria Tacianica* (3 *iuges*, around 2.4 hectares). This document reveals that Gunzo still had property adjacent to Sorbalo. Among its witnesses were four Alemans, one a vassal of Wago.

[116] *MD* 103, specifically 'casa una scandola coperta introitas tres cum area una and curtis, orto, area and terra vitata' and half a *torcolo* (wine press). The latter suggests that wine production may have been one of Anselm's motivations for acquisition in Inzago. Comazzo is ten kilometres south of Inzago. It was in the territory of Lodi. *Aello* has most plausibly been identified as Castellazzo di Liscate (Rota, 'Paesi del Milanese scomparsi e distrutti'). One of the witnesses was Deodadi from Inzago.

of land made by Sigeratus, a vassal of Louis II, to Sant'Ambrogio.[117] Sometime before March 870 he had 'sold' his property to Garibald, Bishop of Bergamo,[118] and Garibald used it to institute a *xenodochium* in Inzago over which Anselm was to be *rector*.[119] This hospice was provided with an associated church dedicated to Sant'Apollinare (the first bishop of Ravenna) and fed ten *pauperes* annually.[120] It was also endowed with various properties, as will become clear. Anselm died between the date of this document (March 870) and April 874, when Gottenia is referenced as widowed in a charter.[121]

Certain methodological points are worth stressing here. Anselm existed in a world where he came into contact with charters, and it is for this reason alone that he has any history at all. Each surviving charter therefore represents a moment of contact for Anselm with history, something which he himself may well have appreciated on these occasions. Yet these fleeting moments were only a tiny part of this man's life. Some circularity of argument which may place too much stress on things of minor importance to the participants is a hazard when dealing with small early medieval dossiers like this one and should be guarded against, in the first instance by paying very precise attention to the detail recorded within these texts, as details help to make Anselm's life history realistic if not certainly real. But imagination is also needed to enter Anselm's world with any success: his hopes and ambitions have to be part of the analysis even though they are certainly not reported by any surviving charters.

Anselm witnessed the transactions the charters record, and he was able to endorse the record by signing his own name (definitely in 840, 855, and 858, and possibly in 856 and 865). His functional literacy placed him in a small category among the laypeople of his time, as did being a witness, something that was both the result of status within his world and a means to maintaining

---

[117] *MD* 115. The signature is simply *Anselmo*.

[118] *MD* 120, *per cartolam vinditionis* but probably a 'fictive sale' as Bougard ('Garibaldo') has suggested.

[119] Bougard, 'Garibaldo' sketches this bishop's career.

[120] Tartari, 'Il titolo dell'antica Basilica di Inzago' suggests that this small church was where Piazza Maggiore now is on the basis of some archaeological work carried out in the 1990s. I am grateful to Sig. Tartari for sending me this paper. The dedication to Apollinaris appears to be the earliest in the Milanese diocese, and may have depended on connections which Garibald and especially his brother had with Ravenna and Constantinople. As a bishop Garibald would have been well aware of the care with which such *xenodochia* were meant to be maintained and run: Louis II's legislation, like that of his Carolingian forebears, was very clear on this.

[121] *MD* 125.

or even increasing that status.[122] He established himself further in local society by travelling around to take part in the transactions the charters record. His family home (*sala*) in Inzago was west of the River Adda and therefore within the jurisdiction of Milan. As might be expected of a village notable, he witnessed charters in nearby Gorgonzola, which was the centre of the parish (*pieve*). However, he also witnessed charters rather further afield, in Ghisalba *finibus Bergomense* (on the opposite side of that diocese) and perhaps even in Milan and Pavia. This was the extent of his 'public business range'.[123] As witness to property transactions he came into contact with many other people: other witnesses and the men and women whose transactions he witnessed. However, strictly speaking the witness lists of the ninth-century charters for Inzago and Gessate reveal comparatively little about Anselm's friends and acquaintances because in none of these charters was Anselm the actor. His purchases of 855 and 859 were conceived as sales made *by* Garibald and Ermempert *to* Anselm, and the witnesses are likely to be the associates of these two men rather than Anselm. Yet while who he met on these occasions and what their ethnic origins and social status may have been is an interesting question,[124] analysis of the witness lists in these charters suggests that viewing Anselm as an individual agent is not a particularly helpful approach. Potentially much more productive is situating him in the context of his kin group.

Anselm of Inzago and his Family

However, situating Anselm in context is problematic as even less is known about those related to Anselm than about the man himself. His father, Agemund, passed property to his son Anselm by inheritance as was customary, but it is uncertain if he was based in Inzago as Anselm was. His mother's name is unrecorded. His wife Gottenia appeared in three charters, and as noted she is first recorded in 855 receiving property from her father on her marriage as customary for this life-changing female rite of passage. In 870 Bishop Garibald arranged for her to continue to live in part of the *sala* ('hall') in Inzago (the marital home) if it was not possible for her to live with her son, Gundelasius.[125]

---

[122] Witnessing: Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 154–57; Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy*, pp. 120–25; Davies, *Windows on Justice*, p. 28.

[123] Davies, *Small Worlds*, pp. 109–26.

[124] Balzaretti, 'The Politics of Property in Ninth-Century Milan', pp. 768–69.

[125] *MD* 120: 'usufructuario nomine ad inhabitandum et resedendum, si ei cum filio suo non convenerit abitare'. She also received two tenant houses in Inzago, a farm (*sedimen*) run by

This building was quite substantial, with a courtyard, a well, a kitchen garden, and facing a street. The descriptive formula suggests that this was a wing of it.[126] All the property which Anselm had received on their marriage now passed to her on his death, but for her lifetime only. In March 874 she sold property in *Scosse et Villa* to Gundelasius, and on her death her lifetime interest passed to Gundelasius by inheritance although exactly when this occurred is unknown. This is a 'normal' amount of information to have survived about a woman in this sort of documentation: by comparison the material studied by Nelson relating to the 'wary widow' Erkanfrida is exceptional.[127] Yet the constraints which widowhood placed upon them both and the opportunities which it could bring were of a similar nature although at a different scale.[128]

Anselm and Gottenia had two children, if not more. Their daughter, Gariberga, entered the church as *monacha* at the nunnery of Santa Maria Wigilinda in Milan.[129] In 870 its abbess was Alcharda, whom Gariberga was to succeed by 903.[130] Nevertheless, she seems to have retained a lifetime interest in various farms despite her monastic state.[131] Her first appearance as abbess

---

Johannes in Gessate and the *silva Tacianica* (cf. the 858 charter), the use of Anselm's houses in Bellinzago (worked by Walpert) which he had acquired from her father Garibald (as recorded in the charter dated 855), and a vineyard in Inzago (worked by Leo). Alemani, 'Inzago di Piazza in Piazza', pp. 4–7, is useful from the local history perspective.

[126] 'Salam illam da partem orientis in integrum cum curte ante se ex transverso usque ad puteum, et da parte meridie ex orto meo abeat in capite de ipsa sala usque in viam tabolas legitimas treginta'. Cf. Galetti, *Abitare nel Medioevo*, pp. 41–42.

[127] Nelson, 'The Wary Widow'; Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, pp. 88–92, for comparisons with the charters of Cava; Skinner and Van Houts, *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, pp. 113–20, on married women. See also Chapter 6, above, for Adelburga, widow of Adelgisus of Schianno.

[128] Skinner and Van Houts, *Medieval Writings on Secular Women*, pp. 207–16.

[129] This church, now no longer standing, was adjacent to the Duomo *infra civitatem* (in the modern via S. Radegonda). It is usually thought to have been named after Vigelinda, daughter of King Perctarit and wife of Grimoald (662–71) (*HL* vi 2), but this association is merely traditional (Picard, *Le Souvenir des Évêques*, p. 93). But as the name was fairly common there could be other plausible associations, such as the wife of the goldsmith Aufusus (discussed above, Chapter 7, dealing in land in Gnignano).

[130] *CDL* 403, 11 January 903. This text survived in the archive of Santa Radegonda — as Santa Maria Wigilinda became — only as a copy, although probably a contemporary one: Zagni, 'Note sulla documentazione arcivescovile milanese nel secolo x', p. 28. Cf. Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan'.

[131] A house in Masciago, one in *Boaria* and his property in *Noviculta*, vines in Inzago ('Rasperto'), *silva stalaria* ('Casteneto de Franci', 1 *jugum*). She also got, as soon as her father

of Santa Maria Wigilinda, in a testament with which Archbishop Andreas of Milan endowed her community in 903, was also her last. The date of her death is therefore unknown, but it is clear that when that took place her own life-time interest passed to her brother Gundelasius who was also in the church. He is recorded as cleric in 870, subdeacon in 874, and rector of the Inzago *xeno-dochium* thereafter in succession to his father.[132] As rector he was custodian for various properties which he received from other members of the family. According to the provisions in Bishop Garibald's will of 870, when Gundelasius died the house in Boaria went to the monastery of Protasius and Gervasius 'infra civitatem pro remedio anime meae et iam dicto Antelmi et parentibus nostris' forever (the only time that Garibald and Anselm were termed kinsmen). This relationship is crucial to the whole story but is a 'clue' which could very easily have been omitted from the text. The house in Masciago went to the monastery of San Vincenzo near Milan in perpetuity, and the house in Noviculta with the vineyard and woodland in Inzago went perpetually to the Inzago *xenodochium*. In 870 Bishop Garibald also gave land in *Scosse et Villa* and *Aello* to this *xeno-dochium* which he had obtained from Anselm. Gundelasius's clerical status was specifically protected by the bishop in the following carefully worded sanction directed at the Milanese church and its leading monastery:

> Nam si, quod non credo, numquam tempore pontifex sancte mediolanensis ecclesie aut abbas eiusdem monasterii adversus eundem Gundelasium clericum egerit, dicendum quod ipse Gundelassius in eodem monasterio sancti Ambrosii monachice videndum traditus, aut ibi monachus fuisset, et ibi per vim replicatus fuerit, tunc senedochium ipsum cum omni integritate sua, quod in eodem con-tuli monasterium, deveniat in jura et potestate monasterii omnium apostolorum et confessoris Silvestri situm Nonantolas, faciatque inde abbas ipsius monasterii, si hec contigerint, canonice quod voluerit, et iam dicta elimosina, luminaria et offi-cium eiusdem basilice ut supra adimpleat.

> [For if, which I do not believe, the pontiff of the holy Milanese church or the abbot of that same monastery should at any time act against the same Gundelasius, saying that Gundelasius transferred himself to live as a monk into the same monastery of

---

died, nine personal servants from Garibald's *familia*. This is a different list of properties linked to Anselm and Gottenia.

[132] A man called Gundelasio signed his name as witness to both charters drawn up in 848 at the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio. Given that the property involved was in Gessate and Inzago, this is very probably Anselm's son as the name Gundelasio is rare in charters from either Milan or Bergamo. If this is 'our' Gundelasio he would have to have been over eighteen to witness char-ters in 848 meaning, that his father would have been born at least by *c.* 810.

Sant'Ambrogio, or that he had been a monk there, and was reduced [to that posi-
tion] by force,[133] then that hostel with all its property, which that same monastery
was to have, should pass into the jurisdiction and power of the monastery of all
the Apostles and the confessor Silvester at Nonantola,[134] and that the abbot of that
monastery, if this they agree, should do as he wishes according to the canons and
arrange the alms, lighting, and offices at that basilica as above.][135]

In March 874, after Anselm had died, Gundelasius bought further land in *Scosse
et Villa* from his now widowed mother, Gottenia. He may have obtained his
sister Gariberga's property sometime after 903. Upon his death (the date again
unknown) it was intended that all these properties passed to Milanese mon-
asteries: Santi Protasio and Gervasio, San Vincenzo, and Sant'Ambrogio. This
means that it was the two children, Gariberga and Gundelasius, even though
the latter was a cleric rather than a monk, who were the conduits by which the
property of the *Anselmi* family was transferred to the main male monasteries of
the Milanese church.

The real agents of change were nevertheless Bishop Garibald and his brother
Autprand. We know quite a bit about Garibald from a run of charters pre-
served in the archives of Bergamo.[136] He first appeared as bishop of Bergamo
in a charter of 867 and died sometime between February 888 and 894. His
brother Autprand was a royal vassal, who received property within the diocese
of Bergamo from Charles the Fat in July 883.[137] In two charters Charles the Fat
granted the small monastery of San Michele in Cerreto (now Rebecco d'Oglio,
fraz. Monasterolo, near Cremona) to Autprand for his lifetime; upon his death
it was to pass to the church of Bergamo. The community (of twelve monks
following the Benedictine Rule) was to return one hundred *libras* of olive oil
annually to the bishop's church. If Autprand did not administer it properly, it
was to pass to the church of Milan. The grant was made 'qui cottidie pro nobis
nostrisque progenitoribus ac propinquis et pro iam memorato Autprando fideli
nostro' (for the daily memory of us, our ancestors and neighbours, and now for
the memory of Autprand our *fidelis*). In the second charter Charles donated the

---

[133] These statements have parallels in the Monza documents discussed in Chapter 7, above.

[134] Cf. the references to Nonantola above, Chapter 5, 'Neighbours, Homes and Gardens'.

[135] *MD* 120.

[136] Cortesi, nos 21, 22, 23, 25, 27 (*precaria*), 28, 29, 31, 32, and 197. For Garibald, see
Bougard, 'Garibaldo'.

[137] Cortesi, nos 196 and 197 (= Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, nos. 88 and 89). Compare the
activities of Bishop Liutward of Vercelli, Charles the Fat's archchancellor, in this region at this
time: MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century*, pp. 180–81.

monastery to the church of Bergamo on the petition of Bishop Garibald (*fidelissimus noster*). The two brothers were clearly operating together for the sake of their souls in this instance.[138] Autprand may have been sent to Constantinople as his representative by Louis II in 871,[139] and he also appeared alongside his brother and their father in the necrology of the royal nunnery of Santa Giulia in Brescia.[140] Garibald and Autprand were in fact related to Anselm of Inzago, for in Garibald's *testamentum* of March 870 the bishop made a gift 'pro remedio anime meae et iam dicto Antelmi et parentibus nostris', the first and only time this kin relationship is revealed. How they were related is uncertain, but probably they were cousins and Bishop Garibald was likely a cousin of Anselm's father-in-law Garibald. With this link established these charters can now be analysed as family history.

Charter Forms in the Inzago Dossier

The form and language of the charters themselves need to be discussed before consideration of what the evidence presented so far might reveal about the motivation for this family's use of charters.[141] The language of these charters is not distinctive, although there is some language of friendship ('dilectissimus atque amantissimus' in 840, *dilectus* in 870) and of familial endorsement ('per consenso et largietate conjungi [*sic*] noster' in 855 and again in 870) in several texts. There are also some interesting first-person statements made by individuals which may suggest that the monastery was entering into a relationship with the individuals as much as with his or her family. Of the twenty-six Inzago charters all but four (or perhaps five), survive as originals.[142] Those which survive as copies (840 donation, 874 investiture, 903 testament) are not those which record simple sales or exchanges of properties in a single place but rather the documents which deal with the transfer of many properties, often in a *post mortem* context or other significant moment of rupture to customary transfer, such as Sighelberga's adoption of the veil. Significantly, there are no records of

---

[138] Cf. Bührer-Thierry, 'Fratelli e sorelle', one of the few studies of sibling relationships in this period.

[139] Bougard, 'Garibaldo'.

[140] Geuenich and Ludwig, *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, p. 143 (transcribing fol. 5v: 'Garibaldus eps. Autpert. Ildegarda. Iso') points up the political significance of the foundation of the Inzago *xenodochium*.

[141] Cf. above, Campione (Chapter 6), Gnignano (Chapter 7), Cologno (Chapter 7).

[142] Balzaretti, 'The Property of Politics in Ninth-Century Milan', pp. 769–70.

disputes in this dossier, which may be explained by a combination of the high social position of the *Anselmi*, particularly their connection to the royal court, and the fact that the family were cooperating with the church. Nevertheless, although the diplomatic credentials of the will of Bishop Garibald of Bergamo and, to a lesser extent, the *vestitura* presided over by Abbot Peter seem unproblematic in the technical diplomatic sense, the content of these texts does give rise to some problems of historical interpretation.

As has been seen elsewhere, recent work has concluded that charters are not exactly the transparent texts they may once have seemed to historians of this period.[143] The Inzago examples are typical in that only selected events are recorded, and compiling a historical narrative from them involves much inference which may easily misconstrue what really happened and why it did. But if this narrative is told without explicit reflection on the charters' form and language the pitfalls of reconstruction are all the greater. As already noted in this region at this date each charter takes a fairly standardized form. In the Inzago dossier the range of such forms is unusually limited to two main types of charter only: the *cartola vinditionis* in the ninth century and the *commutatio* in the tenth (see Table 25).[144] Of course, these two forms are commonplace, characteristic of Lombard legal systems, and were long in use in this area by this time.[145] These documentary types only have meaning within a consensual framework. In the Inzago dossier these two types are separated by Garibald's long *testamentum* and an investiture (*breve vestitura*) in the 870s, and a (fake) archiepiscopal *preceptum* of 893.[146]

---

[143] Notably Davies and Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, and *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*; Bougard, 'Actes privés et transferts patrimoniaux', 'Écrire le procès', and 'Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio'; Feller, 'Dette, strategies matrimoniales et institution d'heritier'; Feller, Gramain, and Weber, *La Fortune de Karol*.

[144] Bougard, 'Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio'.

[145] The 'cartola commutationis aut vinditionis' was discussed by Liutprand (*Liut.* 116 issued in 729) and Ratchis (*Rach.* 8 issued in 746); respectively Azzara and Gasparri, *Le leggi dei Longobardi*, pp. 184–86, 240.

[146] *MD* 157 (AdSM sec. IX 116, a twelfth-century copy). The status of this document has been much debated. Natale argued that, although substantially interpolated, it might contain genuine elements whereas Luisa Zagni ('Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–IX', pp. 15–25) pronounced it a forgery. It is perfectly possible that Archbishop Anselm would have issued a confirmation of Sant'Ambrogio's properties, as he was an active prelate. Confirmation by him of Sant'Ambrogio's ownership of Inzago would also be plausible at this date, given that its right to this estate was not, unlike Cologno and Limonta, the object of any dispute.

Table 25. Inzago and Gessate Charters, 840–997

MD	Date	Types	Status	Scribe/s	Redaction
66	840	*cartola donacionis*	CC* auth.	Ursepert/Giselbert	Ghisalba
82	848	*cartola vinditionis*	O	Ambrosius^	MSA
83	848	*convenientia*	O	Ambrosius^	MSA
93	855	*cartola vinditionis*	O	Garibald^	Gorgonzola
99	858	*cartola vinditionis*	O	Garibald^	Gorgonzola
103	859	*cartola vinditionis*	O	Garibald^	Inzago
120	870	*pagina testamentum*	O?	Ragifred	Milan
125	874	*breve vestitura*	CC	Gervasius	*Scosse et Villa*
155	892	*commutatio*	O	Adelricus	MSA
156	892	*notitia*	O	Adegisus	MSA
157	893	*preceptum*	c12 FK	Audoald	MSA

CDL

MD	Date	Types	Status	Scribe/s	Redaction
402	903	*testamentum*	c12/CC	Agapitus	Milan
451	913	*commutatio*	O	Natzarius	MSA
473	917	*commutatio*	O	Ropald	Inzago
475	918	*placitum*	O	Ingelbert	Milan
538	931	*commutatio*	O	Gisenulf^	Gessate
539	931	*commutatio*	O	Gisenulf^	Gessate
559	941	*commutatio*	O	Angelbert	MSA
602	953	*commutatio*	O	Petribert	Milan
609	955	*commutatio*	O	Heberardus^	MSA
621	957	*commutatio*	O	Heberardus^	Milan
624	957	*commutatio*	O	Angelbert^	MSA
670	963	*commutatio*	O	Angelbert^	MSA
671	963	*commutatio*	O	Grasebert	MSA
826	985	*promissio*	O	Anselm^	Imbersago
828	985	*cartola vinditionis*	O	Anselm^	MSA
930	997	*bulla*	c12 FK		Rome

* CC = contemporary copy; O = original; c12 = twelfth-century copy; FK = fake; MSA = *monasterium sancti Ambrosii*; ^ indicates that these names refer to the same person

When these various types of text are placed in chronological sequence, they readily suggest a simple developmental pattern of events: acquisition of property by the monastery (by purchase), formal 'taking possession' of it (by investiture), followed by consolidation and a certain amount of reorganization (by exchange). It is a logically consistent pattern and one which scholars have found all over Europe in this period in similar charter collections.[147] 'Rationality' is plausible historical explanation only up to a point,[148] as interpretation of these charters by formal diplomatic analysis is insufficient in itself since form is only one of their characteristics. For example, recent specialist work on similar documents has concluded repeatedly that charters which have the form of sales and exchanges can really be gifts and vice versa.[149] Or they may be 'fictive', apparent 'sales' whose provisions are effectively reversed by actions recorded in other charters. Therefore the rest of this chapter tries to uncover the motivations of the *Anselmi* family as revealed by their charters by looking for 'clues' which go beyond diplomatic form.[150]

Familial Motives

The Inzago dossier casts only dim light on any of the activities of the *Anselmi*. Is it possible to attribute motivation to any of them? Or is this indeed desirable? At least three explanations for their behaviour deserve consideration: 'economic rationalization',[151] social competition,[152] and personal piety (or lack of it).[153] Can some sort of 'economic rationalization' now be detected at work in the minds of Anselm and his family? Conventionally, one method of writing

---

[147] It is found in the Campione charters, above, Chapter 6.

[148] Cf. Kieser, 'From Asceticism to Administration of Wealth'; Feller, 'Introduction', pp. 18–23; and especially Toneatto, 'Élites et rationalité économique'.

[149] An especially brilliant case study is provided by Reuter, 'Property Transactions and Social Relations between Rulers, Bishops and Nobles in Early Eleventh-Century Saxony', especially pp. 176–78.

[150] Ginzburg, 'Clues'.

[151] Raftis, 'Western Monasticism and Economic Organization'.

[152] Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of St Peter* and Rosenwein, Head, and Farmer, 'Monks and their Enemies'.

[153] Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 115–26, comparing 'formulaic' and 'specific' piety in tenth-century donations to northern Spanish churches. Cf. Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism'.

history from charters would examine the nature of the properties recorded in these documents with a view to making deductions about economic motivation.[154] Unfortunately in this case the limitations of these documents are all too apparent as few charters contain detailed descriptions of the properties being transferred. This characteristic feature of many charters in this region is something which ought to have puzzled historians more than it has, who usually see this merely as a matter of scribal practice. Does this relative absence of detail suggest that owners of land were not in fact as interested in its exploitation as we might think they were? In the case of Inzago only limited information is recorded. The charters of 848 and 855 provide no detailed descriptions of land, just standard formulae ('casis, edificiis, areis, curteficiis, ortis, usum puteis, clausuris, campis, pratis, pascuis, vineis et silvis'; 'casis et omnibus rebus'; and 'casis et rebus illis masariciis, casis, curte, ortis, campis, pratis, vineis, silvis, stalareis, limilibus [*sic*], pascuis').[155] The 870 *testamentum* is very much more detailed and includes the precise location of vines (at *Rasperto*) and coppiced woodland ('silva stallaria at Casteneto de Franci').[156] This more specific phraseology recurs in tenth-century documents: vines, *campi* (at *Trastrada*), and *arbores castanos* (*de casa Gisenulfi*) in 913 and a 'sedimen prope Puteo de Castro' and *campo* (at *Aredario*) in 941.[157] Although this is not much from which to reconstruct the early medieval landscape of Inzago,[158] it is enough to suggest a mixed landscape of open fields alongside managed woodland, perfectly in line with Massimo Montanari's conclusions arising from his reading of many thousands of charters

---

[154] Essentially the approach I took in my doctoral thesis, Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose'. Other typical examples are Drew, 'The Italian Monasteries of Nonantola, San Salvatore and Santa Maria Theodota'; Polonio, *Il monastero di San Colombano di Bobbio*; Ring, 'The Lands of Farfa'; Wemple, 'San Salvatore/Santa Giulia'. Rapetti, *Campagne Milanesi* and 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*' continues this approach. It is perfectly valid but only when sufficient numbers of documents of the right sort have survived.

[155] Such formulae do 'mean' things however. One of the *massari* who held by charter (*libellarius*) in 855 was named as Auderace who also appeared in the 870 testament. Rapetti, 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*', p. 24.

[156] The name 'chestnut wood of the Franks' is not without interest given the numbers of Franks witnessing these charters.

[157] *CDL* 451 and 559.

[158] As at Gnignano and Cologno the landscape of Inzago has been greatly altered since early medieval times in response to population increase, making successful archaeological reconstruction unlikely. Inzago is now a small town (population 10,541 at 31 December 2010 ISTAT data).

from the Po Valley as a whole.[159] From this slim record it is impossible to tell if Anselm was trying to make money from exploiting his property, although the fact that he appears to have had access to considerable sums may suggest that he was and that he was a successful landowner and landlord.[160] Incidentally, it is interesting and potentially an argument in favour of the 'rationalization' interpretation that the level of detail in the texts increased once the monastery took over in Inzago as in other monastic villages of the flat lands. As already seen for other villages (notably Cologno and Gnignano), when Sant'Ambrogio's estates are considered as part of a network the more systematic exploitation typical of monastic properties becomes clear, as will be shown in Part III.

Were Anselm and his family competing socially with other families or institutions?[161] This is clearly possible given the proximity of a more complex society at Milan, but once again there is little direct evidence as little is known about the men who sold property to Anselm. Considerably more is known about those ecclesiastical institutions which also owned land in the village including the episcopal church of Bergamo, Sant'Ambrogio Milan, the nunnery of San Vittore in Meda,[162] the *xenodochium* associated with the Basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Inzago, Santa Maria Wigilinda, Santi Protasio e Gervasio,[163] and San Vincenzo in Prato. These churches, whose ownership of village property is recorded mostly by Bishop Garibald's will, were more likely to have been part of Garibald's networks as bishop, rather than Anselm's. It is also possible that collaboration was more important than competition, especially given the prevalence of the names Garibald and Anselm in this area: this may indicate extended family relationships.

There is nothing particularly personal about most of the Inzago charters: the formulae used are standard in many other contemporary charters. In most texts there is no explicit statement about what the people involved thought about the events recorded: this is of course typical of most legal contracts. Anselm of Inzago does not reveal why he bought land and other property in the 850s: we have to guess. Bishop Garibald's *testamentum* by contrast does have *something* personal about it as wills usually do.[164] He explained what he did because that

---

[159] Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, especially pp. 65–70.

[160] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1974 edn), p. 123.

[161] Leyser, 'Introduction', pp. 6–12.

[162] Abbess Tagiberga signed her name in *MD* 95, a transaction which Anselm of Inzago may have witnessed. Cf. Giovè, 'Donne che non lasciano traccia', p. 200.

[163] Vigotti, *La diocesi di Milano alla fine del secolo XIII*, p. 84.

[164] As there is in the much better documented examples of Erkanfrida (Nelson, 'The Wary

had to be made absolutely clear to his executors. At the start of a long text he launched into his reasoning:

> Ego in Dei nomine Garibaldus licet indignus sancte bergomate ecclesie episcopus, et filius bone memorie Isonis, qui vixit legibus langobardorum, presens presentibus dixi: Sacerdotali dignitas convenit, ut de suis propriis rebus ad exemplum aliorum Deo omnipotenti et Domino nostro Jesu Christo filio eius et redemcionem animarum muneram offerre procuret; et ideo ego qui supra Garibaldus episcopus per hanc paginam ordinacionis meae previdi pro remedio animae meae per consensum et largitatem Auprandi dilecto germano meo de rebus meis juste et legaliter adquisitis ordinare, quatenus in eternam beatitudinem salutem et gaudium sempiternum.

> [In God's name Garibald, unworthy bishop of the holy church of Bergamo, and son of Iso of good memory who lived according to the laws of the Lombards, being present say to those present: the sacerdotal dignity requires that [the priest] should offer gifts to the all-powerful God and his son the Lord Jesus Christ from his own property as an example to others and for the redemption of souls; and so I the above Garibald bishop, by this page of my ordination provide for the sake of my soul with the consent and permission of Auprand my dear brother from my property justly and legally acquired and order this for the sake of eternally blessed health and everlasting glory.]¹⁶⁵

These may not be entirely conventional pieties. Of course, this charter is wholly typical of many others in its concern for prayer and memory, but if the charter implies at the start that what is to follow is for the sake of Garibald's soul, it soon transpires that this *pagina testamenti mei* ('page of my testament')¹⁶⁶ is actually a collection of separate pious acts by which the souls of Garibald, Anselm, and their mutual kin are to be saved. The whole is a good example of salvation as the reciprocal part of an act of donation to a church.¹⁶⁷ The pious phraseology recurs throughout the document whenever a new provision is introduced: 'ob amore Dei' (once), 'remedium animae meae' (three times), 'pro remedio animae meae et eidem Antelmi viri sui' (eight times with minor variations), 'pro remedio anime meae et iam dicto Antelmi et parentibus nos-

---

Widow') and Angilberga (La Rocca, 'Angilberga, Louis II's Wife and her Will'). Cf. Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence* (Abbo's will) and La Rocca and Provero, 'The Dead and their Gifts' (Eberhard of Friuli and Gisla).

¹⁶⁵ *MD* 120.

¹⁶⁶ Although two copies of the document were produced, only the one kept at Milan by the monks has survived. Garibald presumably kept his copy himself.

¹⁶⁷ Davies, *Acts of Giving*, p. 121.

tris' (once), 'ad mercedem et remedium animabus nostris' (twice with minor variation). The extent of the repetition — not strictly needed by the diplomatic form of a *testamentum* — may indicate that the sentiment was genuine and heartfelt. Nevertheless, it is possible that Garibald may have had reasons other than the pious for his actions, reasons which the text does not reveal so readily.

In particular Garibald's deeds may be best explained by considering his relationship with his brother Autprand, who was clearly an important man within Louis II's kingdom.[168] What Garibald did had the 'consent and permission of *my dear brother* Auprand', a phrase repeated (once) later in the document. In many charters of this sort men refer simply to their brothers without any implication of affection, so the use of *dilecto* probably does indicate a close relationship.[169] Furthermore, Autprand actually signed the document himself: 'Ego Autprand vassus domni imperatoris in hoc emisso ab Garibaldo episcopo germano meo, ut supra, in omnibus consensi et subscripsi'. Autprand, a vassal of Louis II at this time, may have sensed that he and his brother might have something to gain from his brother's pious generosity to churches *in Milan*, ruled over by the formidable Archbishop Anspert. Did such giving enhance the brothers' social position in the metropolis as well as cement their fraternal loyalty? The document was, perhaps surprisingly, produced in Milan rather than Bergamo as might have been expected.

It is impossible to understand the brothers' actions from a single charter: other charters must be used and inferences made. In June 873 less than a year before Abbot Peter in April 874 oversaw the final ritual (*vestitura*) which constituted the actual transfer of Garibald's lands to his monastery, Louis II had granted at the request of his wife Angilberga immunity and protection to the Sant'Ambrogio monks.[170] Abbot Peter and his monks had at last secured this important concession and now had the direct patronage of the emperor,[171] a fact which Garibald and Autprand as Louis's *vassus* may have anticipated. The significance of their interest in Milan at this point in time is reinforced if other charters preserved by the church of Bergamo in which Garibald figures are considered. Of the nine charters in question, covering the years 867 to 888,

[168] Autprand is omitted from Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*.

[169] Cf. Rosenwein, 'The Family Politics of Berengar I' which uses *dilecto* to plot close relationships with that king. In later life Bishop Garibald may have been a supporter of Berengar (Bougard, 'Garibaldo').

[170] *MD* 124. Above, Chapter 4, on Louis II and Angilberga: Bougard, 'Engelberga' and La Rocca, 'Angilberga, Louis II's Wife and her Will'.

[171] Bougard, 'La Cour et le gouvernement'.

seven are charters of exchange, one is a precarial text, and the other a *libellus*.[172] The important point is that all the property concerned is within the diocese of Bergamo, in contrast to the bishop's will which reported that the bishop's private property was outside his own diocese. Whatever his real motivations were, Garibald's *xenodochium* must have been quite deliberately sited at Inzago outside the diocese of Bergamo.[173] He probably did not expect when Louis II died in August 875 that Archbishop Anspert would send him to Brescia to claim the emperor's body for the Milanese church. It may even be that the body in its 'five day journey dragged across the land' passed by the new church in Inzago sited on the obvious route from Brescia to its final resting place next to the grave of Ambrose in Milan.[174]

In my reading, Garibald's *testamentum* can be considered a rudimentary sort of historical writing intended to provide *the* record of these events because it supplies within itself a coherent narrative record and memory of the stages by which Garibald had arrived at the point where he was able to endow a *xenodochium*.[175] He claimed that he had bought ('per cartulam vinditionis') a suitable estate complete with a large house at some unspecified date before March 870 from his relative Anselm of Inzago. This charter of sale is now lost but may well have been available to early readers, allowing them to check the record much as we now inspect 'the deeds' of a property. This sale was not what might be termed a simple sale, between two parties otherwise unknown to each other for an agreed price, but rather an arrangement between kin. The fact of Garibald and Anselm's kin relationship is important in part because it gives rise to a statement in the charter about motive. Predictably for a bishop, Garibald presents his deals as piously motivated: 'pro remedio anime meae et iam dicto Antelmi et parentibus nostris'. The *xenodochium* is to be perpetually lit, and prayers are to be said for this immediate family. In this sense Garibald may have had a carefully worked out plan of purchase which might constitute a

---

[172] See Table 25.

[173] Garibald's archbishop, Anspert, set up his own *xenodochium* in Milan in 879 to which he donated family land in Cavenago which he had collected over the previous few years (Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', p. 200). Rapetti, 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*', p. 23.

[174] Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia* ch. 18. Andrew revealed that he walked with the body from the River Oglio to the Adda. He may be the *presbiter* and *missus* of Bishop Garibald recorded in Cortesi, no. 23 (December 870) and again as *presbiter* in Cortesi, no. 27 (May 881). Nelson, 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', pp. 160–61.

[175] Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form', p. 89 (on medieval ideas of history); Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters', p. 41; and Balzaretti and Tyler, *Narrative and History*, p. 4.

family strategy. If he did, it proved to be a paradoxical strategy which apparently led both to the earthly extinction of the family and to its perpetual salvation because the *Anselmi* disappeared from the record as suddenly as they appeared.[176] Gariberga and Gundelasius entered the church, she as *monacha* and he as *clericus* and then *subdiaconus*. Gariberga was abbess of the community of Santa Maria Wigilinda in 903, but what happened to Gundelasius we do not know. We may suppose that neither had any children but, as brother and sister, they both served the church in Milan rather than Bergamo.[177] Their example therefore supports the idea that Milan was the real centre of a hinterland which extended at least to Bergamo and Brescia to the north-east, as it extended to Pavia in the south, Como and the Valtellina in the north, and the Varesotto in the west.

Monastic Strategies

The same charters can be viewed from the perspective of the recipients. It would be clear that the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio got the Inzago property in the end even if only these ninth-century charters had survived.[178] If the events recorded in these charters had this outcome, was this also the result of a deliberate strategy? Did successive abbots develop an 'economic policy' towards Inzago? Historians of early medieval monastic life have long tacitly assumed that this was so in the case of Sant'Ambrogio even though not one document in its archive explicitly records the thoughts of any abbot. Abbot Andreas (844–51) certainly intervened at the start of the Inzago sequence in 848, and Abbot Peter II (854–99) personally brought it to an end in 874. Two charters dated March 848 are important in this regard because they do not deal directly with the *Anselmi*.[179] In a charter of sale Abbot Andreas gave the considerable sum of thirty pounds of coined silver to Gunzo son of Izo (variant 'Iro') for tenanted houses in Inzago and Gessate, but in a subsequent (or contemporary) 'agreement' (*conveniencia*) leased the land back on a lifetime basis for a small annual rent of twelve denarii.[180] Both the charters concerned were written at

---

[176] Castagnetti, 'Una famiglia longobarda di Inzago (Milano)', pp. 45–46.

[177] Bührer-Thierry, 'Fratelli e sorelle', pp. 58–60.

[178] Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', pp. 180–83.

[179] *MD* 82 and 83, both originals and both witnessed by 'Gundelasio' who may have been Anselm's son.

[180] This deal included land in 'Nebioni' acquired by the monastery from a monk (*monachos*) called Ermoald. It is unclear which monastery this man was a monk at, but it could certainly have been Sant'Ambrogio.

the monastery itself and have witness lists naming local worthies, including several Frankish and Alemannic vassals of Alberic, then Count of Milan.[181] Gunzo himself is identified as an Aleman and gave his consent to the transaction 'cum atramentarium de terra levavit' (with ink raised from the earth) a formula associated with charters in which an Aleman was one of the parties. The formulae used to describe the property transfer were certainly comprehensive as Gunzo handed over property 'quod mihi ex parentorum meorum successione obvenit vel pertinit aut pertinere debit, sibe de qualicumque meo aquisto aut quoque genium mihi pertenuit' (which passed to me by inheritance from my parents and or that which should pertain, or whatever pertained to me through my purchase or other means).[182] The abbot and his successors made sure of their right of ownership by the repetition of verbs of ownership in the text: 'trado, confirmo, offero, vindo et dono potestatem abendum et possidendum'. Apparently Gunzo had previously dealt with the property in a testament, which this new arrangement revoked.[183] That he could not sell, give, exchange, or bequeath it to anyone was spelled out.[184] Why did Gunzo change his mind? Was some sort of pressure put on him to 'sell' rather than 'bequeath'? Most probably he needed the money, and thirty pounds of silver was a large amount. From the abbot's perspective a 'sale' freely made was a better option than a bequest, as it

---

[181] Cf. Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder*, p. 114 (Gunzo is not mentioned). The connections between the abbey of Bobbio and Alemannia are explored by Zironi, *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio*, pp. 95–99, using manuscript evidence from its extensive library. This is not possible for Sant'Ambrogio, but nevertheless links of a similar nature may also be suggested for Sant'Ambrogio using the charter evidence.

[182] As recorded in different charters Gunzo's father was Izo and Bishop Garibald's was Iso, such a close spelling to at least raise the possibility that the two men were related (as suggested by Bougard, 'Garibaldo'). Other evidence suggests not (see Balzaretti, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose', p. 199).

[183] 'Manifestum sum ego qui supra Gunzius, quam ante hos annos rebus meis per scripta cartula hordinationis meae in ipso contuli monasterio abendum post meum discessum pro anima mea; sed modo confirmo, ut presenti diae omnia in ipso permaneat monasterio, et ipsa hordinationis etiam vobis a parte ipsius monasterii dedi pro vestra securitatem abendum et faciendum quod volueretis a meo jure firmatum, tam per ipsum judicatum et per presente cartula' (I Gunzo declare, that before this year by a written charter of my ordination I had assigned to this monastery my possessions after my death and for my soul; but now I confirm that from the present day everything should remain to the monastery, and by this ordination in your favour also I give this to the monastic party for your security to have and do with what you wish, made firm by my will, by this declaration, and by the present charter). The syntax is rather confused in this passage.

[184] In *MD* 83 which states that after Gunzo's death the property became Sant'Ambrogio's *proprietas*, a relatively rare use of this word in this collection.

was much harder for a family to challenge it subsequently. It was this deal with Gunzo that provided Sant'Ambrogio's route into Inzago rather than the activities of Anselm or Bishop Garibald who may well have been following his lead. Whatever Gunzo's reasons, his property was not a consolidated estate (*curtis*), which implies that Gunzo had not been able (or interested enough) in the property to develop it along those lines. It was only under monastic ownership that a more consolidated property emerged in the course of the tenth century.

The other key moment was Abbot Peter II's intervention in what had become by 874 a rather protracted twenty-five-year process of property transfer. The *notitia* of 874 which records Peter's acquisitions is mainly concerned with properties in another village, Gnignano.[185] It claims that Anselm of Inzago had control of several properties there which he had sold to Bishop Garibald in March 870 along with his Inzago lands. The bishop, having curiously made no reference to them in his will, had given them back to Anselm's son Gundelasius in October of the same year, together with another property in Castello di Liscate (which he had obtained from his father). By March 874 Anselm was dead and his widow Gottenia had sold her property in Gnignano to Gundelasius. A month later Gundelasius (as reported by a *monimen convenienciae*), had promised his property to Sant'Ambrogio for his soul. In return he received lifetime leases on properties in Gessate, Inzago, 'Noviculta', and Nesso. In doing this Gundelasius had the consent of Bishop Garibald and his brother Autprand, indicating that the bishop's interest in his *xenodochium* and its *dominus* had not waned. The final act in the process was the usual ritual of 'taking possession' ('Petrus abbas per columnas de ipsas casas seu per terra comprensit') and the drafting of a *notitia* which took the place of the five charters recorded in it which no longer survive. Presumably, those documents were as a consequence of this act deliberately destroyed.[186] It is possible that this *notitia* was fabricated to claim rights to more property than the community had actually been given by the *Anselmi* as it presents a situation in which everything was very well sewn up.[187] However, as later quite clearly genuine documents show that Sant'Ambrogio definitely acquired the Inzago land, it seems that the 874 text is authentic at least with reference to what it records regarding Inzago.[188]

---

[185] *MD* 125 (above, Chapter 7).

[186] Sennis, 'Documentary Practices, Archives and Laypeople in Central Italy', pp. 327–30.

[187] This charter is not preserved in the original but in a most likely contemporary copy in the hand of another notary. This introduces the possibility of some post-factum alteration.

[188] For the Gnignano side of the story, see above, Chapter 7.

After the Anselmi

The end result of all the dealing was the transfer of a consolidated estate of some value in Inzago and numerous properties in Gessate and neighbouring villages to the Sant'Ambrogio abbots. They were in a strong position in the village as the ninth-century charters suggest that there were by 874 only a few other 'outside' owners of village land remaining.[189] The tenth-century texts reinforce this picture but also hint at expansion into neighbouring Gessate. In February 913 Abbot Sigefred exchanged property *within* Inzago with Andelbertus *presbiter* and his son Gisenulf who resided in the village.[190] The monastery acquired a vineyard and some single chestnut trees in exchange for arable land. Besides Sant'Ambrogio only one other owner is mentioned in the boundary clauses: another *presbiter* Rachibert. These two priests could presumably have been attached to the Inzago *xenodochium*, but this is uncertain. Other men from Inzago are evidenced in charters during the next few years. In July 917 a charter detailing an exchange between Abbot Rachibert and a local man in Gessate of land in Gessate was drafted in Inzago.[191] Leoprand and Aunemund, both from Inzago, witnessed it. In a court case heard in Milan in April 918 (about disputed property elsewhere) the monastery was represented by its advocate, Giselbertus *iudex* from Inzago.[192] In May 931 Ambrosianus from Inzago witnessed an exchange between Abbot Anselbert and a Gessate man of land in Gessate.[193] The charter was written in Gessate by Gisenulf *notarius* (possibly the same man as the one in the 913 charter). In 941 Abbot Aupald exchanged land (a farm 'prope puteo de suprascripto castro') in Inzago with Lupus of Gessate.[194] This charter written at the monastery by Angelbertus *notarius* is

---

[189] In this respect they are similar to those for Cologno Monzese, Campione, and Limonta (but not Gnignano). Wickham's work on the Gundualdi of Campori in the Garfagnana (Wickham, *The Mountains and the City*, pp. 40–67) evidences much the same thing.

[190] *CDL* 451, February 913, an original drafted at the monastery. The abbot was represented by Reginaldus, 'presbiter, praepositus, monachos et missus'. The largely local witness list (but none from Inzago itself) included three of the abbot's *vassi*. The 'Gisenulf from Inzago' who witnessed an exchange of property in Concorezzo between Abbot Peter II and the archpriest of San Giovanni Monza in May 892 may be the same man (*MD* 155, an original, drafted at the monastery).

[191] *CDL* 473 (an original written by Ropaldus *notarius*).

[192] *CDL* 475, an original.

[193] *CDL* 539, an original.

[194] *CDL* 559, an original.

the earliest reference to a *castrum* (fortified site) in Inzago and records that Sant'Ambrogio owned all land listed in the boundary clauses except for the nunnery of San Vittore in Meda.[195] One other text is worth comment, a *promissio* of March 985 (drawn up in Imbersago) in which Wilielmus of Bergamo, son of Aupo who had been count of Bergamo, agreed that neither he nor his relations should molest Abbot Gaidoald or any of his servants in Inzago.[196] This is intriguing as it suggests that potential challenges from interests based in Bergamo were still possible more than a century after Abbot Peter II had everything secured for his monastery in this politically liminal place but that the challenge was easily headed off with the consensual use of documents recording 'agreement' (in this case a *promissio*, in other cases the *convenientia*) which avoided the courtroom.[197] From this point on the abbots of Sant'Ambrogio seem to have had a monopoly in this village.[198]

A small dossier of charters like this one (just under 10 per cent of the total Sant'Ambrogio corpus), while it permits some conclusions about the connections between property, politics, and power in this place at this time, does not at one level reveal much that is not found in similar charters from other parts of Europe.[199] Inzago was like many other ninth-century villages in which local owners lost out to more distant — and usually ecclesiastical — lords. But at another level the ubiquity of such texts and what they record is precisely the point: the *accumulation* of their evidence clarifies how societies actually worked in real places on the ground each of which was unique in its own ways. Dossiers such as the Inzago example show how complex real power was at the level of each village. In this case tracking property deals in some detail has revealed that family (and presumably personal) relationships were — with all their ups and downs — a very important part in the wider processes of who got what property and that in *this* village there was in no sense a true market in land in this period, despite its proximity to one of the largest towns in ninth-century Europe.[200] The amount of reference to Alemans and Franks in the Inzago charters is also

---

[195] Settia, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana*, p. 225. Cf. other *castra* at Cologno and Gnignano, above, Chapter 7.

[196] *CDL* 826, an original.

[197] Costambeys, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy', pp. 133–41.

[198] Wickham, 'Justice in the Kingdom of Italy in the Eleventh Century', p. 217, discussing a charter of 1015.

[199] Innes, 'Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire'.

[200] Van Bavel, 'The Organization and Rise of Land and Lease Markets' shows this to be a later development.

crucial, for it was these men who seemed to want to patronize Sant'Ambrogio either by directly giving it land or by assisting in the transfer of land to the community by others. The fact that their presence was much less in the Limonta dossier helps to validate a methodology which takes 'the dossier' as its starting point. The histories of both places are meaningfully different from each other only when the tiniest details are taken into consideration alongside the wider picture.

These charters, as texts and as artefacts, were certainly important in the construction of relationships of power, and some of the motives and strategies of those involved can be unearthed by reading them. It must be presumed that ninth-century people had dreams, beliefs, likes, and dislikes as we do, and that these characteristics must help to explain their actions. Yet the nature of power in the few village societies in the Milanese region documented by charters remains obscure because most of what happened even in comparatively well-documented villages was never recorded in any charter text. How could it have been? In the end it has to be more than simple coincidence that the moment when a *castrum* appeared in Inzago in 941 is exactly the point when this dossier effectively ends. That happened also at Cologno and Gnignano. The forces which caused such fortifications to appear — real physical force is implied by the quite numerous but passing references to vassals in these charters who compelled the less powerful to comply and by the phrase *per vim* used in Garibald's testament — were never going to be constrained by those in society who tried to play by the legal rules which charters had come to represent.[201] It was pointless to document the building of a castle with a charter as at the time bricks and mortar spoke more loudly than any parchment. Parchments, however, had the last laugh, surviving to tell their stories long after castles had perished.

[201] Halsall, *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 4–5. For changing relationships between the powerful and the poor around the year 1000, see Moore, *The First European Revolution*, pp. 39–44, and West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution*, pp. 55–57 (comparisons with Reims).

Part III

Conclusion

Introduction to Part III

In the ancient basilica church of San Simpliciano just north of Milan's centre displayed high up on the wall of the left transept is an early medieval charter, carved into a stone slab.[1] This is the (or perhaps 'a') last will and testament of Guilitio, a man from Somma Lombardo in the Varesotto.[2] Here is the text:

> In nomine sancte et trinitate trinitatis, ego Guilitionis de loco summa iudico ut ecclesia quam ego noviter edificavi super meam proprietatem in honorem sancta fidei in ipso loco summa ubi dicitur brecallo una cum castro et turre et solariis et salis et cassina cum areis earum seu curte cum omnibus aliis rebus in ipso loco summa vel in aliis locis reicentibus cum piscaria una in ticino ad pedrinam quas iudicatis habeo vel quas iudica vero predicte ecclesie sancta fidei sicut legitur in cautis iudicati nei presenti die ipsa eccelsia cum prenotatis omnibus rebus deveniat in potestate et regimine seu ordinatione monasterii sancti simpliciani fondati foris prope civitatem mediolani ita ut duo monachi habitant in ipsa ecclesia et de ipsis rebus vivant cottidie pro remedio anime mee et hoc iudico ut nullus archiepiscopus vel abas aut ulla persona non habeat potestatem de ipsis rebus invasionem facere et si flerit irrita sit et res aliena et in parentum meorum permaneant potestate quam diu ipsa invasione destructa fuerunt et qui hanc meam ordinationem fregerit anathema sit et cum iuda traditore damnatus sit.

> [In the name of the Holy Trinity, I Guilitio from Somma declare that the church which I have newly built on my property in honour of St Faith in Somma at the

---

[1] Giulini, *Memorie spettanti alla storia*, II, 321–22, transcribed the text and commented that it was sited near an altar dedicated to St Faith. By 1840 the altar had gone and the stone was moved to its present position. Latuada in 1738 does not mention it in his description of the church: *Descrizione di Milano*, V, 71–83.

[2] Forcella, IV, no. 135, pp. 103–04.

place called 'Brecallo' together with a castle and tower and houses and halls and huts with the land they are on and the estate with everything else in Somma or in places nearby with one fishpond in the Ticino 'ad Pedrinum' which property I hold by charter together with the church of St Faith which holds by charter should by the present charter be transferred to the legal control of the monastery of San Simpliciano founded outside but near the city of Milan so that there should be two monks living there all the time at that church and its property for the sake of my soul (*pro remedio*) and I declare that neither archbishop nor abbot nor any other person should take power over those things and if by invasion such a person gives rise to tears the whole thing should pass to my relatives permanently and destroy this my ordination let them be anathema and damned as was the traitor Judas.]

Such rootless documents tantalize us. Who was Guilitio? Why did he commission a charter in stone rather than the more normal parchment? Why is the stone still in this church? Why did he establish a church in Somma in honour of St Faith, a much-venerated Aquitainian saint? When was a monastery instituted at San Simpliciano and why was Guilitio interested in it? These are all questions without firm answers, as no other documents from this period relating either to the man, the place, or the dedication have survived. It is likely, as builders of castles tend to be important people, that Guilitio's act was in some way unusual. In fact, the epigraphy suggests a late ninth- or early tenth-century date for the stone as well as its charter text,[3] which makes this a unique object in this region where charters in stone usually date from the eleventh century.[4] Assuming that this is the real date of the text, the dedication to St Faith becomes credible: her cult was popular at that time, as the tenth-century *passio* of that saint probably written at Conques shows.[5] We might speculate further that because a few other charters show that by the year 850 the monks of Sant'Ambrogio already had some property in the vicinity of Somma (notably Sumirago also the result of a bequest), it may be that Guilitio's act was in some way a competitive one, prompted by the presence of a monastic community at San Simpliciano, an

---

[3] Gray, 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions', n. 71 (p. 95). There is no date in the text, but the event can be roughly dated palaeographically. The suggested date is Gray's who noted that 'the epigraphy is very inferior' but also that the text has many abbreviations and ligatures, suggesting a practised level of Latin. Banti, 'Epigrafi "documentarie", "chartae lapidariae" e documenti (in senso proprio)', pp. 144–45, dates it to the eleventh century on the same grounds. He shows that in form it is effectively a selection of the parts of the written text most relevant to San Simpliciano.

[4] In addition to Banti (previous note), Favreau, *Épigraphie medievale*, pp. 32–46, and Sannazaro, 'Epigrafia e città', p. 93, deal with the *charta lapidaria* as a form.

[5] Taylor, 'Miracula, Saints' Cults and Socio-Political Landscapes', p. 117.

ancient basilica church like Sant'Ambrogio about which, however, almost nothing is known. It is unlikely to be coincidence that Hadericus, a late ninth-century abbot of San Simpliciano (the only one known in our period), is recorded in another (damaged) charter (of exchange) probably from this time, so possibly it was he who secured Guilitio's gift for his community.[6]

Guilitio's will and the speculative context proposed here provide an appropriate opening for this book's conclusion precisely because of the limitations such a document, as an isolated survival, presents the historian working with charters. Without proper context a single document like this — however rare or unusual — is not especially useful. Fortunately this stone charter is in almost every respect not typical of the early medieval charters of Milan and its region. Relative to other places, there is a lot of material surviving from this city, and it survives in a wide range of different forms which suggests that Milan was a central place throughout the period that generated documentation of its own existence. Charters, as is by now very clear, were certainly used widely across many levels of society by laypeople as well as ecclesiastics, and this is one good reason why the charter evidence should be prioritized if the aim is to understand how an early medieval city actually worked as an organism.

City and countryside have proved a natural pairing for historians, perhaps especially those interested in the Italian past. Philip Jones — one of the most insightful historians of medieval Italy — devoted much of his book on the Italian city-state to explaining how city and countryside were linked by economic transactions.[7] This insight is still very important despite a shift from economic to cultural explanations by many in the historical profession. Chapter 10 refocuses attention on economic matters, insofar as these are revealed by charter evidence. The preceding chapters have suggested that early medieval monasteries — Sant'Ambrogio in this instance — were institutions which facilitated micro-connections between people and places in many ways, both routine and exceptional.[8] Some of these activities obviously had spiritual motivations, and

---

[6] Bibl. Ambr., MS Perg. 4542 Iemale 254 edited as *CDL* 316 and dated by the editor to '882–896' (the dates of the pontificate of Archbishop Anselm II). Hadericus signed his name in a clear book hand ('Hadericus peccator et humilis abbas huic commutationi a me facta subscripsi') as witness to this exchange of property (in a place unknown) between the abbot and Reszertus, a priest. It was overseen by Gilardo, *missus* of Archbishop Anselm of Milan. I am grateful to the Biblioteca Ambrosiana for supplying a digital copy of the manuscript. Hadericus was the subject of a letter from Pope John VIII to Archbishop Anspert in February 881.

[7] Jones, *The Italian City-State*, pp. 55–115.

[8] Sennis, 'Monasteries and Cities', p. 193.

those have been drawn out from the charter material when they are present, for example in the motivations expressed when making testaments.[9] Charters are not, however, the best source evidence for spiritual concerns. They are a much better source for transactions that we now term 'economic' including property transfer, land management, production for a market, and the establishment and maintenance of a property portfolio.[10] Part III focuses on the connectivity which such transactions brought about within the region around Milan and in particular how the activities of the monks of Sant'Ambrogio helped to form a hinterland for Milan which was differently constituted from the earlier hinterland of Roman times based on an empire-wide system of exchange. Charters which both constituted and documented transactions evidence this distinctive ecosystem, and the microanalysis of charters — whether isolated texts or dossiers — is essential to understand how urban territories were formed and sustained, and thus how urban life came to be so important both in Milan and across much of the Italian peninsula.

---

[9] These points apply also to other urban churches, above all the cathedral.

[10] Above, Chapter 1.

Hinterland

The Importance of Microanalysis

The anonymous poet of the eighth-century *Versum* noted (in verse 17) that Milan was 'generumque diversorum referta seminibus' (filled with grain of different varieties) and 'abundant wine' ('vini copia') and in doing so noticed that his city had an economic alongside a spiritual function. From the early ninth century references to renders in leases show that many types of grain were indeed grown in the region around the city, including various sorts of wheat, rye, barley, and millet, and that wine was a normal requirement in such arrangements.[1] The most extensive list of grains is found in a lease (*libellus*) made by Sant'Ambrogio with a man living in Bozzolo between Parma and Mantua. He had to return annually renders of rye, spelt (*seligine*), barley (*ordeo*), millet (*milio*), and flax (*linum*) to the monastery's *dispentium* at Cavenago.[2] In this instance it is to be presumed that this property came to Sant'Ambrogio via an earlier transaction with a local institution or person, most probably the monastery of San Sisto in Nonantola, which dominated that area.[3] The interaction of individual and institution in this example is typical of numerous

---

[1] *MD* 42 (March 809), *segale* and *panigo* as annual renders in Saronno; *MD* 61a (before June 835), *segale* at Limonta; *CDL* 182 (853), *vicia et lino* (vetch and flax) from property near Lodi; *MD* 90 (853) *segale* and *legumina* near Monza; *CDL* 186 (854), *segale* and *panicum* near Como; *MD* 104 (861), *segale* and *panicum* Cologno.

[2] *MD* 162 (May 897).

[3] Discussed by Andreolli, 'Terre monastiche'.

micro-relations delineated in earlier chapters, and the text is good evidence of Congost's view that the social relationships that cohere around property and its transfer are more important than the strictly legal aspects of transactions.[4] The document certainly provides a valuable if rare insight into the physical reach of Sant'Ambrogio's activities. Churches and lay landlords (whose actions although significantly less well documented are observable in a few texts) collected these renders into central places (*curtes* or *dispentia*) to be consumed locally or to be sold further afield at markets. How grain, wine, and the other products of local agriculture circulated, how the existence of Sant'Ambrogio facilitated that, and how this local economy (or 'hinterland', Ital. *entroterra*) might be linked by trade or other forms of exchange to the wider economy of the region are the main issues examined in this concluding chapter.

The word hinterland — a late nineteenth-century coinage in English borrowed from German geographical scholarship — featured prominently in Horden and Purcell's discussion of urban life over the long term in their book *The Corrupting Sea* (2000).[5] Their more precise concept of 'dispersed hinterland' was designed to fit the history of towns and cities into their overall ecological approach to the Mediterranean past and to apply to all types of settlement however small or large. The connectedness of ecological systems is their overriding point, and in my view a convincing approach. They argued that, 'Just as the site of a town should be reconceived as a number of overlapping ecologies, so should its hinterland be thought of as a complex set of short distances and definite places'.[6] This perspective breaks away from the traditional view that 'real' cities — especially 'exceptional' ones like Milan — could only be supported by extended networks of long-distance trade,[7] a view perhaps gaining traction again in the light of the remarkable excavations at Comacchio as it has among archaeologists more generally in the last decades.

The Comacchio excavations must inform the answers which can be given to macro-level questions, especially how the dispersed hinterland of Milan may have connected with the bigger economic system represented by the Po Plain and whether such connections might allow the whole Po Plain to be seen in

---

[4] Introduction to Part I.

[5] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, pp. 115–22, 560–61. Cf. Horden and Purcell, 'Four Years of Corruption', pp. 369–71.

[6] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p. 121.

[7] Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 3–8 (his model), 8–17 (challenges to it, including 'the production model').

effect as the hinterland of Milan which was surely its largest settlement. That was an issue raised by Violante in 1953 in the first chapter of *La società milanese* which drew on the work of Hartmann and Pirenne to argue that a thriving system of exchange up and down the Po prompted the revival and further development of Milan as an urban society.[8] Crucial to his line of argument was the so-called Comacchio pact, which showed the Lombard king Liutprand early in his reign validating the 'commercial' activities of the men of Byzantine Comacchio.[9] For Violante that document demonstrated the existence of a trading network which was exploited by Milanese merchants and local elites who moved from countryside into the town to become 'milanesi'. They featured prominently in later chapters of Violante's book as the main motivators of the economic 'revival' of the city and its region.[10] This was, in fact, stretching a point as the pact dates to the early eighth century and the charters he most frequently cited in his discussion to at least a century and a half later.

How early medieval economies functioned is for most — historians and archaeologists alike — understood very differently sixty years after Violante's book, as the work of Horden and Purcell, Hodges, McCormick, Moreland, and Wickham, among many others, has demonstrated. The influence of anthropology has given rise to a world dominated by gift-exchange, ritual, and performance which would perhaps have been alien to Violante's way of thinking.[11] The microanalysis of property transfer undertaken in previous chapters of this book has reflected these new ways of reading charters, outlined in Part I. One ongoing theme has been that Sant'Ambrogio — better documented than other ecclesiastical institutions and laypeople in this region — demanded from its labour force consistent production to support its community in their work of daily prayer which was so highly valued by rulers and people alike. In this way the intervention of this and other monasteries in established patterns of ownership and the concomitant exploitation could be said to have had some

[8] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 3–49. Cf. Effros, 'The Enduring Attraction of the Pirenne Thesis', an important critique of the ways in which Pirenne's work is still used today.

[9] Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries' (English translation of the *pactum* at pp. 219–20); Montanari, *Alimentazione e cultura nel medioevo*, pp. 147–63.

[10] Cf. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 8–11, on this type of individual as 'agents of economic change'.

[11] E.g. Moreland, 'Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy', pp. 78–91; Curta, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving'; Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 15–17, on 'the ritual economy'.

part in the effective functioning of a hinterland of 'overlapping ecologies'.[12] Milan *before* Sant'Ambrogio had been the regional centre in political, social, and cultural terms throughout Late Antiquity and beyond, as emphasized in Chapter 3, but crucially the absence of local charters means, in contrast with Ravenna,[13] that the details of how this system functioned on the ground (literally) are unknowable. This is unfortunate as an economy which operated at the regional level is likely to have involved clerics based at the Sant'Ambrogio site long before the first surviving charters of AD 721. The role of 'Ambrose' as a cultural icon (Chapter 2, above), the fact of pre-Carolingian monastic practice in the city (Chapter 4), and the tenaciously urban character of Milanese society (Chapter 5) were all essential to a developing hinterland which operated successfully at many different levels.

By the middle of the ninth century, once a very high-status Benedictine community had been established with donations of valuable land (and the associated labour of people) by the collective effort of kings, bishops, and their supporters (Chapter 4, above), the monks led by a number of go-ahead abbots (Peter II in particular who 'doubled the fields' as his epitaph put it in 899) developed the monastic property portfolio (to use a modern concept) via complex networks of alliance with 'friends' and the support of such allies in court when monastic activities were challenged. Processes of property acquisition were in essence social in nature because it was necessary to persuade particular families or even individuals to accept monastic 'ownership' of village property which had been part of family patrimonies, perhaps for centuries past in some cases. That some people were reluctant to engage with the monastery is clearly documented by dispute records. How Sant'Ambrogio as a self-replicating institution interacted with the world outside the cloister and how monks (who were sometimes priests or clerics of lower grades with pastoral responsibilities) helped to create a meaningful hinterland at the very local level can clearly be observed in those well-documented villages discussed in Chapters 6–9.

Narratives of property acquisition and the stories told about land and its history remain pretty much beyond meaningful grasp although they occasionally survive in *placita* and less formal *notitiae*. Some assessment of the impact of monastic ownership and how it altered existing patterns and established interests is nevertheless possible, and it is important given the extent to which

[12] As argued in Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries'.

[13] Cosentino, 'Social Instability and Economic Decline of the Ostrogothic Community in the Aftermath of the Imperial Victory', p. 141, discussing the property of the Gothic aristocrat Gudila.

lives were changed by the rise of 'church property',[14] with its powerful sense of what David Ganz termed an 'ideology of sharing'.[15] Family fortunes changed, often for the worse and sometimes dramatically so in the case of village notables (e.g. classically the *Leopegisi* at Cologno but elsewhere too). The unfree were often subjected to great pressure in the interests of the continued well-being of the rich, whose ranks most definitely included monks at this period. As seen in Chapters 4 and 5 little is known about daily life for the monks at Sant'Ambrogio, but it is hard to imagine a community of real poverty taking all the evidence together. Monks certainly do not seem to have engaged in much physical labour, for example, as their Rule implied they might (*Rule of Saint Benedict* 48).[16] The villages of Campione, Cologno, Gnignano, Limonta, Inzago, and the Valtellina were comparatively well documented because they were valuable productive sites, and that is why it has been possible to devote whole chapters to them. The existence of better documentation may suggest atypicality for the history of these places, as documents from other places indicate that Milanese monks were active in many other villages for which only one or two charters survive or where the only evidence of monastic presence is in the boundary clauses of charters made for others. Some of that evidence is considered in the rest of this chapter, and the general point will be developed further. These analyses certainly support Congost's view that property relationships in all societies are in a state of mutability.[17]

Microanalysis of charters tends to privilege the sociability of property dealing over strictly 'economic' issues in the more hard-headed sense of that word. The picture of careful monastic exploitation presented by the documents should not exclude interesting questions about the level of 'rationality' demonstrated by abbots in the course of building up monastic holdings — why one land parcel was preferred over another, for example — and whether the 'economic' was conceivable at all as an autonomous sphere at this time.[18] For example, it seems likely that a true land market where transactions took place between parties

[14] Wood, 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church', p. 72.

[15] Ganz, 'The Ideology of Sharing', e.g. at p. 30: monks, clergy, and bishops depended on 'a conception of sharing based on the revenues from a system of landholding which was far removed from the ideal of the church at Jerusalem'.

[16] Ovitt, 'Manual Labor and Early Medieval Monasticism'.

[17] Congost, 'Property Rights and Historical Analysis', p. 74.

[18] Kieser, 'From Asceticism to Administration of Wealth'; Friedrich Silber, 'Monasticism and the "Protestant Ethic"'; Ganz, 'The Ideology of Sharing'; and especially Toneatto, 'Élites et rationalité économique'. Also useful is Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, e.g. pp. 116–21.

entirely unknown to each other for no other reason than profit did not exist in Milan until a much later period.[19]

Violante's upbeat model of 'pre-communal Milanese society' was based largely on the importance of long-distance trade, evidence of which he sought in charters. Early medieval archaeology was extremely limited at the time he was writing, whereas in the last few decades archaeologists have led the way in interpretation with complex models of production, consumption, and the use of money at sites such as emporia,[20] and results from the local example of Comacchio are now such that the issue of long-distance exchange needs to be reconsidered for the Po Plain. Michael McCormick's overall reassessment of trade and exchange within the Mediterranean in terms of communication, including a thought-provoking interpretation of the excavations at Comacchio, has suggested that the Po Valley did indeed constitute a complex trading system subject to significant seasonal variation — a vital ecological point — which caused specialized labour and production to develop across the region as a whole.[21] Agricultural specialization is an issue which the charter evidence can help address, and this is important given McCormick's relative neglect of agricultural production in the *Origins of the European Economy* and a similar blind spot (until recently) in the work of Richard Hodges who also tended to prioritize indicators of exchange of craft products over evidence for agricultural production.[22] By contrast Wickham has consistently pointed to the importance of agricultural productivity as the bedrock of all early medieval economic systems while not ignoring evidence for taxation (relatively rare) and for trade (largely using ceramics to track economic change) where that evidence exists.[23] However, as Banham and Faith have pointed out, Wickham does not actually investigate the mechanics of peasant production in much detail.[24] Drawing on

---

[19] Compare Feller and Wickham, *Le Marché de la terre au moyen âge* and Van Bavel, 'The Organization and Rise of Land and Lease Markets'.

[20] Notably Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*.

[21] McCormick, 'Comparing and Connecting' and, in a northern context, Devroey, 'Huile et vin'.

[22] Hodges (*Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 11–15) has recently suggested that peasant productivity is indeed an important question.

[23] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 535–50; Wickham, 'Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy', pp. 27–28; and the important article by Cantini, 'Produzioni ceramiche ed economie in Italia centro-settentrionale'.

[24] Banham and Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*, p. 1, making the big claim that 'without Anglo-Saxon farming, the rest of English history would not have happened' (!). These authors stress production throughout.

this and much other excellent work will help to decide if a meaningful connection between rural hinterlands (as evidenced in the Milanese charters) and long-distance trade (as evidenced in the Comacchio material) can be demonstrated for this region or not.[25]

The rest of this chapter is divided into three connected sections. First, the local ecological characteristics of a series of sites around Milan are explored to assess their productive capacity. Second, the processes whereby the monastic community of Sant'Ambrogio was able to meld its diverse properties into a coherent system linking 'short distances' and 'overlapping ecologies' are considered. The fate of the manorial system (*sistema curtense*) in this area is discussed here. Third, some arguments are put forward to explain how this local 'dispersed hinterland' may have been connected to the wider world through markets and emporia including at the site of Comacchio in the Po delta and later at Venice.

Landscape and Land Management from Milan to the Alps

The nature of early medieval land use and land management in this region is at the current time better documented by charters than by archaeology.[26] The detail reported within charters is an important feature of them, and single texts which are not part of dossiers can reveal very specific practices which are not otherwise documented. A couple of charters relating to Saronno around twenty kilometres north-west of Milan on the road to Como furnish good examples of this. The earliest two documents are quite complex, layered texts, which may evidence transactions which were centred on 'credit'.[27] The first was written on 18 June 796 and is termed by the notary 'cautio et obligatio' namely a document in which one party makes a pledge to another.[28] In this case the pledge involved two laymen and guaranteed the repayment of a money loan. Erminald

[25] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, p. 117.

[26] There is of course relevant archaeological work, including recent study of the source of stone and brick used to build and maintain Milan's many churches, which implies exchange or trade with Alpine regions and places much further afield: Greppi, Bugini, and Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale', pp. 108–22.

[27] Bougard, 'Le Credit dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge'. I am very grateful to the insights of my Nottingham colleague Richard Goddard about these charters and what they might evidence.

[28] *ChLA*, xxviii, no. 859, pp. 81–83; *MD* 34; *CDL* 69. A Merovingian formula for a similar text: Rio, *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf*, pp. 66–67.

and Johannes had reached an agreement by which Johannes paid an annual sum of interest (*labor*, 'work') to Erminald in return for the use (or loan) of ninety *denari*, a sizeable sum of cash. Johannes lived not in Milan but in the village of Saronno, a small settlement in the Brianza. The text states that the interest (or 'work') was to be paid to Erminald not as cash but as wine ('lavore in vino'), specifically three full jars of 'good wine' ('vino bono'). Provision was made for bad harvests ('in ipso vico per tempestas vino facto non fuerit') when the same amount of *puro cazo* (perhaps thin wine for early drinking?) would be required.[29] If Johannes did not pay up, then Erminald as creditor (or his heirs or agent, *missus*) could as surety and without the intervention of judges ('sine adisiones iudici') confiscate oxen and horses (*boves*, *caballos* 'tame or untamed', a phrase meaning used to the plough) from within the estate (*curtis*). If payment continued to be delayed Erminald had right of entry to the rest of Johannes's property (fields, meadows, vines, and woods) to the point when, if Johannes after thirty days had still not paid the interest owed, then Erminald would take the fine (Lat. *fegangas*, a rare word) and use it as he wished.[30] This situation — the Latin is convoluted — would then be formalized with a charter of sale ('pro extrumento vinditiones'). Johannes would lose his land entirely if he defaulted, and he could not go to court to gain any redress.

Encapsulated in this short text is a 'small world'. Of course, the whole story is not revealed. Who was Erminald and where was he from? Why did Johannes need cash so badly that he was prepared to sign away his farm? Did he actually default? Was the money he wanted really available in Milan at this time?[31] The

---

[29] The interpretation of *puro cazo* is difficult. Porro Lambertenghi (*CDL*, col. 128) suggested that 'vino cazo' was the juice obtained from the first pressing of the grapes, known as *crodello* in Lombardy. Milanese-Italian dictionaries suggest that *vin crodell* was a wine for early drinking, before the end of winter. Although this idea is plausible in context, it remains hard to see how he got from *cazo* to *crodello*.

[30] 'and if for 30 days we have neglected to release [taking *liverare* to represent *liberare*] that which you hold, then there remains the power to do with your *fegangas* as you wish'. 'Fegang' occurs in Grimoald 9 (*Roth*. 253, *fegangit*; *Roth*. 291, *figangit*; *Liut*. 147, *figanges*) to mean 'the act of theft'. Porro Lambertenghi, the editor of *CDL*, suggested that *fegangas* meant 'cultivated land' by analogy with twelfth-century charters in this area where the phrase 'ad infegandas et non disfegandas', which in his view referred to a requirement that land be cultivated and not left uncultivated, was found. Unfortunately he did not give an exact reference. The word is not reported in Du Cange and others, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* or Niermeyer.

[31] The work of Alessia Rovelli certainly suggests not, although in this instance it is hard to see how the arrangement set out in this charter could have worked if actual coins were not obtainable as that is what Johannes wanted.

horizons of the Saronno charter seem thoroughly local with the main interest in how much wine it was possible to make in good or bad years. Wine occurs commonly throughout the corpus of charters and being a common product did not need to be traded to give it value. Its production was normally domestic, an age-old part of a mixed farming landscape perhaps in this area centred on arable production (as suggested by reference to oxen and horses). Erminald presumably needed an annual supply of wine, and his arrangement with Johannes was apparently a reliable way to obtain it.

More significant is the implication that the arrangement between the two men involved 'credit'.[32] Erminald loaned Johannes money on the basis that he would pay it back over time, so presumably he trusted him to do so, a trust backed up by the record of this legally valid document and its witnesses. Importantly, the document was drawn up not in Saronno but in Milan and the witnesses were Milanese.[33] This seems to mean that Johannes — whose charter this was — had contacts 'in town' (a 'large world') and also, perhaps, that such an agreement needed to be drawn up in Milan because that is where the trained notaries were. The presence of two merchants (*negotiatores*) among the witnesses is also suggestive of a more complex social structure into which Johannes needed to fit himself. Both men were of course managing risk: Johannes relied on a good harvest to pay his annual debt, and Erminald might never get his money back if Johannes defaulted. Risk-taking is perhaps something less typically found in peasant-based economies, and it could be that in this example from Saronno the proximity of Milan with its undoubtedly sophisticated and complex society encouraged risky behaviour. As neither party is heard of again, presumably there were in actuality no problems with their arrangement.

Curiously, another charter from Saronno a decade later (and perhaps based on the diplomatic structure of the 796 text) reports a similar relationship centred on credit. This one is worth reproducing in full, so that this moment of property transfer and its potential consequences can be observed in detail.[34]

---

[32] Bougard, 'Le Credit dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge'.

[33] 'Acto Mediolani. † Johannes in hanc quationes vel oplicatione a me facta relegi, at supra scripta nonegenta dinaria in presenti accepi. [autograph] Signum † manus Dominici negotiatoris filius quondam Sigoald civitatis Mediolani testes. Signum † manus Johanni negotiatoris filius Materno da quinque vias testes. † Ego Thieoderaces da quinquae vias in hanc cautionen vel oblicationem rogatus ad Johannes testes subscripsi. [autograph] † Ego Donusdei scriptor huijus cautione vel oblicationes rogatus ad Johannes post tradita complevi et dedi'.

[34] AdSM sec. IX 6; *MD* 42, *CDA*, doc. 30, p. 120; *CDL* 85; an original and palimpsest as an earlier hardly legible charter is beneath.

14 March 809

† In the name of the Lord. In the thirty-fifth and twenty-eighth years of the rule in Italy of our Lords Kings Charles and Pippin (809), the month of March, on the fourteenth day, in the second indiction, gladly. Let it be established that we Dachimund and Walderissus brothers, sons of Rifrit of Saronno (*de vigo Solomno*) and the debtors, accept from you Sespald and Trasemund, sons of Traso of *Beroniano* (Bregnano) my [*sic*] creditors, one hundred and twenty (*sexxenenti*) good silver denarii, and it is agreed to keep them for the period of fifteen years, and for the use of the aforementioned denarii we the aforementioned Dachimund and Walderissus your debtors hand over to you Sespald and Trasemund our creditors as surety and in trust, all those things under our jurisdiction in the *fundus* of Saronno, the houses, estates, garden, open space, orchards, fields, meadows, vineyards, coppice woods, pastures, water courses, and access (*pummiferis, campis, pratis, vineis, silvas astalaris, pascuis, aguationibus*), everything in its entirety, as said above, in the *fundus* of Saronno; and we the above-mentioned brothers, together with our heirs, promise again to you the above-mentioned brothers and to your heirs to work and to improve those properties and so to realize interest (*persolvere lavore*) on the aforementioned denarii, that is three *modia* of rye, three *modia* of panic, and half (a *modium*?) of wine, twelve denarii for the woods and the meadow; and this tribute (*sic trebudo*, i.e. *tributo*) we will take with our own transport at the proper time to Bregnano to your house, and I [*sic*] promise to consign [it] to you, and we will receive you or your representative at the vintage or grain threshing at our storehouse (*ad nostro dispentio*). At no time during those fifteen years can you the creditors or your heirs go to court [*pulsarveridis*: *pulsatio* = prosecution] over that silver, and we the debtors and our heirs will not return less or delay [the return], so that access to these properties be agreed between them, so that such a price as three just men estimate be awarded to Sesoald and Trasemund; and let Dagimund and Walderissus make their charter of sale concerning the above-mentioned properties, and the above-mentioned brothers will not be allowed to give by lease for cultivation those things to another man, nor can we give them to our heirs to work, and we shall be obligated by the penalties in their contracts (*livelli*); and if we will forfeit to you Sespald and Trasemund twenty solidi, and we Dachimund and Walderissus and our heirs are not permitted to loan (*imprumudare*, a Milanese word?) that silver to any other man, which we must give to you, unless we can increase it by so doing (*nisi si de nostro proprio pretio facere poduerimus*); and if they loan to other men, those properties we gave over to you will become yours (*deveniat podestatem*) without a price; and if we pay our price, let us receive our property and our security (*cautio*) from you, because this was agreed between us; and thus I Wito by order of my teacher Ingilfrit notary write (this). Done at Bregnano gladly.

The sign † of the hand of Dachimund and Walderissus, who asked for this promissory deed (*cautio seo fiducio*) to be done.

The sign † of the hand of Widoald of Bregnano, witness.

The sign † of the hand of Ursus of Saronno, witness.

The sign † of the hand of Grimoald of Bregnano, witness.

The sign † of the hand of Donnoloni of *Bulgari*, witness.

† I Wito who wrote the above, afterwards completed the transfer and gave it over.

By comparison with the 796 charter this records a potentially more complex transaction because two pairs of brothers are involved which immediately extended the pool of potential heirs. Drafted locally the arrangement was time-limited (a generous fifteen years) and stipulated a range of sanctions for default. It is, of course, another document which involves laypeople transacting together without the obvious involvement either of a church or of a court, and the use of the word *tributum* strongly suggests that the two parties were not equals. It should not be imagined, therefore, that this document was some sort of neutral instrument, although once again as nothing further is heard of any of the parties it can be assumed that there was no subsequent dispute. The reference to transport obligations and the brothers' *dispentium* is extremely important evidence that lay owners managed their estates attentively and could be very much hands-on, exactly like churches.

These two documents from Saronno are unique within the Sant'Ambrogio collection in documenting relationships of credit between laypeople, and as such their evidence is obviously important because 'credit' is a fundamental part of transactions in which profit can be made by charging interest, rather than by selling something which has been produced in surplus. The social aspects of the transactions should not be allowed to obscure this fact and the implication of the more calculating attitudes characteristic of market-based, monetized societies. The documents are also a powerful reminder that laypeople could transact (and manage their affairs) entirely without the mediation of the church and that the frequency of such transactions was probably much greater than our ecclesiastically biased evidence-base suggests. The relationships reported here seemed to work without recourse to the urban courts to which churches often resorted. Trust lay at the heart of each transaction, but it was clearly backed up by implied threats of force. Trust extended to the witnesses, all of them laymen, who could be could called and questioned under oath. Documents were also witnesses and could increasingly be used to demonstrate a right over something or to do something. That is exactly why laymen such as Johannes and Dachimund and Walderissus had charters drawn up, and documentary culture, as a recent set of

essays has shown so well,[35] was far from being the preserve of churches and those associated with them. The 'short distance' from Saronno to Milan, therefore, represented a complex connection between the two places.

Nonetheless for daily practical purposes the physical distance was far enough to mean that Saronno and its inhabitants were somewhat removed from the city: it was probably too far for most people to visit in a day, unless they travelled on horseback (the preserve of the few) which marked people out as members of the local elite. It was presumably *possible*, given the impression given by the formulae reported in 796 and 809, to live a relatively self-contained life in Saronno, reliant on local production of a wide range of goods: grain of various sorts, fruit, hay (= animals, eggs, and cheese), timber for building, water, and wine. Similarly, it was *possible* for the wine produced by Johannes in the years after 796 to have been traded in Milan itself, perhaps by the merchants who witnessed that transaction, Dominicus and Johannes. The management of land here as everywhere was demanding work as a charter of August 849 from the same village implies in its reference to 'edifitiis, areis, curtes, ortus, clausuris, campis, pradis, pascuis, vineis et selvis, stalariis, rivis, rubinis et paludibus' (buildings, land, courtyards, kitchen garden, enclosures, fields, meadows, pastures, vines and woods, coppice, streams, canals, and marshes).[36] Saronno was therefore a sort of halfway house, influenced by relative proximity to the city but too far away from it for that influence to be anything but occasional. There does not appear to have been much specialized production here, and a charter which probably documents the moment when Saronno property finally came into the possession of Sant'Ambrogio confirms this picture. This transfer happened in August 903 — over a century after the first documented reference to the village — when the deacon Manivertus of *Oleductus* donated land there and thereabouts to Abbot Gaidulf.[37] Interestingly, Manivertus had eighteen documents to prove his title to this property which were handed to the new owner ('casis et rebus ipsis per decem et octo moniminas advenerunt'), a tally which certainly suggests that Manivertus was an active participant in property transfer. None of the eighteen texts have survived.

---

[35] Brown and others, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*.

[36] *MD* 84. *Rubinis et paludibus* are rare references in this corpus at this period and may therefore reveal something distinctive about this particular land. Cf. Carpiano, above, Chapter 7.

[37] Natale & Piano, doc. 4 (*CDL* 405). The identity of *Oleducto/Oleoductus* is uncertain, although the most likely place is Origgio a few kilometres away from Saronno. It had been a key monastic possession since granted to the monks in 835 by Lothar I. The etymology of the word may imply a connection with olive processing.

As implied by this lost documentation there are of course many other charters from the wider region in which both parties were laypeople.[38] Usually these are part of dossiers which display considerable church involvement, but in one case lay–lay transactions form the bulk of the collection. These are the charters from Isola Comacina (probably a wider territorial designation than the Isola del Lario itself) and the neighbouring lakeside communities, located much further away from Milan than Saronno on the banks of Lake Como.[39] This area is worth study because for the people living here Milan was a 'long distance' away in contrast to the 'short distance' to Como and Lecco, the locally important urban sites of most relevance to them. As this area represented the northernmost extent of the hinterland of Milan, it is important to investigate the degree of its incorporation within this hinterland.

The small island of Isola close to the western shore of the western branch of Lake Como had been a site of some military significance during the sixth-century wars, as reported by George of Cyprus, Prokopios, and Paul the Deacon (*HL* III 27). Paul presented it as a refuge both for rebellious Lombard nobles and for the kings against whom they were rebelling (*HL* IV 3; V 38; VI 19; VI 21). For example, Aripert in the course of his (successful) attempt to claim the Lombard throne around the year 700 destroyed the fort (*oppidum*) there. Paul, who wrote a famous poem about the lake early in his career, seems to have known quite a bit about Isola, which appears to have had a mythic quality in his mind as a site of buried 'Roman' treasure stashed there when the Lombards arrived on the scene. The ruins of several early medieval churches are to be found there now, mostly importantly Sant'Eufemia, founded by Agrippinus, Bishop of Como between 606 and 616. It was this institution which initially preserved the 'Isola charters' (a convenient term for them). In 1992 excavations undertaken across the whole island (which is only about seven hectares across) revealed a series of small houses, which could be early medieval in date, cut into the rock.[40] It is possible that some of the actors of our charters lived in some of these humble homes.

Como first appears in the Campione charters (Chapter 6) which show that Sant'Ambrogio acquired interests in this area in the early ninth century once the provisions of the testament of Toto of Campione (made in 777) passed into effect. Several citizens (*cives*) of Como witnessed a charter drawn up there

[38] For example, the agreement made in 852 between Adelburga and Baldric discussed above, Chapter 6.

[39] Carminati and Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense', pp. 36–48 and figs 5, 9, 10, and 11.

[40] Brambilla and Brogiolo, 'Case altomedievali dell'Isola Comacina', p. 465.

on 20 July 807 in which Toto purchased two infant servants.[41] Isola may be documented in the testament of Rotfrend of *Wattingo* (March 814) as a place where he had some property ('casas in Insula').[42] For the next couple of decades there are references in charters to villages in the area around Campione and to Limonta on the Bellagio peninsula not so far from Isola but no references to Isola itself. In March 859 a charter between two laymen was drawn up in Como (*civitas*) and another in March 865 (a court case held in the atrium of the church of Sant'Eufemia in Como).[43] The latter text reports a dispute between Sant'Ambrogio and two brothers from Dongo about property there and in nearby Gravedona, at the far north of Lake Como, which the monastery won. Sant'Ambrogio had had interests in the Valtellina — the valley immediately east of Gravedona — since the 820s at least, and in a charter of 867 in which Gerulfus *ministerialis* of Louis II distributed property for his soul the valley was described as within the jurisdiction of Milan (*iudicaria mediolanensis*).[44] Further charters demonstrate connections between the lower valley and Milan at this period.[45] A court case of December 874 suggests that Sant'Ambrogio was in dispute with the Bishop of Como over the control of the church at Campione, and as usual the monastery was victorious.[46] Archbishop Anspert owned an olive grove in Lecco which he donated to Sant'Ambrogio *pro remedio* in 879.[47] These charters taken together demonstrate that Como and the area around it was of continuing interest to outsiders throughout the ninth century. They show that the activities of Sant'Ambrogio here were challenged by local interests, notably the inhabitants of Limonta and the bishops of Como. It is within this context that the Isola charters need to be seen.

One of the Limonta charters — significantly a sale between two laymen — was redacted in Isola (*Insola*) in December 884.[48] It is not clear why the trans-

---

[41] *MD* 39 (original).

[42] *MD* 45 (original).

[43] *MD* 100 and 116 (tenth-century copy).

[44] *MD* 119 (original). Above, Chapter 8.

[45] *MD* 121 (April 870) and 122 (November 870).

[46] *MD* 126 and 127 (which evidences another potential dispute between the same parties in January 875). *MD* 144 reports dispute between Sant'Ambrogio and Reichenau over the Limonta estate which was heard in Como in May 880.

[47] *MD* 137, a controversial document certainly altered after the event but probably reporting real facts such as this one.

[48] *MD* 148. Another text (*MD* 171) records a sale made in 901 between a laywoman and layman of property around the lake although not in Isola itself.

action took place here as the parties both lived in Limonta which, although a relatively short distance from Isola, does not otherwise appear in that dossier. Four of the five witnesses were from Isola itself. A *pro anima* gift of olives and chestnut woods in Quarzano and Bellagio respectively was made in July 885 to Abbot Peter of Sant'Ambrogio by Ambrosius (*monetarius* and from Milan itself) and was written up in Milan.[49] It reports that Ambrose had previously bought the land from Teodemarius *de locus qui dicitur Isola ripa laco comense* for the large sum of eight pounds of silver. The purchase had been recorded in a charter of sale written by Aupald which has not survived. The renders, including olive oil, were to go to three churches under the control of the monastery: San Nazaro in Capiate,[50] San Siro in *Vepra*,[51] and San Pietro in Pavia.[52] That transaction shows that Isola was not entirely outside Milanese networks at this point in the ninth century. The mediation needed to transfer land from Teodemarius to Sant'Ambrogio also suggests that transactions were often more complex than can now be known.

The main sequence of Isola charters commences in October 915.[53] These document property transfers within the (presumably small) local population both on the island and in nearby places on the mainland made according to the norms of Roman law. The term 'Isola' is used in various ways, and it would seem to have referred to the villages along the shore of the lake as well as the island itself. Only one charter — significantly the earliest (October 915) — directly involves a church, namely the archbishopric of Milan itself.[54] The presence of other churches as property owners is revealed in the boundary clauses, especially Sant'Abbondio at Como and other local institutions,[55] with only two

---

[49] *MD* 152. It is a physically imposing artefact: 286 × 595 mm.

[50] The monastery was given a *villa* here (with its *mancipia*) by Charles the Fat in March 880 (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 23) specifically intended to support the monks ('ad subsidium monachorum'). The gift also included a tenanted property at Melegnano.

[51] San Siro al Vepra is now a suburb of Milan but was once a village close to the Olona. A small fifteenth-century church survives near Piazzale Lotto.

[52] The monastery had a cell in Pavia which appears to have provided hospitality (*hospitium*) for visiting kings (Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 23).

[53] Natale & Piano, doc. 15/*CDL* 465. There are twenty-five documents in total between 915 and 1000, mostly preserved by the church of Sant'Eufemia on the island itself.

[54] *CDL* 465.

[55] Sant'Abbondio: *CDL* 487, Ponte and Chiuro (Valtellina); 799, Cosio; 810, Lezzeno; 816, *Trevanola*; 866, Cino. Other churches: S. Siro, S. Vittore di Missaglia, S. Pietro *de Clevede*, S. Maria, S. Stefano, nunnery of S. Maria, and S. Faustino.

references to Sant'Ambrogio at Milan.[56] Usually it is not reported how this property came to be owned by these churches. The bulk of known transactions involved laypeople transacting with each other and occasionally with priests whose affiliation is not normally given.[57] With a single exception, these transactions were framed as sales involving money. The properties transacted were on the island itself and in nearby villages, and in places further away in the Valtellina. The complexity of ownership revealed here, and the limited reference to Sant'Ambrogio and any other Milanese institution or person, suggests that the region was at the margins of Milanese influence at this time.

The land use which is evidenced in these documents in theory could have made the area particularly attractive to Milanese buyers for specialist products such as lake fish (needed for the religious diet) and olives (needed to light churches and thus to commemorate the dead). Yet there is no reference to fishing rights in the lake, although there is one at Chiuro further up the River Adda in the upper Valtellina.[58] There are a couple of instances of chestnut woods,[59] including one at Bissone which produced fruit for eating ('silva castanea portatoria'),[60] which could have produced chestnut flour, and a mill ('terra molendium in aqua currente' at Lenno complete with *aqua ductula*, a mill race) — which may have involved some capital investment — might have processed chestnuts as well as grain.[61] Otherwise the mixed land-use common across the region — kitchen gardens, meadows, fields, and trees — was the norm. There is a single reference to common land (*concelia*, again near Cosio), uncommon in the Milanese charters as a whole. The most frequent reference is to vines, which is interesting given the extent of Roman viticulture in the neighbouring Valtellina (above, Chapter 8). These were sometimes sited right on the lakeside, presumably to take advantage of sunny exposure and a frost-free environment.[62] It is impossible to tell from this evidence whether wine

---

[56] Sant'Ambrogio: *CDL* 487, Chiuro a single reference; *CDL* 665, Bissone.

[57] *CDL* 707 (968), Magnus, priest of the *villa* Gravedona; *CDL* 789 (978) and 790 (*c.* 971), Wido priest of Isola; *CDL* 858 (991), the late Dominicus priest and brother of Clemenciano of Isola; *CDL* 895 (995), Adam, priest of S. Giovanni di Bellagio.

[58] *CDL* 819 (983): 'piscaria in aqua Ada'.

[59] *CDL* 465, *silva castana* at Sorico.

[60] *CDL* 665 (962). Cf. Balzaretti, 'Chestnuts in Charters'.

[61] *CDL* 817 (983): *terra molendinum*.

[62] *CDL* 465, 'vitis prope cum rivaria' (Sorico); 557, *vinea* (Bellagio); 560, *vitis cum arbores* (Balbiano); 665, *vineas* (Bissone); 707, *vinea* (Cosio); 787, *vinea* (Isola); 789, 'campo cum vites et arbores super se abente' (Balbiano); 799, *vinea* (Cosio, Valtellina); 810, *vites* (Lezzeno); 814,

production was in any sense commercialized here at this time.[63] The absence of reference to olives in any of the tenth-century Isola charters probably is significant because this small corpus is essentially lay rather than ecclesiastical in focus and all earlier references to olives in this collection involve churches (see below).

The contrast between Isola and villages closer to Milan is marked, for they are characterized by rather different sorts of land use and arguably greater intensity of land management. One feature of lowland properties is very striking: the careful management of water which was of course necessary in a landscape with as little gradient as the areas immediately around Milan. Controlling rivers and creating canals helped both to drain waterlogged or marshy ground and to manage potential localized flooding.[64] The *pianura* was crossed by two large rivers — the Ticino in the west and the Adda in the east — topographical and ecological facts which seemed to have marked the social boundaries of effective Milanese activity, as few transactions involving Milanese residents or institutions took place beyond them. Both rivers are tributaries of the Po, the confluence with the Ticino just south of Pavia and the Adda just west of Cremona.[65] Being navigable all the way to the Po, goods could be transported there from sites close to either river. Smaller rivers are mentioned even more often in charters,[66] particularly the Lambro, another tributary of the Po. Controlling all this water was clearly an essential aspect of land management in the region, and a fascinating example of the level of detail preserved in some charters is a long description (March 862, a division of property between Sant'Ambrogio

vinea (Naggio); 858, *vinea* (Lezzeno); 861, *vinea* (*Trevanula*); 881, *vinea* (Sondrio, Valtellina); 895, *vineas* (*Auregio* and *Vixinola*).

[63] Cf. Devroey, *Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque*, pp. 140–45, for the viticulture in the areas around Reims and Paris at a similar period.

[64] Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 66–79.

[65] *MD* 153 (887), Cremellina, 'prope fluvio Adda' (with fishing rights, *piscaria*); *MD* 162 (897), Cavenago, 'dispentio in ripa fluvio Adua, in loco q.d. Cavanago'; *CDL* 706 (968), Brivio, 'res super fluvio Adua'; *CDL* 817 (983), Chiuro, 'piscaria in Cluri, in aqua Ada'.

[66] Olona (also known as the Vepra): *MD* 24 (776), Lampugnano, *fluvium Vebra* and a mill; 799, (Farfa doc.) Rozzano, 'res [...] super fluvium molonna'; 152 (885), Basilica of S. Siro *in Vepra*; *CDL* 517 (926), Lampugnano, *fluvium Vebrada*; 547 (936), *Vebra* in bounds at 'San Gregorio'; 722 (970), S. Pietro in Sala (Milan), 'campo [...] prope fluvio Vepra'; 752 (974), Lampugnano, *prato* with *fluvio Vevra* in bounds and San Siro *ad Vevrio*. In many of these charters shrubby land (*buscalia*, *gerbo*) seems to have been near the river. In the charter of 936 it is made quite clear: 'buscalia qui est auneto et paulecto [...] percurrente parte ian dicto fluvio Vebra'. *Paulectum*, like *stallaria*, refers to coppice woodland.

and a local man) of water management in Cologno Monzese, which will have required fairly continuous attention.[67] The reference to the bridge over the Lambro is unique in these charters, and discussed above (Chapter 7) along with the 'islands' in the river and the adjacent coppice woodland. The reference to a 'good' coppice wood, just like the 'good wine' from Saronno, suggests that the linked concepts of quality and value were crucial to any transaction. The rest of this text lists thirty-two separate parcels, individually quite small but in total fairly substantial, which present a picture of a complex landscape of meadow (*prato*), apple orchards (*pummario*), vines (*vinea*), gardens (*orto*), fields (*campo*), and chestnut (*silva castana*) and oak (*rovereto*) woods. Fields are the largest proportion of references presumably producing grain to be milled locally, followed by meadowland which would have provided grazing most probably for cattle. All of this depended on drainage and flood prevention. References to the River Lambro can be traced in many charters from Cologno and other lowland villages (Table 26) which confirm that this river was very carefully managed throughout the period in part by people who transacted with local churches as well as the monks of Sant'Ambrogio. Mark Pearce suggests that the *Milanesi* in the twelfth century preferred the Lambro to the Adda for the access it gave them to the Po and the Porta Mediolanensis.[68] These charters suggest that preference was current throughout the early medieval period. An important site on the river was Melegnano from where goods and people could travel by boat directly to the Po. It is likely to be no coincidence that Sant'Ambrogio had property there. Mention of several mills in different places along the river provides clear evidence of an ecosystem in which grain played an important part, perhaps for sale in markets at Milan as the capital investment needed for these mills was probably considerable.[69]

A charter drafted in 853 is a particularly interesting case.[70] With this document the priest Deusdedit and his brother Senator, a deacon, were arranging the disposition of their property after their deaths.[71] Some property, including

[67] *MD* 106, a division of property between Sant'Ambrogio and Gaidulf of Cologno. Above, Chapter 7.

[68] Pearce, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro*, p. 70.

[69] Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, pp. 139–49; Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, pp. 61–69.

[70] *MD* 90 which is a contemporary copy in the (plausible) opinion of the editor. It is in poor condition and some of the text has been lost. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 77–80.

[71] Probably three-quarters of their total holdings as the Roman *Lex Falcidia*, which speci-

Table 26. The River Lambro and its mills

Date	Place	Land Use
832	Gnignano	*pratas* next to the River Lambro
836	Locate di Triulzi	Former royal estate *super fluvio Lambro* with mills
853	Concorezzo	'una cum molino mostro in fluvius Lambro prope vico Blateno cum rubeas, clusas et omnia sua concia causa [...] seo et campo nostro, ubi clusas de molino ipsius ecclesie sancti Damiani afirmata est'
861	Cologno	*prato ad Cabrario*
862	Cologno	*molino*
863	Cologno	*prato ad Causario prope Lambro* (with *fine Lambro* in bounds)
863	Cologno	Dispute involving the mill: *posito in ripa de rivo fluvias Lambro non longe a vico Coloniae ...* (and longer description of it)
865	Cologno	Mill (with a wooden roof) belonged to the heirs of Nazaro of Tenebiaco & several references to bridges over the Lambro (ponte Sunderasco and ponte Carale) and *insole*
867	*Veniaco*	riba Ollio (and various references to bridges)
876	*Bladino*	Lambro in bounds, and *clausura ripa Lambro* (and the mill)
879	*Villolam et Vedano* (Vedano al Lambro)	4 tenant houses and *molendium fluvius Lambro*
879	Biassono	*ripas* near the Lambro, and a mill (*molendium*) nearby
887	*Octavo*	field, *alta ripa fluvio Lambro*; and another *super Lambro*
918	Cologno	*molendinum* on the banks of Lambro: *molas parias duas cum anaticlas, roticinos et scutas et homnem paratura ad ipsas duas parias molas macinandum*
920	Arcagnano	Lambro in bounds
923	Cologno	in bounds (and *isole*)
943	*Willola* nr *Coliate*	*fluvio Lambro* in bounds twice
970	Nr. Borghetto Lodig.	*Molendium in fluvio Lambro*
988	Milan	Lambro in text and in bounds
995	Cologno	*fluvio Lambro* in bounds, including an *insola prope Lambro*
995	Cologno	Lambro in bounds
997	*Octavo*	*ripas et fluvio Lambro* (mill)

a *xenodochium* in *Octavo* (most likely Cascina Occhiate nr. Brugherio midway between Monza and Cologno Monzese), was retained as usufruct for themselves and their sisters who were nuns at the Monastero Maggiore in Milan. After all had died the *xenodochium* was to support the monks of Sant'Ambrogio ('in subsidium monasterii habendum'). Other property centred on an oratory dedicated to St Eugenius which they owned in Concorezzo was to be given to the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio together with a mill and its races in the Lambro: 'una cum molino nostro in fluvius Lambro prope vico Blateno cum rubeas',[72] 'clusas et omnia sua concia causa […] seo et campo nostro',[73] 'ubi clusas de molino ipsius ecclesie sancti Damiani afirmata est'. A post-obit gift of a sizeable amount of grain (*grano*, fifty *modia*) and wine (ten *anforae*) was made by the brothers to support the poor, alongside rye and legumes. The *xenodochium*, oratory, and working mill were given as a unit by them to Sant'Ambrogio. Concorezzo is five or six kilometres north of Cologno Monzese. In the 860s the monastery was involved in a dispute about rights to a mill at Cologno, which was probably a different mill. In the 870s there are references to mills in Vedano and Biassono. Taken alongside the references to 'islands', which would probably have helped to channel the water flow and perhaps slow it down to make it suitable for milling, the resulting picture is of an intensively managed river. This is perhaps not surprising given the proximity of these places to Monza, an ancient town with Lombard royal associations to which elites were no doubt drawn.[74] The church of San Giovanni there was indeed an alternative recipient of the property of Deusdedit and Senator if the monks of Sant'Ambrogio sought to deprive the brothers of their life interest in the Concorezzo hospice, which highlights the competitive nature of landholding and the potential which this competition had for the intensification of production in this area.

Some ten kilometres directly west of Cologno is Novate Milanese. Detailed descriptions of land use here suggest very particular interest on the part of the monastic institution which owned the land in how it was managed. In June 912 Adelberga, abbess of Santa Maria Gisonis in Milan, exchanged property in *Valigo* near *Tagioni* with the representative of the church of San Pietro in

---

fied that, is rarely cited here. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni* nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo, p. 79, thought this reference might mean that the family had Roman antecedents.

[72] *Terra aratoria* in *Blateno* is evidenced in *CDL*, ɪɪ, doc. 231 (769). *Blateno* was between Sesto and Monza, probably at Sant'Alessandro.

[73] *Clusas* were poles set into the river to dam the water: Squatriti, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy*, p. 131.

[74] Monza charters: above, Chapter 7.

Milan who swapped land in *Novate*.[75] At *Valigo* there was a farm (*sedimen*) with its associated buildings, including a press (*torclo*), most probably for wine. The land comprised vines (*vineis*, eleven *perticas*), ploughed fields (*campis aratoriis*, six *iuges* and eight *perticas*), meadow with alder ('pratis cum auneto', Ital. 'alneto', three and a half *iuges*), chestnut woods (*silvis castaneis*, one *iuge* and ten *perticas*), coppice wood and another alder wood ('silvis stallariis et alio auneto', five *iuges*), and the land upon which a mill stood ('in loco et fundo Valede in ripa fluvio Ventabia [i.e. the Vettabbia] ubi molendium fuit edificatum').[76] The description of the land at Novate which was also centred on a farm is similar (ploughed land, meadows, chestnuts, and coppice) but crucially without either the mill or the alder woods. The fact that detailed measurements are reported for both sites and some sites are precisely located and named strongly suggests that these were descriptions of reality. The reference to alder woods is paralleled by other references to the tree in the Milanese.[77] The alder is a tree of wetlands suited to this low-lying landscape and has many potential uses.[78] Research in Liguria has suggested that the alder tree is of some importance in fertilizing cultivated soils, and its presence raises the possibility of a specific concern with soil fertility,[79] which could tie in with the considerable evidence for grain production in this low-lying region.

The southern part of the hinterland of Milan was characterized by arable, viticulture, and sometimes marshy environments. The activities of Sant'Ambrogio in Gnignano (astride the smaller of the two southern branches of the Lambro) have been studied in depth in Chapter 7. In its vicinity — midway between Milan and Pavia — many elite outsiders had land in the early years of the Carolingian takeover, for example at Locate di Triulzi a few kilometres north

---

[75] Natale & Piano, doc. 10/*CDL* 447. Discussed further by Balzaretti, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', p. 560.

[76] The Vettabbia is a canal constructed south of Milan (possibly in the Roman period) in part making use of the existing course of the River Seveso which joins the Lambro at Melegnano (where Sant'Ambrogio had property, given by Charles the Fat in March 880). This is the only reference to it in these charters. The canalized river still flows through the park which bears its name.

[77] *CDL* 488 (920), Arcagnano, 'silva castana et auneto'; 547 (936), Milan 'San Gregorio'; 715 (970), Rossate associated with oak and coppice; 842 (988), Milan, 'terra et buscalia, in alnis de alveum fluvio Lambro' (in the alders in the river bed), a substantial area of 20 *iuges* (16.18 hectares).

[78] Hooke, *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 223–26.

[79] Balzaretti, *Dark Age Liguria*, pp. 16–17, 26.

of Gnignano.[80] Sant'Ambrogio had interests still further east along the Lambro including in the plains around Lodi Vecchio about twenty-five kilometres south-east of Milan because of deals it made with the local bishop. This area is interesting in comparison with the northern lakes because of its very different ecology and landscape. Lodi Vecchio (the Roman Laus Pompeia) was on the Via Emilia (going from Milan to Cremona), not far from the River Lambro and an ancient bishopric.[81] It was at the centre of a centuriated flat landscape. The abbey of Nonantola had tenants here, including a man in *Canionico finibus laudensis* who made his annual return to the monastic *dispendium* in Pavia. The charter recording this contract was, however, drawn up in Milan where that monastery also had interests.[82] Celsus *de finibus laudense* appeared on the panel which heard a court case in Milan in May 859,[83] and in December of that year Anselm of Inzago bought property in Comazzo *de finibus laudense* including vineyards and a wine press which is described in some detail.[84] The crucial transaction was an exchange between Abbot Peter and Bishop Gerardo of Lodi in March 885.[85] Peter acquired, on behalf of the Milanese nunnery of Santa Maria d'Aurona which was under the control of Sant'Ambrogio at this time and which already had land there, ten plots of plough land ('terra aperta aratoria') in Lavagna nr. Comazzo in exchange for similar property already held in Rossate. Lavagna, Comazzo, and Rossate were contiguous villages near a tributary of the Adda. Three exchanges between the episcopal churches of Lodi and Milan were made in 970, 975, and 997 of property in Rossate and neighbouring villages, Comazzo, and Lodi itself.[86]

These examples from Saronno, Isola Comacina, Concorezzo, Novate, and the Lodigiano when taken together demonstrate the diversity and complexity of land management across the region around Milan, its variable intensity, and

---

[80] *CDL* 102 (July 823) involving the imperial vassal Hernost and his wife. His brother Hunger (*MD* 48, June 823) had land here too. The magnate Hugh was given the royal estate of Locate in August 836 by Lothar I (*CDL* 128).

[81] Talbert, *The Barrington Atlas*, Map 39; Pearce and Tozzi, 'Map 39 *Mediolanum*', p. 577. There was also a road from Pavia to Brescia at Lodi.

[82] *CDL* 182 (853). See above, Chapter 5, 'Neighbours, Homes, and Gardens'.

[83] *MD* 101. Wido *de cives Laude* witnessed — at the monastery itself — a gift to Sant'Ambrogio of property near Campione in December 863 (*CDL* 110).

[84] *MD* 103: 'terra vitata cum medietatem de torcolo illo qui Ariberti germani meo est positus de ipso lignamen'. This was probably a basket press.

[85] *CDL* 327.

[86] *CDL* 715, 762, and 926.

the rough boundaries of Milanese influence, including that of Sant'Ambrogio. There is no absolutely clear evidence of specialized agricultural production destined for the market, but the conditions existed where such specialization was possible.[87] Suitable crops for specialized production included grains, especially wheat of various sorts, olives, and wine, which will now be examined in turn.

As suggested at the outset of this chapter, the Milanese deserved fame as an area of grain production at least in the eyes of one anonymous eighth-century poet. There is considerable reference to grain, to plough land ('terra aratoria, terras aratas, terra arva'), and to mills (*molendium*) in charters.[88] The distribution of references to plough land (Table 27) is highly significant as most are found in villages close to Milan itself, particularly in places where Sant'Ambrogio was apparently the dominant local landholder. This raises the possibility that the monastery had a specific interest in grain production which would be perfectly in line with what is known about monastic agricultural practice in other parts of western Europe,[89] and perhaps that surplus grain was being produced for an urban market as described above. The paucity of similar references in some parts of the hinterland, notably those estates which produced olives for the monks, may support such a hypothesis.

References to olives appear only in the far north of the region, mostly around Lakes Como and Lugano. It was (and is) possible here to ripen olives sufficiently to produce oil because of the comparatively mild climate due to the ameliorating effect of the expanse of water. Otherwise, the nearest 'local' sources were from Lake Garda, Tuscany, or the Ligurian coast. Imports of oil from the south of Italy or beyond, which had been so important in classical times, had dwindled to almost nothing by the eighth century, although there are hints from the Comacchio excavations that there still was *some* such trade, and a small toll of oil (one *libra*) due at the moorings near Parma was reported in the Comacchio pact.[90] Major churches across the north, above all the royal nunnery of Santa Giulia di Brescia, owned extensive olive-producing estates near the northern lakes.[91]

[87] Balzaretti, 'Chestnuts in Charters'.

[88] There are other terms which might denote ploughed fields including *campo* ('field') which is very common and *longoria* ('long strip') which is fairly rare.

[89] Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, pp. 61–69. Cf. Banham and Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farming*, pp. 20–33 (cereals) and 44–57 (ploughing).

[90] Balzaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries', p. 220, as well as one solidus, garum, and pepper.

[91] Pasquali, 'Olivi e olio nella Lombardia prealpina' and 'Gestione economica e controllo sociale di S. Salvatore – S. Giulia', pp. 136–41.

Table 27. Sites of plough land around Milan

Place	Date	Land Use	Size
Borghetto Lodigiano	970	*terra arabilis*	80 *iuges*
Carpiano	823	*campo aratoria* and *terra aratoria*	1 *iugerum*, 2 *perticas*
Castiglione d'Intelvi	987	*terra aratoria*	N/A
Cologno	865	land ploughed in the course of a dispute	N/A
	987	*terra aratoria*	N/A
Cosio (Valtellina)	968	*campo aratoria*	N/A
Cressogno (nr. Porlezza)	932	*terra arva* (in assoc. with olives)	N/A
Gessate	917	*campo aratorio*	N/A
	931	*campores aratories*	
	957	*campo aratorio*	N/A
	963	*terra aratoria*	N/A
	963	*camporas aratorias*	N/A
	963	*terra aratoria* × 3	N/A
	963	*camporas aratorias* × 4	N/A
Gnignano	835	*terras arratas*	8 *iuges*
Gudo Gambaredo	856	*campore aratorie*	½ *iugerum*
	997	*campis arabilis*	8 *iuges*
Lavagna/Rossate	885	*terra apertas aratorias*	
Melesiate	964	*terra aratorio*	N/A
Monza	999	*campo aratorio*	N/A
Sertole (nr. Cologno)	966	*terra aratoria* (several plots) and *Adlebert mulinarius in bounds*	N/A
Trezzano	997	*campis arabilis*	10 *iuges*
Valede	912	*campis aratoriis*	N/A
Vigonzone	993	*terra aratoria*	N/A
Zeroni	995	*terra aratoria super fluvio Lambro*	

By contrast the involvement of Milanese institutions large and small in oil production was significantly less. Sant'Ambrogio's two principal sites for olive production — Campione on Lake Lugano and Limonta in Lake Como — although well documented and discussed in detail in earlier chapters, do not appear to have produced substantial quantities of oil. At Campione olives are documented from the year 756 when a grove of just six trees was donated to the local church of San Zeno.[92] That *olivetum* was bounded by another grove

---

[92] *MD* 16.

and 'olives'. Further olives are mentioned there in 769 (as *olivetallum*).[93] In 777 Toto of Campione donated 'oleum pro luminaria' (i.e. the fully processed oil) from these Campione groves to several Milanese churches.[94] The quantities were significant but hardly enormous. The Campione estate continued to be important to Sant'Ambrogio throughout the period for this oil which was clearly used for lighting.[95] The groves (*oliveta*) at Limonta were first mentioned as property of Sant'Ambrogio in Lothar I's diploma of 24 January 835.[96] The estate of *Oleoductus* was first mentioned in the same year.[97] *Olivetula* at *Aucis et Conni*, part of the Limonta estate, are referenced in May 835.[98] The oil from this place was apparently taken by the local serfs to Pavia, although the men involved famously disputed this in a case which lasted until 957. Sixty *libras* of oil were mentioned in 835 as due every year from the *villa* at Limonta.[99] Further groves on the lord's land were listed in the inventory of the Limonta estate.[100]

Other owners both lay and ecclesiastical are documented with olives. In 769 *oliveta* are recorded in Mandello and *Vareno* on Lake Como, again donated by a layperson to a church, this time San Giovanni in Monza.[101] In 807 some olive trees (*arbores olivarum*) of uncertain location appeared in a layman's sale.[102] In a rent agreement dated June 832 there is reference to an oil render (between twelve and fourteen *libras* per annum), intriguingly from Gnignano.[103] Given

[93] *MD* 19.

[94] *MD* 25. The churches were the ancient Basilicas of S. Nazaro, S. Vittore, and S. Lorenzo which each received ten *libras* per annum. The tiny local Campione church of S. Zeno was given two hundred *libras*, twenty times as much, which suggests that the physically much larger Milanese churches must have had other sources of supply.

[95] Fouracre, 'Eternal Light and Earthly Needs', p. 77.

[96] *MD* 57.

[97] *MD* 58 and 59. This place name clearly has some connection to olive, but it has proved difficult to be more precise: Olivieri, p. 390. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo*, pp. 91 and 171, firmly identifies it with Origgio, and she thinks that the reference in 835 is a later interpolation to that diploma. For her the first secure reference to Oleoductus is in a diploma of Otto III dated 998.

[98] *MD* 60.

[99] *MD* 61a.

[100] *MD* 61b.

[101] *CDL*, ii, doc. 231.

[102] *MD* 40.

[103] *MD* 53.

the location this is perhaps more likely to be walnut than olive oil.[104] Archbishop Anspert of Milan owned an olive grove in Lecco which he gave *pro luminaria* in 879 to Sant'Ambrogio.[105] In 885 a layman gave a single grove in Quarzano as a gift to another layman. The oil was to be sent for his soul to churches under the control of Sant'Ambrogio in Capiate, San Siro alla Vepra, and Pavia for *luminarias*.[106] With the exception of Limonta there seems to be less reference to olives in tenth-century documents for no clear reason. In the Isola charters there is nothing. In 903 Archbishop Andreas of Milan gave an *olivetum* in Lecco to the *xenodochium* he had set up in Milan.[107] He had earlier acquired this grove from a priest in his own church by charter. In 932 Sant'Ambrogio exchanged property in Cressogno nr. Porlezza (Lake Lugano) which included an *olivetum* for property nearer its Campione estate in Arogno (which did not include olives).[108] In the Velate collection there is a more revealing *breve memorationis* (an inventory produced 'before May 959'). It shows that olives were successfully grown in the vicinity of Lake Varese in this period.[109] Annual oil renders were due from *Dublate* (possibly Dubino, thirteen *libras*), *Bugussco* (eight *libras*), Novago (three *libras*), Bimmo de Supra (three *libras*), Bemmio de Subto (nine *libras*), *Castoplinno* (two *libras*), and *Vultruna* (two *libras*). Additionally the archpriest Leo had planted an olive grove with thirty-seven trees which he estimated to produce thirty *libras* per annum after three years.[110] The total was calculated at fifty-three *libras* annually. Interestingly, two priests and two nephews of priests were among those returning this oil. This reinforces the fact that churches were interested in local oil and that they apparently only rarely gave up ownership of *oliveta*. In the absence of evidence for oil production on the scale observable in the Santa Giulia documentation, it seems likely that Sant'Ambrogio's oil was used for lighting, whereas there was so much oil

[104] Microtoponyms referencing 'walnut' (*noce*) are fairly common in the area. *MD* 79 (846), 'ad Noce Schinioni' in Rho; *CDL* 460 (915), 'a Noceto' in Quarto.

[105] *MD* 137.

[106] *MD* 152. The sanction if this failed to be carried out was that the oil would go the monastery of San Vincenzo instead.

[107] Natale & Piano, doc. 3/*CDL* 402.

[108] *CDL* 542.

[109] Merati, *Le carte della Chiesa di S. Maria del Monte*, doc. 5. In addition to annual renders of grain and wine there are some less common items including oats, hay, and sedge (*lisca*) for fodder.

[110] Merati, *Le carte della Chiesa di S. Maria del Monte*, doc. 5: 'Ego archipresbiter Leo plantavit oliveto, quot sunt olive XXXVII, potest facere lib. XXX usque ad annos tres: ibi non habet plus melior quantum illum est'.

from Santa Giulia's estates that commercial production is really the only possible explanation for it.

It is also possible that wine was being produced for sale given the frequency of reference to it throughout the Sant'Ambrogio collection (Table 28). Vines and vineyards are the single most common land use referenced in the tenth-century documents usually with one of two terms: *vites* ('vines') and *vinea* ('vineyard'). The vine is a tough plant and suited to this environment, which probably explains this ubiquity although difficult access to imported wine may also be part of the explanation. In contrast to olive oil, wine does not seem to have been the preserve of church landlords as it was widely produced for lay owners as well. It was of course a necessary part of church ritual as well as a safe drink.

Table 28. Vines and wine in the Sant'Ambrogio collection

Place	Date	Land Use	Size/Amount
Altrona	962	*vinea* 4 named plots	N/A
Arcagnano	920	*vinea a Cruce*	N/A
Arogno (nr. Campione)	932	*vinea Berigio, vinea Bibiago, vinea Inviano, vinea Arignano, vinea ab Urza, vinea Domegalo, vinea Vinina* (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)	N/A
Assiano	late 10 c?	*vineas, vinea, vinea a Bancole* (*ecclesia sancti Ambrosii*)	N/A
Bellagio (Lake Como)	941	*vinea Marincio* (lay/lay)	N/A
Biassono	879	*vites Cenacello* (next to vinea Ariprand) (Archbishop of Milan)	1 jugerum
Bissone	'before 852'	*vinea* (cella sancti Zenoni)	N/A
	852	*vino de Gellone* (lay)	10 congia per annum
	864	5 *pecias vites*	Render of 2 anforas (lay in dispute), *monasterium sancti Ambrosii* won because had 2 libelli re. 5 pecias vites and the 2 anforas
	962	*vineas a Willari* and another (lay/lay)	N/A
Bollate	992	*vinea* in Confinio (*monasterium sancti Vincenti* /lay)	N/A

Place	Date	Land Use	Size/Amount
Bozzolo (nr. Mantua)	897	*torclo* (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)	half wine harvest to Cavenago dispentia
Busto Piccolo	922	*vinea* (*ecclesia sancti Ambrosii*)	N/A
Cadro	854	vines to be planted (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)	half wine harvest to *dispentia* banks of Lake Lugano
Cambiago	975	*vinea a Sarada*, *vinea*	N/A
Campione (Lake Lugano)	756	*vites Arochis* (lay)	N/A
	769	*viticellas* (bordered the lake), *vites de Gundoald*, *vites de Totone* (lay to church)	N/A
Canionico (Lodig.)	853		half wine produced to monastic dispensa in Pavia (belonging to Nonantola)
Cologno (River Lambro)	861	*vites illas de Magnone*, but then called *vinea de Magnone* when bequeathed (lay)	N/A
	862	*vinea de Possone* (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*), *vites et terra Claussura* and *vites et terra Possone*	N/A
	875	*vinea* in Baragia (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)	N/A
	885	*vinea* of S. Juliani (church)	N/A
	892	*vineas* (Monza to *monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)	N/A
	974	*vinea* in Baragia (lay/mSA)	N/A
	988	(nr. Cologno) *vinea Vignale de Agono* (lay to AbpM)	N/A
	990	*vinea* at Siaria (mSA/lay)	N/A
	1000	*vineas*, *vinea Senedochio*	N/A
Comazzo (Lodig.) (River Adda)	859	*terra vitata* and half a press (*torclo*) owned by the brother of the seller (lay) (detailed formula)	N/A
Concorezzo (nr. Cologno)	892	*vinea* given to Monza (mSA) (*vinea* mSA in bounds)	1 jugerum

Place	Date	Land Use	Size/Amount
Cosio (Valtellina) (River Adda)	968	*vinea a Fontana* (lay/lay)	N/A
	980	*vinea Tadolini* (lay/lay)	N/A
Dubino (Valtellina) (River Adda)	837		wine render (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)
Faino	812	*vitis cum castenetellum* (lay)	N/A
Gessate	858	*terra vitata 'Sorbalo'* (lay, mSA in bounds)	½ jugerum
Gnignano	851	*vinea* mSA	N/A
	856	*vinea ad clausura* (MSA), *vinea ad Casale* (mSA)	N/A
	897	*vinea Casalasco* (lay to mSA)	N/A
Gudo	997	*vineis* (lay/lay)	1 jugerum/ 11 perticas
Inzago	870	tenanted *vinea* + render (bishop BG), *vitis de Rasperto* (nun)	unspecified render
	913	*viniola de casa Gisenulfi* (mSA)	N/A
Isola Comacina (Lake Como)	941	*vitis cum arbores 'ad monte'* (lay/lay)	N/A
	978	(Ossuccio) *vinea* (lay/lay)	N/A
	978	*campo cum vites et arbores super se abente* (lay/lay)	N/A
Lampugnano (nr. Milan)	926	*vinea* (church to lay)	N/A
	974	*vinea*	N/A
Lezzeno	982	*campo/arbores/vites in casale Bagriana* (lay/lay)	N/A
	991	*vinea*	N/A
Limonta (Lake Como)	pre-835	villa	12 anforas per annum (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)
	905	to prune vines in Clepiate (mSA)	N/A
Locate	836	vines (lay)	N/A
Lucernate nr. Saronno	846	*vinea 'Clausura'* (church to lay)	N/A

Place	Date	Land Use	Size/Amount
Matis (nr. Campione) (Lake Lugano)	*c.* 963	10 plots *vineis* (with sizes), *sedimen cum torclo desuper*	N/A
Mellesiate	964	*vinea* (eSA)	N/A
Milan	885		estate of Nonantola receiving wine render annually
Milan, nr.	970	*vinea* (lay)	N/A
Musso (Lake Como)	995	*vinea* × 4 *in logo Auregio* (lay/local church)	N/A
Naggio (nr. Menaggio) (Lake Como)	983	*vinea in Planace* (lay/lay)	N/A
Niguarda (nr. Milan)	929	*vinea* (lay/AbpM)	N/A
Novate	851	*vinea* (church to church)	N/A
	877	*viniola* (church)	N/A
	912	*torclo* and *vites* (church/nunnery)	N/A
	940		annual render half wine harvest: 'et tempore vindemie nos si refaciamur et vos aut misso vestro superesse debeatis ad nostrum petitori expensa' (and to feed those involved at the harvest (nunnery)
	963	*vinea* (lay/nunnery)	N/A
Occhiate	853		10 anfore per annum (*monasterium sancti Ambrosii*)
Paterno d'Adda (River Adda)	968	*vineas* (church)	N/A
Rho	846	4 × *vinea* enclosed (lay to church)	N/A
Robbiate	966	*vinea, vinea clusa, vinea Longo* (lay/church)	N/A

Place	Date	Land Use	Size/Amount
Rossate	970	*vinea*, large number of plots, mostly named (church)	N/A
Saronno	796	*vites*, harvest and weather	*vino bono*, 3 full *urnae* (lay)
	809		half modia wine per year to be transported to the dispentio (lay)
	849	*vites* (lay to church)	N/A
Sondrio (Valtellina) (River Adda)	994	*vinea Roveredo* (lay/lay)	N/A
Sorico (Lake Como)	915	*vites* × 5, incl. *prope rivaria* (AbpM/church)	N/A
Sumirago	850	*viniola tras rivo*; *vinea* × 2 (tenants, lay); 5 *vineas* named (lay/mSV)	N/A
Trevanula	992	*vinea Paradasco*	N/A
Trezzano	915		half wine harvest (Archbishop of Milan)
Vanzago	867	*torclo* (mSA and 4 MI churches), *vites in calusuradi*, 16 plots of vines, *vites ad Novelle*, *vites ad limites*, *vites ad Premiana*, *vinea in medio vico*	N/A
Vertemate (nr. Olgiate Olona)	988	*vinea*, *vinea* (MSA/church)	3 jugera

Short Distances and Overlapping Ecologies

The successful management of land and consequent ability to raise revenue varied from one monastic community to another and also within communities depending on who was in charge at any given period. Some institutions managed to dominate entire landscapes for long periods, as the examples of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Valle Trita and San Salvatore at Redon in East Brittany show.[111] The absence of a major urban community in the vicinity of both these monasteries seems to have facilitated the local development of monastic power. The history of Sant'Ambrogio's activities in the socially com-

---

[111] Wickham, *Il problema dell'incastellamento nell'Italia centrale* and Davies, *Small Worlds*.

plex world of Lombardy was very different, for many rich men already owned land in the vicinity of Milan when the community was set up in the 780s and continued to do so long afterwards. There were also free peasant owners and tenants. The potential for resistance was considerable. Therefore it seems that successive abbots adopted a more targeted strategy which focused on the acquisition and development of key sites of production usually located near nodes of communication. The relatively compact nature of the hinterland of Milan with its established infrastructure made this physically easier and increased the chances of success.

Sant'Ambrogio, other churches, and lay owners collected production from their estates at a series of central places which tended to be either near navigable rivers (Adda, Lambro, Olona, and Ticino) or by functioning roads ('public road' probably indicating an old Roman route). Sant'Ambrogio's property was all within one hundred kilometres of the basilica in Milan. The furthest away were its estate at Felizzano near Alessandria (a royal gift) and some tenant plots in Sondrio (Valtellina) and Bozzolo (Modena). The degree to which the community could maintain effective control over far distant properties remains discussable, but most of its estates were much closer to hand. Mapping *curtes* around the year 1000 demonstrates a distinctive clustered distribution (Map 13). One block is around the northern lakes: Campione, Mendrisio, Nesso, Lezzeno, Bellagio, *Grossgalli*, Limonta, Civenna, Barni, Dubino, and Capiate. The other is in a rough circle some ten to fifteen kilometres from Milan: Cologno, Agrate, Cavenago, Biassono, Gessate, Inzago, Gnignano, Gudo, Sedriano, and Oleggio. Most of these appear to have been prime sites economically speaking. They were located where land was productive and where communications were relatively good. This accessibility allowed them to be organized as a single unit or series of units, rendering the monastic patrimony as a whole organizationally coherent, which allowed the abbots to exploit their resources to the full by demanding regular annual surpluses. These places were far from being islands of self-sufficiency as the use of the terms *curtes* ('estates'), *cellae* ('cells'), or *dispentia* ('storehouses') show that they were part of connected networks. Some of these sites are well documented by surviving inventories of production, and others are merely places of known economic significance for the community which are only occasionally documented. It is worth noting that the use of *dispentia* to help manage production was not a monastic preserve: the term occurs in charters dealing with non-monastic institutions and laypeople.

One monastic storehouse was in Milan and another in Pavia. The Pavia *dispentium* was in use by 873, the year in which its possession was confirmed to the monks by Louis II.[112] Many other north Italian churches had similar institutions in Pavia, the royal capital.[113] The *cella* in Milan was clearly set up for a similar purpose. Originally it was owned by Archbishop Anspert, who bequeathed it to the monastery in 879.[114] This cell was near the chapel (*capella*) dedicated to St Satyrus ('cella et senodochium') which Anspert had built near the centre of the city only five hundred metres south-east of the old forum/mint, the likely commercial centre of the city at this time (see Map 3, above). Near it were houses which the archbishop had bought from the monastery of Nonantola, and these very likely formed part of Nonantola's Milanese *curtis*, first evidenced in 885,[115] and presumably an outpost of that institution in Milan. Also in 879 Anspert had donated another *curtis/cella* at Cavenago, east of the city in the direction of Cologno Monzese.[116] This estate was large and formed another collection point, probably by virtue of its proximity to the River Adda. This is clear from an interesting charter (*libellus*) of 897, in which a tenant from the monastery's property at Bozzolo, far distant near Mantua, agreed to transport an annual render of wheat, rye, millet, wine, and money from Bozzolo to Sant'Ambrogio's 'dispentium in ripa fluvio Addua, in loco qui dicitur Cavanago', a trip of about one hundred kilometres up the Adda.[117]

Milan, Pavia, and Cavenago are the only sites definitely evidenced as *dispentia* from ninth- and tenth-century charters.[118] However, it can plausibly be suggested, on the basis of what we know from contemporary evidence as well

[112] *MD* 123, 12 June 873 (= Wanner, *Ludovici II diplomata*, no. 60), 'cellula monasterii sita Papie'. These Pavese *cellae* are discussed by Settia, 'Pavia carolingia e postcarolingia'.

[113] Bullough, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy'; Hudson, 'Pavia: l'evoluzione urbanistica'.

[114] *MD* 137, a controversial document.

[115] *CDL* 333, a precarial arrangement between Nontanola and Simplitianus, a Milanese *negotiator* who had to bring produce to it annually. This text was cited by Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), p. 47, incorrectly as a Sant'Ambrogio rather than a Nonantola text.

[116] *MD* 137, *curtis, cella et dispentium*.

[117] *MD* 162. Sancto Mandrollo was identified as Bozzolo by Montanari, *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo*, pp. 146, 483. It seems likely given the location of this land that Sant'Ambrogio acquired it from Nonantola.

[118] A *dispentium* near Cadro to which produce from Campione was brought is evidenced in a twelfth-century copy.
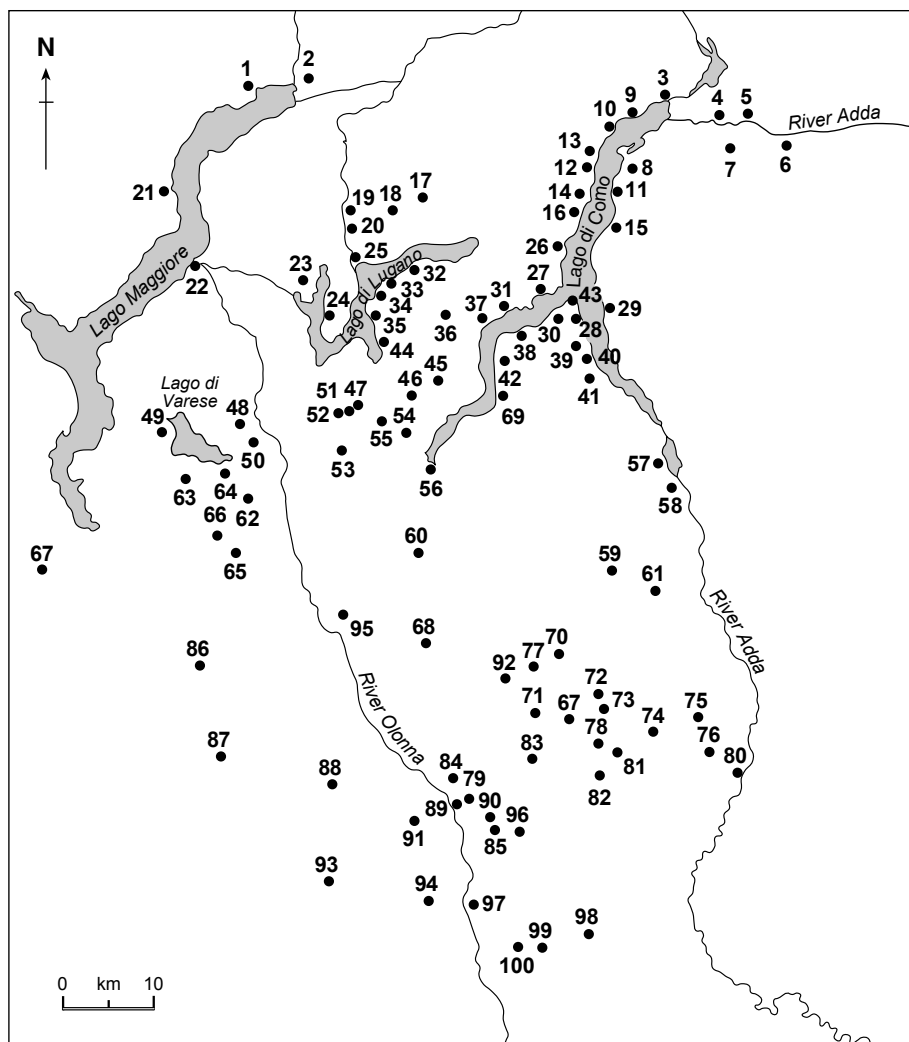
Map 13. Landed properties, estate centres (*curtes*) and storehouses (*dispentiae*)
of *monasterium sancti Ambrosii*, *c.* 1000 AD. Drawn by Elaine Watts.

1 Locarno	**35** Bissone	**68** Saronno 903
2 Bellinzona	**36** Castiglione d'Intelvi	**69** Quarzano
3 Sorico	**37** Sala	**70** Biassono
4 Dubino	**38** Lezzeno	**71** Monza
5 Cercino	**39** Civenna	**72** Concorezzo
6 Cosio	**40** Barni	**73** Agrate
7 Delebio	**41** Onno	**74** **Cavernago**
8 Dorio	**42** Nesso	**75** Basiano
9 Domaso	**43** Bellagio	**76** Inzago
10 Gravedona	**44** Melano	**77** Cambiago
11 Dervio	**45** Bruzella	**78** Gessate
12 Dongo	**46** Mendrisio	**79** Lampugnano
13 Musso	**47** Clivio	**80** Cassano d'Adda
14 Rezzonico	**48** Velate	**81** Borgnago
15 Bellano	**49** Biandronno	**82** Cernusco
16 Loveno	**50** Varese	**83** Cologno
17 Cressogno	**51** Lignoretto	**84** Novate
18 **Cadro**	**52** Stabio	**85** Locate
19 Lamone	**53** Albiolo	**86** Bienate
20 Cadempino	**54** Trevano	**87** Cuggiono
21 Canobio	55 Balerna	**88** Sedriano
22 Germignaga	**56** Como	**89** Quarto Cagnino
23 Magliasco	**57** Capiate	**90** **Milano**
24 Melide	**58** Ello	**91** Baggio
25 Lugano	**59** Missaglia	**92** Palazzolo
26 Menaggio	**60** Vertemate	**93** Vermezzo
27 Tremezzo	**61** Nibionno	**94** Gudo
28 Uccio	**62** Schianno	**95** Cislago
29 Lierna	**63** Caidate	**96** Triulzo
30 *Grossgalli*	**64** Sumirago	**97** Rozzano
31 Lenno	**65** Rho	**98** Melegnano
32 Verna	**66** Quinzano	**99** Carpiano
33 **Campione**	**67** Oleggio	**100** Gnignano
34 Arogno		

as more detailed eleventh-century documentation, that Campione, Limonta, Dubino, Capiate, and Origgio fulfilled a similar function. By then these centralized estates had long been run by estate managers (*scariones* or *actores*) who were responsible to the relevant monastic prior (*praepositus*).[119] The clearest evidence for their role is provided by the Dubino charter of December 837 discussed in Chapter 8.[120] The four medieval inventories expand further upon the workings of these important sites: 'Breve de corte Lemunta' (Limonta, post-835, perhaps late ninth century);[121] 'De rebus monasterii Sancti Ambrosii in Dublini' (probably tenth-century);[122] 'In Varano fictis' (eleventh- to thirteenth-century);[123] and 'Breve recordationis de ficto de Valtellina' (eleventh-century).[124]

The Limonta document has been repeatedly discussed by scholars and is best understood in the context of the Limonta dossier as a whole (see Chapter 9).[125] It is similar in style and intent to other monastic inventories of the Carolingian period, including those of Santa Giulia, Bobbio, and Prüm.[126] The Dubino text, unlike the earlier Limonta example, does not list the obligations of the workforce but rather is a simple list of land and buildings with their respective sizes. As the surviving text seems to be a fragment from a longer document, it may well be that tenants' dues were quantified elsewhere. The tenth-century inventory of Santa Maria del Monte at Varese also refers to land held by that church in Dubino. The two later *brevia* are very detailed lists of renders, both in money and kind. The Varano inventory shows that the monastery's lands in the Varesotto had been centralized around Varano Borghi by the eleventh century but probably not earlier. By contrast, properties in the Valtellina and adjacent upland val-

[119] *Scario*: Limonta (*MD* 61a) and Dubino (*MD* 63). *Praepositus*: *CDL* 186.

[120] *MD* 63 (AdSM sec. IX 26) which has an autograph dorsal annotation: *Promissio de Dublini, Grosencioni.*

[121] *MD* 61b; Castagnetti, *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi*, p. 25.

[122] *CDL* 1002. The date is Porro-Lambertenghi's and accepted by Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', p. 219, n. 65.

[123] Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', pp. 224–26.

[124] Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', pp. 227–31. These Milanese texts can be read within the context of comparable inventories from other local institutions such as Santa Maria del Monte, Santa Cristina di Olona, and the much longer texts which survive for Santa Giulia di Brescia and for Bobbio.

[125] Balzaretti, 'The Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement', pp. 13–14.

[126] Laurent, 'Organisation de l'espace et mobilisation des resources autour de Bobbio'; Devroey, 'Les Services de transport à l'abbaye de Prüm au IXe siècle'.

leys are, as we have seen, amongst Sant'Ambrogio's most important early posses-sions and clearly provided for the continuing material well-being of the monks over the succeeding centuries. The Valtellina inventory is the longest and most detailed of these documents and demonstrates that very substantial renders of food and money were owed to the monastic community from places which had entered into the monastic orbit during the previous two centuries including Cercino, Cino, Cosio, Delebio, Dongo, Dubino, Regoledo, Tirano, and Sondrio as well as from lands newly acquired in the eleventh century. Produce from across this valley was brought to Dubino, Campione, and Capiate.[127] By this time the Limonta estate appears to have made returns to Dubino although it may still have been the initial collection point for the Bellagio peninsula. The operations at Dubino were considerable, with the cheese and chestnuts — the two main storeable mountain products — perhaps being produced for markets at Como or Lecco:

> First of all at Dubino: John 308 pounds of cheese (*formatico*), 30 denarii, 2 *modiae* of chestnuts; Stephen 15 pounds of cheese, 12 denarii; John Merlo 95 pounds of cheese, 12 denarii; Martin Ferro 40 pounds of cheese, 6 denarii; Angelus 48 pounds of cheese, 6 denarii; men of Dubino 4 *modiae* of chestnuts.

This single estate dealt with about 2500 pounds of cheese annually (or around seven pounds for each day of the year), probably surplus to local requirements. Dubino had probably had this central position since the tenth century or even before, given that Sant'Ambrogio had an estate manager at least from the year 837 (above, Chapter 8). At that period Campione and Capiate were equally important. Campione was the main monastic centre in the Val d'Intelvi from the 830s on and was a cell with a resident priest certainly by 863 and prob-ably a decade earlier.[128] Capiate's role is rather more difficult to weigh up. In the mid-eighth century the Lombard magnate Rotpert may have owned prop-erty here.[129] An estate (*curtis*) was donated to Sant'Ambrogio at the request of Archbishop Angilbert by Lothar I in May 835.[130] Two *casales* in *Clepiate* were

---

[127] Lucioni, 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda', pp. 227–31. The text is divided thus: 'In primis ad Dubino; Fictum in Campelline; Summa de Capiate'.

[128] *MD* 110 (December 863). *MD* 91 (854), *CDL* 186 (854): Sesepert priest, monk and provost.

[129] He bequeathed 'casa illa quod habeo in Clapiate' to a daughter: *CDL*, I, doc. 82, p. 241. Although *Clapiate* is usually identified as Capiate this is not absolutely certain (Olivieri, p. 140).

[130] *Clapiadam*: Schieffer, *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, no. 26.

confirmed with their *mancipia* by Charles the Fat on 21 March 880. A second diploma on 30 March confirmed this and stated that Capiate was *de comitatu mediolanensi*. These two documents were in turn confirmed by Otto I in October 951(for *villa Cleapiate*).[131] These *diplomata* demonstrate the importance of the estate to the monastery.

Capiate (Figure 17) is one of the only rural properties of the monastery to have seen some modern archaeological interventions, and these recovered parts of a late Roman watch tower.[132] The archaeologists surmised too that the village church of Saint Nazarius may date from the ninth century.[133] These findings, and the supposition that it may have earlier been a toll station, might suggest a long-standing strategic significance for this site, but continuity of settlement and function from the late Roman period is not proven, and what the site may have looked like in the early medieval period remains unclear. However, the high money rents recorded for this site in the inventory are at the least suggestive of a specialist function. Origgio (*Oleoductus* perhaps 'the place to which oil is brought') appears in successive royal grants in favour of Sant'Ambrogio and in the course of the Limonta disputes. The first reference is in Archbishop Angilbert's *preceptum* in favour of Abbot Gaudentius dated March 835 where *Oleoductus* is listed first,[134] a reference repeated in Lothar I's diploma of May.[135]

In addition to the agreements with tenants documented in the various inventories of monastic property, Sant'Ambrogio also entered into written contracts (*libelli*) with tenants throughout the ninth and tenth centuries which have been preserved as single sheets, and although these are relatively few in number their survival shows in more detail the range of products tenants were

---

[131] Kehr, *Karoli III. Diplomata*, no. 21.

[132] *Notizario* (2010–11), pp. 204–07, is a useful summary. An important Roman bridge across the Adda linked Olginate where Capiate is situated with Calolzio. This was likely to be ruined by the fifth century, but the crossing point may have been spanned by a wooden structure or served by a ferry in the early medieval period: Aldeghi and Riva, 'Il ponte romano sull'Adda', pp. 10–14.

[133] Borghi and Zastrow, 'La corte di Sant'Ambrogio a Capiate di Olginate'. Further excavations have confirmed the importance of this site and its surviving 'Castle of Sant'Ambrogio', a large fortified house: Carminati and Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense', pp. 46–48. There are plans to turn this into a museum: <http://www.capiate.org> (last accessed 29 September 2016).

[134] *MD* 58.

[135] *MD* 59.

Figure 17. 'Corte di Sant'Ambrogio', Capiate di Olginate. Photo © Elena Percivaldi – © 2010–2017 Perceval Archeostoria: <https://percevalasnotizie.wordpress.com/2016/05/05/capiate/>.

expected to grow and how they were expected to transport them to Campione, Cavenago, Dubino, and Limonta.[136] In 837 Crescentius of Dubino agreed to run that estate for a five-year period returning annually wine, grain, and also sheep and their cheese.[137] In May 854 Laurentio of Cadro agreed a twenty-five-year term with yearly renders of wheat (including spelt, one *modium*), two *modia* each of rye and panic, one chicken, ten eggs, and ten denarii for woodland rented. He agreed to plant new vines there and to transport half the harvest to the 'cella et dispentia' at Campione on the shore of Lake Lugano.[138] In

---

[136] The earliest document of this type is, however, the 809 Saronno charter translated above which shows that laypeople as well as churches documented such agreements in writing. *MD* 53 (June 832) reports an agreement between two brothers from Gnignano with a priest from the Milanese church to effectively rent three meadows there for a twenty-year period in return for twelve *libras* of oil annually (rising to fourteen *libras* in later years). On the form, see Feller, 'Précaires et livelli'.

[137] *MD* 131.

[138] *CDL* 186.

897 Dominicus of Bozzolo in the Modenese made a twenty-four-year contract for which he returned rye, spelt, beans, barley, millet, and flax in addition to the usual eggs, wheat, and wine.[139] He had to take this to Cavenago. In 912 Abbot Sigifred agreed an eight-year contract for woodland at Gnignano in return for eight denarii per annum.[140] In 918 an eighteen-year agreement for the mill near Cologno had annual renders of rye (seventeen *modia*) and spelt (one *modium*).[141] The punitive document of 957 'agreed' with the Limonta 'servi' has been examined elsewhere.[142] An agreement of 972 made with a Milanese merchant required only money rent for a house near San Satiro.[143] In 1000 a twenty-nine-year contract of a different sort (*grosslibell*) was reached in which a series of properties including Gnignano and Cavenago returned twelve denarii per annum.[144]

Other monasteries used similar documents. In 853 Nonantola agreed a twenty-nine-year contract with Amebert, who had to return his crops to the monastic storehouse in Pavia.[145] In 885 Simplitianus of Milan (*negotiator*) gave tenanted properties which were to return annually to the Nonantola *curtis* in Milan.[146] In 940 the Milanese nunnery of Santa Maria Gisonis agreed a twenty-year contract for property in Novate for rye and panic (three *modia* each), wine (half the vintage), four good chickens, and twenty eggs, plus ten denarii.[147] Lay owners were also clearly using such documents, as a lengthy division of property between the widow Adelburga of Schianno and Baldric of *Lemode* in 852 shows.[148]

Local and International Markets

There is good evidence that production from Sant'Ambrogio's estates was being taken to a few central places which seem to have been part of a network of

---

[139] *MD* 162.

[140] Natale & Piano, doc. 9/*CDL* 446.

[141] *CDL* 476.

[142] *CDL* 625.

[143] *CDL* 732.

[144] *CDL* 990.

[145] *CDL* 182.

[146] *CDL* 333.

[147] *CDL* 556.

[148] *MD* 88.

supply centred on supporting the community in Milan itself. The fairly numerous *xenodochia* mentioned also needed consistent supplies to be able to host visitors and feed the poor. *Xenodochia* were recorded in Milan (at least two), Campione, Cascina Occhiate, Cologno, Comazzo, and Inzago. After these sites of consumption were satisfied, the possibility of sale of some excess production in markets remains. As elsewhere in the early medieval world, the nature and importance of markets in this region is hard to pin down.[149] In the areas where Sant'Ambrogio had property interests, several places were termed *mercatum* in charters: Como (where the western branch of Lake Como meets land), Chiavenna (where the Val Chiavenna meets the Adda before it flows into Lake Como), *Haenohim* (where the Adda flows from the Valtellina into Lake Como), Lecco (where the Adda exits eastern Lake Como), Lugano (at the midpoint of Lake Lugano), and *Sexto Mercato* (almost certainly Sesto Calende sited where the Ticino exits Lago Maggiore).[150] Como is usually termed *civitas* in charters but is *Cumo mercatum* in 971 and 982, unusually both originals.[151] Importantly these places were all accessible by boat and probably served as focal points for exchange in the Valtellina and other Alpine valleys.[152] They are plausible market places. Otherwise the only place termed *mercatum* in these charters was Milan itself, which from this partial evidence at least seems to have acted as the principal market for a large part of its hinterland. Milan seems to have been a more complex market, for no one individual or institution held sole rights to it as was common in smaller towns where the bishop usually dominated. Sant'Ambrogio was just one player on this field, but vitally, if the arguments advanced above about the organization and management of its rural holdings are correct, many other players joined its team and were depend-

---

[149] Bocchi, 'Città e mercati nell'Italia padana'; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 728–31; McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, pp. 630–38, on northern Italy; Rapone, 'Il mercato nel regno d'Italia'. In general Hodges, *Primitive and Peasant Markets*; Pestell and Ulmschneider, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*.

[150] *CDL* 821 (March 984, Lugano, *mercato Luano*); 357 (892, *Sexto Mercato*). Vimercate (*Vico Mercato*) can be added to this list as a very likely market site in this period. Most of these places are documented in the Roman period, although not securely as markets: Pearce and Tozzi, 'Map 39 *Mediolanum*', pp. 576–79.

[151] *CDL* 729/90 and 810. In *CDL* 104 and 281, preserved in the unreliable fifteenth-century *Codex Privilegionem Cumanae Ecclesie* in the Ambrosiana, the bishop of Como has toll rights at markets in Chiavenna and Lugano, but both texts are probably interpolated at precisely these points.

[152] Lopez, 'The Evolution of Land Transport in the Middle Ages', p. 27.

ent on its success in city society. The monks certainly used the city's formal marketplace first evidenced in a controversial *diploma* of Otto I granted to the Abbot Aupald on 16 February 952.[153] At the request of Adelheid, his new wife and means of access to the Italian throne, and Brun his powerful brother, Otto gave the abbot and his monastery some properties described as 'stationes et banculas' (fixed stalls) adjacent to the *publicum mercatum* right in the city centre. The boundary clauses of this charter show that the monastery already had property here along with others including a *negotiator*, probably a shopkeeper in this context. How the monastery had established its earlier presence is not recorded here or elsewhere, but clearly, if the kings had stalls here, this market was no temporary or unimportant affair. Its exact function has, in common with all other references to markets in this period, been debated between historians, archaeologists, and numismatists. As Milan was a complex society by the mid-tenth century, a site where formalized exchange could be conducted on a regular basis, rather than a temporary one, would have been sustainable. Probably the crown had the right to take its cut from all transactions there, and the grant to the monastery was a form of exemption from such payment. These are all examples of 'new markets mentioned in the sources both in cities and the countryside', part of a general upturn prompted by the arrival in the south of rich Carolingian aristocrat-consumers from the north.[154]

The varied evidence presented in this chapter documents the development of a complex 'dispersed hinterland'. An institution such as Sant'Ambrogio clearly had the means to move goods produced on its estates from the production sites to the market for sale or other means of onward distribution. Whether this was actually done and *how often* is harder to document, but it was likely in my opinion. As already mentioned, written evidence for tolls along the Po Valley was used by an earlier generation of historians to signal a reawakening of trade at the outset of the eighth century.[155] Salt and spices from Comacchio and Venice to Cremona and Pavia were certainly taxed as they were transported upriver, but Wickham has argued that this represented a 'weak' economic system because more than salt and spices would have been expected in this docu-

---

[153] Sickel, *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, no. 145 (= *CDL* 599).

[154] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages.*, p. 733.

[155] Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (1981 edn), pp. 3–48; Vaccari, 'I diritti concessi alle città lombarde'; Fasoli, 'Navigazione fluviale'; Racine, 'Poteri medievali e percorsi fluviali nell'Italia padana'.

ment if the economy were really thriving.[156] Others see it more positively as evidence of vitality.[157] Recent excavations at Comacchio have revived debates about the nature of the Po Valley economy at the macro level, how it may have been connected with the Adriatic,[158] and how towns much further up river may have been linked to it, although the evidence for such connections inland is still elusive.[159] Even so Richard Hodges has argued that Comacchio (like Venice) was an emporium which had a 'linear supply chain of Lombard monasteries running all the way up to the Alps'.[160] The copious evidence of globular amphorae demonstrates some level of transportation of liquids (oil? wine?), and there is good evidence for local production of salted fish, pottery, and glassware in addition to salt.[161] One product which does seem to have been traded throughout the centuries at issue here is soapstone (*pietra ollare*) for which there is now significant archaeological evidence which 'shows that there were wider exchange networks in the Po plain' albeit still 'marginal'.[162] Some of this stone came from the Valchiavenna above Bergamo at the northern margins of Milan's hinterland, and soapstone vessels were found in the Linea 3 excavations in the city.[163] It is likely, therefore, that soapstone was traded through Milan on to Comacchio possibly by the merchants who appear in monastic charters. The emporium at Comacchio was a relatively short-lived phenomenon, and once the Carolingians had successfully conquered northern Italy its role was clearly superseded by Venice.[164] Direct connections between early medieval Venice and Milan are as yet undocumented, but the possibility that these two great cities were linked at this time seems probable.

[156] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 733.

[157] Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, p. 61.

[158] Hodges, 'Aistulf and the Adriatic Sea'.

[159] However, Cantini, 'Produzioni ceramiche ed economie in Italia centro-settentrionale', shows the evidence is there.

[160] Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*, pp. 94, 109.

[161] Gelichi, 'The Rise of an Early Medieval Emporium', p. 330.

[162] Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 734, and Gelichi, "The Rise of an Early Medieval Emporium', p. 330, both summarizing Alberti, 'Produzione e commercializzazione della pietra ollare in Italia settentrionale'.

[163] Caporusso, *Scavi MM3*, III.2, 11–37, IV, tables CLIV–CLXIII.

[164] A point convincingly argued by Gelichi, 'L'archeologia nella laguna veneziana e la nascita di una nuova città'. Cf. Ortenberg West-Harling, '"Venecie due sunt"' and Gelichi and Gasparri, *Venice and its Nieghbors*.

This book has demonstrated that political, social, and economic complexity — as opposed to simplicity — is the best way to characterize this region in the early medieval period. Complexity can be observed in many different contexts. The nature of the surviving documentation is evidence of this: it is possible to tell complicated stories via close analysis of narratives of different sorts, including those within charters. The interests of successive generations of elites were certainly complex. Elite patrons brought the monastery of Sant'Ambrogio into being by donating land to the community, using the formal mechanisms of gift. These people were no doubt attracted by the continuing presence of Ambrose and other saints at the Sant'Ambrogio site and by the prayers which the monks would say to save the souls of their friends (*amici*). By the late eighth century the city could boast a long tradition of ascetic life, dating from the time of Ambrose, Eusebius, and Martin, and such saints continued to attract locals and incomers up to the year 1000 and well beyond. Elites by their very nature had political motivations too, and the political centrality of Milan has been demonstrated throughout the preceding chapters. Sant'Ambrogio was a site of particular interest to Charlemagne and his immediate successors, but there is good evidence that the city and its leading ecclesiastical institution had attracted patronage earlier, perhaps even royal patronage in the case of Santa Maria d'Aurona. The importance of elites from north of the Alps, particularly Franks and Alemans, is very clear, and well documented in this collection. In part Milan was attractive to the already rich because the region was a relatively rich one, where production to support an urban population was possible and where urban markets facilitated exchange in town and elsewhere. The interdependence of very diverse local agricultural production with consistent urban consumption is clear, and Sant'Ambrogio was one institution which facilitated the continued functioning of this ecosystem which, although centered on the immediate region, certainly reached beyond it across the Po Plain. This takes us back to the points back about ecology at the outset of the book. The story of Sant'Ambrogio was not, however, just a story of elites and politics. The abbots and monks — another elite of course — are likely to have been focused on religious practice, including the liturgy and pastoral care, but the evidence for those aspects of monastic life at this institution is not sufficient to produce sustained arguments at this period. They also of course constructed a coherent economic support system by buying, selling, and exchanging land over many centuries which was intended to maintain consistent supply of necessities, including oil for church lighting. This system, which depended on consent (however achieved) from the inhabitants of numerous villages and hamlets across the region, was concentrated upon a number of focal productive places — the best-evidenced being Campione, Limonta, and Dubino in the north, Gnignano,

Cologno, and Inzago in the south — which were linked by other sites where produce was collected for subsequent redistribution to the monastery and perhaps for sale in the city. Some of the productive sites were organized as 'classic' domains, especially those in upland areas.

The everyday and the extraordinary were encompassed within this system. It was a rational economic structure which depended on the physical labour provided by peasants, free and unfree. That structure supported the production of the remarkable golden altar, testimony to an almost unimaginable smithing skill. The system, however, did not come into being without dispute, and in some places the workers resisted what can be seen as an expansionist monastic policy for many decades, notably at Limonta. The charters provide plenty of evidence that life for many monastic workers was hard and that they were exploited, partly by means of a sophisticated grasp by monks of the power which writing had over orality but also by brute force when needed, perhaps supplied by monastic *vassi*. Many such dependents must have lived and died in the place where their families had lived for generations, and they probably had rather limited horizons. Some, however, through their interactions with Sant'Ambrogio went to the city where they participated in performative transactions and no doubt experienced a much larger world than they were used to. The regular management activities of the monastery, and other ecclesiastical institutions, enabled those experiences. The end result was that everyone, whatever their status, became part of a larger hinterland which paved the way for the formation of the city's formal *contado* in the later medieval period. The role of monks in bringing about regional cohesion should not be exaggerated, for the system just described which supported elites and the monks who served them could not have existed without lay men and women of 'middling' status who consistently engaged with this and other monastic communities as well as with each other. Some of these were clients of more powerful people (abbots' vassals for example), but others seem to have had more freedom to live their lives on their own terms, building up family patrimonies which could be as organized as the monastic structures just described. Although laypeople like this are evidenced within monastic documentation and they are revealed to have been very active participants in the continual reshaping of society, the charters inevitably underplay their activities, and certainly represent only a small percentage of those who must have existed. The known losses of archives outlined at the start of this book mean that much at the very least. Looking at any society through the single lens of a unique monastic community can only ever provide a partial picture, and so although it may seem odd to end a long book by stressing what we do not know, it seems proper to do so nonetheless.

Select Bibliography

Manuscript and Archival Sources

Milan, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, catalogue by L. S. Pandolfi, *Pergamene Regestro dal VII al XI secolo*

Milan, Archivio Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, MS 1863, Segn. ms. XII B2; L. Biraghi, *Indice Sommario delle pergamene dell'Archivio Capitolare della Basilica di S. Ambrogio di Milano*

Milan, Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio Diplomatico, Museo Diplomatico, scatole 1–10, AD 721–1000

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS XVIII, segn., 1, 1–30; G. C. Della Croce, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Mediolanensis ab anno 658–1408*, available as 17 microfilms (Trezzo sul Naviglio: Etimar, 1981–82)

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Perg.4542 Iemale 254 (= *CDL* 316)

St Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, VadSlg MS 317, 78^r–86^v, Andrew of Bergamo, *Historia*; digitized at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/vad/0317>

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 569, fols 3–97, Anon. *Vita Ambrosii*; digitized at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0569/>

St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 635, Paulus Diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum*; digitized at <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0635>

Primary Sources

Acta Sanctorum, 60 vols (Antwerp and Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–1940), <http://acta.chadwyck.co.uk/>

Aldhelm, *The Prose Works*, ed. and trans. by M. Lapidge and M. Herren (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1979)

Ambrose of Milan, *Epistulae et acta*, ed. by O. Faller and M. Zelzer, Corpus Scriptores Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 82 (Vienna, 1982)

——, *The Letters*, The Oxford Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1881), <http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ambrose_letters_00_intro.htm>

——, *Letters*, trans. by M. M. Beyenka, Fathers of the Church, 26 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1954)

——, *Political Letters and Speeches*, trans. by J. W. H. Liebeschuetz (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000)

Ambrosioni, A., ed., *Le Pergamene della Canonica di S. Ambrogio nel secolo XII* (Milano: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1974)

Angellus of Ravenna, *The Book of the Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna*, trans. by D. M. Deliyannis (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2004)

Arnulf of Milan, *The Book of Recent Deeds*, trans. by W. L. North, <http://www.acad.carleton.edu/curricular/MARS/Arnulf.pdf> [accessed 30 June 2017]

——, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. and (Ital.) trans. by I. Scaravelli (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1996)

——, *Liber gestorum recentium*, ed. by C. Zey, MGH, SRG, 67 (Hannover: MGH, 1994)

Augustine, *City of God*, trans. by H. Bettenson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974)

——, *Confessions*, trans. by R. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964)

Autenrieth, J., D. Geuenich, and K. Schmid, eds, *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau: Einleitung, Register, Faksimilae*, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, n.s., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1979)

Avitus of Vienne, *Letters and Selected Prose*, trans. by D. Shanzer and I. N. Wood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002)

Azzara, C., and S. Gasparri, eds and (Ital.) trans, *Le leggi dei Longobardi: Storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico* (Milano: Ed. La Storia, 1992)

Azzara, C., and P. Moro, eds and (Ital.) trans, *I capitolari italici: Storia e diritto della dominazione carolingia in Italia* (Roma: Viella, 1998)

Baroni, M. F., ed., *Le pergamene del secolo XII del Santa Maria di Aurona di Milano* (Milano: Università degli Studi di Milano, 1984)

Bastiaensen, A. A. R., ed. and trans. (Ital.), *Vita di Ambrogio*, in *Vita dei Santi*, ed. by C. Mohrmann (Roma: Mondadori, 1975), pp. 51–125

Baudi da Vesme, C., ed., *Edicta Regum Langobardorum edita ad fidem optimum codicum opera et studio*, Historiae Patriae Monumenta, 8 (Torino: Monachii, 1855)

Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. by J. McClure and R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Benedict of Aniane, *The Emperor's Monk: Ardo's Life*, trans. by A. Cabaniss (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 2008)

Berto, A., ed. and (Ital.) trans, *Testi storici e poetici dell'Italia carolingia* (Padua: CLEUP, 2002)

Betham-Edwards, M., ed., *The Autobiography of Arthur Young* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1967)

Beyerle, F., ed. and (German) trans., *Leges langobardorum 643–866*, 2nd edn (Witzenhausen, 1962)

Bluhme, F., ed., *Edictus ceteraeque Langobardorum leges* (Hannover: MGH, 1869)

Bluhme, F., and A. Boretius, eds, *Leges Langobardorum*, MGH, Leges in Folio, 4 (Hannover: MGH, 1868)

Bonelli, G., ed., *Codice paleografico lombardo* (Milano: Hoepli, 1908)

Bonvesin de la Riva, *De magnalibus mediolani*, ed. by M. Corti (Milano: Bompiani, 1974)

Boretius, A., ed., *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. I (Hannover: MGH, 1883)

Boretius, A., and V. Krause, eds, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, vol. II (Hannover: MGH, 1890–97)

Brühl, C. R., and C. Violante, eds, *Die 'Honorantie Civitatis Papie': Transkription, Edition, Kommentar* (Köln: Böhlau,1983)

Cabaniss, A., trans., *Charlemagne's Cousins: Contemporary Lives of Adalard and Wala* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1967)

——, trans., *Son of Charlemagne: A Contemporary Life of Louis the Pious* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1961)

Cassiodorus, *Variae*, ed. by T. Mommsen, MGH, AA, 12 (Berlin: Apud Weidmannos, 1894)

Castagnetti, A., ed., *Inventari altomedievali di terre, coloni e redditi* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1979)

Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo and Giovanna Nicolaj, 110 vols (Dietikon-Zurich: Graf, 1954–2017)

Cipolla, C., ed., *Codice diplomatico del monastero di S. Colombano di Bobbio* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1918)

——, ed., *Codici bobbiesi della Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*, 2 vols (Milano: Hoepli, 1907)

Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae, ed. by G. Porro-Lambertenghi (Torino: Regio Typographeo, 1873)

Codice diplomatico della Lombardia medievale (secoli VIII–XII), <http://www.lombar-diabeniculturali.it/cdlm/>, for the charters of S. Vittore di Varese and S. Maria del Monte di Velate, and twelfth-century charters of Milanese churches, including Sant'Ambrogio

Codice Diplomatico Longobardo, vols I and II, ed. by L. Schiaparelli (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1935)

Codice Diplomatico Longobardo, vol. III, ed. by C.-R. Bruhl (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1973)

Codice Diplomatico Sant'Ambrosiano delle carte dell'ottavo e nono secolo, ed. by A. Fumagalli (Milano: Amoretti, 1805)

Colombo, A., and G. Colombo, eds, *Anonymi Mediolanensis Libellus de situ civitatis mediolani, RRIISS*, 2nd edn. vol. I, pt. 2, fasc. 357/58 (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1952)

Corpus inscriptionum latinarum, vol. V, *Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae*, ed. by T. Mommsen, part 2, *Inscriptiones regionum Italiae undecimae et nonae* (Berlin: Apud Georgium Reimerum, 1877)

Cortesi, M., ed., *Le pergamene degli archivi di Bergamo a 740–1000* (Bergamo: Polis, 1988)

Courcelle, P., ed., *Recherches sur Saint Ambroise* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1973)

Davis, R., trans., *The Book of the Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989)

——, trans., *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes: The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from A.D. 817–89* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1995)

Dümmler, E., ed., *Alcuini epistolae*, in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. II, MGH, Epistolae, 4 (Berlin: MGH, 1895)

Dutton, P. E., trans., *Charlemagne's Courtier. The Complete Einhard* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 1998)

Emerton, E., trans., *The Letters of Saint Boniface* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000)

Ennodius, *Life of St Epiphanius*, trans. by G. M. Cook, in *Early Christian Biographies*, ed. by R. J. Deferrari, The Fathers of the Church, 15 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1952)

Everett, N., trans., *Patron Saints of Early Medieval Italy, AD c. 350–800* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2017)

Fiorilla, S., 'Bolli e iscrizioni su laterizi altomedievali del territorio lombardo', *ASL*, Ser. 11, 3 (1986), 321–415

Fisher Drew, K., trans., *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Press, 1973)

Forcella, V., ed., *Iscrizioni delle chiese e degli altri edifici di Milano dal secolo VIII ai giorni nostri*, 8 vols (Milano: Tipografia Bortolotti di Giuseppe Prato, 1893)

Forcella, V., and E. Seletti, eds, *Iscrizioni cristiane in Milano anteriori al IX secolo* (Codogno: Cairo, 1897)

Ganz, D., trans., *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne* (London: Penguin, 2008)

Geuenich, D., and U. Ludwig, eds, *Der Memorial- und Liturgiecodex von San Salvatore/ Santa Giulia in Brescia*, MGH, Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, n.s., 4 (Hannover: MGH, 2000)

Giorgio, I., and U. Balzani, *Il Regesto di Farfa di Gregorio di Catino*, 3 vols (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1879–1914)

Grat, F., J. Viellard, and S. Clémencet, eds, *Les Annales de Saint Bertin* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964)

Gray, N., 'The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions in Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Century Italy', *PBSR*, 16 (1948), 38–170

Green, R. P. H., ed., *Ordo Urbium Nobilium: Decimi magni Ausonii. Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Gregory I, *Dialogorum libri IV de miraculis patrum italicorum*, ed. by A. de Vogüé (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1978–80)

Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, trans. by R. Van Dam (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1988)

——, *The History of the Franks*, trans. by L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974)

——, *Libri historiarum* X, ed. by W. Arndt and B. Krusch, MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 1 (Hannover: MGH, 1885)

Gundlach, W., ed., *Epistulae Austriasicae*, in *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, vol. I, MGH, Epistolae, 3 (Berlin: MGH, 1887)

Haefele, H., ed., *Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, MGH, SRG, 12 (Berlin: MGH, 1959)

Hagen, H., ed., *Codex Bernensis 363 phototypice editus* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1897)

Hartmann, W., ed., *Concilia aevi Karolini DCCCXLIII–DCCCLIX*, MGH, Concilia, 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1984)

——, ed., *Concilia aevi Karolini DCCCLX–DCCCLXXIV*, MGH, Concilia, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998)

Hoare, F., trans., 'Life of Ambrose', in *The Western Fathers* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1954), pp. 147–88

Inscriptiones Christianae Italiae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores (nova series), vols XII, XIV, and XVI, *Regio XI: Mediolanum I, II*, and *III*, ed. by G. Cuscito (Bari: Edipuglia, 2009–16)

Jaffè, P., ed., *Annales Mediolanenses Minores a. 750–1280*, in MGH, Scriptores in Folio, 18 (Hannover: MGH, 1863), pp. 392–399

Jonas of Bobbio, *Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Réomé, and Life of Vedast*, trans. by A. O'Hara and I. Wood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017)

——, *Vita di Colombano e dei suoi discepoli*, ed. and (Ital.) trans. by I. Biffi and A. Granata (Milano: Jaca Book, 2001)

Kaniecka, M. S., ed. and trans., *Vita sancti Ambrosii, Mediolanensia Episcopi, a Paulino* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1928)

Kehr, P., ed., *Arnolfi Diplomata*, MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 3 (Berlin: MGH, 1940)

——, ed., *Epistolae Johannes VIII*, in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. V, MGH, Epistolae, 7 (Berlin: MGH, 1928), pp. 1–333

——, ed., *Karoli III. Diplomata*, MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 2 (Berlin: MGH, 1937)

——, ed., *Ludowici Germanici, Karlomanni, Ludowici Iunioris Diplomata*, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 1 (Berlin: MGH, 1932–34)

——, ed., *Papsturkunden in Italien* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1977)

King, P. D., trans., *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lambrigg: P. D. King, 1987)

Kölzer, T., ed., *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, 3 vols, MGH Diplomata Karolinorum, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016)

Krusch, B., and W. Levison, eds, *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, vol. V, MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 7 (Hannover: MGH, 1919–20)

Kurze, F., ed., *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 7 (Hannover: MGH, 1891)

——, ed., *Annales Regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 6 (Hannover: MGH, 1895)

Liudprand of Cremona, *Opera omnia*, ed. by P. Chiesa, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis, 156 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998)

Lopez, R., and I. Raymond, trans, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955)

Lowe, E. A., ed., *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938–)

Loyn, H., and J. Percival, trans, *The Reign of Charlemagne* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975)

Lucioni, A., ed., 'Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano nelle terre settentrionali della regione lombarda: Due "Brevia de fictis" dei secoli XI–XII', *Aevum*, 59 (1985), 208–31

MacLean, S., trans., *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)

Magistretti, M., ed., *Beroldus, sive ecclesiae ambrosianae mediolanensis kalendarium et ordines saec. XII* (Milano: Josephi Giovanola, 1894)

Manaresi, C., ed., *I Placiti del Regnum Italiae*, 2 vols (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1958–62)

——, ed., *Regesto di S. Maria di Monte Velate sino all'anno 1200* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1937)

Manaresi, C., and C. Santoro, eds, *Gli atti privati Milanesi e Comaschi del secolo XI*, vols II–IV (Milano: Hoepli, 1960–65)

Manaresi, C., and G. Vittani, eds, *Gli atti privati Milanesi e Comaschi del secolo XI*, vol. I (Milano: Hoepli, 1933)

Mansi, G. D., ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 54 vols. (Venice, 1758–98; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960–61)

Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, ed. by T. Mommsen, in *Chronica Minora*, II, MGH AA, 11 (Berlin: MGH, 1893), pp. 225–39

Martyn, J. R. C., trans., *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, 3 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004)

Merati, P., ed., *Le carte della chiesa di Sant'Eufemia dell'Isola Comacina (901–1200)* (Varese: Insubria University Press, 2014)

——, ed., *Le carte della Chiesa di S. Maria del Monte di Velate I (922–1170)* (Varese, 2005), <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/cdlm/edizioni/mi/velate-smaria1/>

Mercier, P., ed., *Homélies du IX siècle d'un auteur iconnu de l'Italie du Nord* (Paris: Ed. du Cerf, 1970)

Mommsen, T., ed., *Auctarii Havniensis Extrema*, in *Chronica Minora*, I, MGH AA, 9 (Berlin: MGH, 1891), pp. 337–39

Monnaret de Villard, U., ed., *Catalogo delle iscrizioni cristiane anteriori al secolo XI* (Milano: U. Alegretti, 1915)

Mühlbacher, E., ed., *Pippini, Carlomanni, Caroli Magni Diplomata*, MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 1 (Hannover: MGH, 1906)

Natale, A. R., ed., *Il Museo Diplomatico dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano*, vol. I, pts 1 and 2 (Milano: A. Pizzi, *c*. 1970)

Natale, A. R., and P. Piano, eds, 'Chartae saeculi X (901–928). Nota di Pierluigi Piano', *ASL*, Ser. 12, 5 (1998–99), 405–86

Neff, K., *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus: Kritische und Erklärende Ausgabe* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1908)

Nelson, J. L., trans., *The Annals of St Bertin* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991)

Nithard, *Historiarum libri IV*, ed. by E. Müller, 3rd edn., MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, 44 (Hannover: MGH, 1907); trans. by B. W. Scholz, *Carolingian*

Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 129–74

Noble, T. F. X., trans., *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009)

Palestra, A., ed., *Regesto delle pergamene dell'Archivio arcivescovile di Milano*, Archivio Ambrosiano, 12 (Milano: [n.pub.], 1961)

Paolino di Milano, *Vita di Sant'Ambrogio*, ed. by M. Navoni (Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo Ediz., 1996)

Paredi, A., ed., *Vita e Meriti di Sant'Ambrogio*, Fontes Ambrosiani, 37 (Milano: Ceschina, 1964)

Paul the Deacon, *History of the Langobards*, trans. by W. D. Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1907)

——, *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. by D. Kempf (Leuven: Peeters, 2013)

Paulinus of Milan, *Vita di S. Ambrogio*, ed. by M. Pellegrino (Roma: Ed. Studium, 1961)

Perelli Cippo, R., ed., *I registri del monastero di Sant'Abbondio di Como* (Como: Presso la Società a Villa Gallia, 1984)

Pertz, G., ed. *Annales Laureshamenses*, in MGH, Scriptores in Folio, 1 (Hannover: MGH, 1826), pp. 19–39

——, ed., *Chronicon Moissiacense*, in MGH, Scriptores in Folio, 1 (Hannover: MGH, 1826), pp. 280–313

——, ed., *Chronicon Vedastium*, in MGH, Scriptores in Folio, 13 (Berlin: MGH, 1891), pp. 674–709

Pighi, G. B., ed., *Versus de Verona/Versum de Mediolano Civitate* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1960)

Piozzi, H., *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy and Germany* (Dublin, 1789)

Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, 4 vols in 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–1923)

Procopius, *History of the Wars, Anecdota, Buildings*, ed. and trans. by H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914–40)

Ramsey, B., trans., *Ambrose* (London: Routledge, 1997)

Regino of Prum, *Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. by F. Kurze, MGH, SRG in usum scholarum separatim editi, 50 (Hannover: MGH, 1890)

Reid, P. L., trans., *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona* (Binghamton: State University of New York, 1992)

Reuter, T., trans., *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)

Rugo, P., ed., *Le iscrizioni dei sec. VI-VII-VII esistenti in Italia*, vol. 1, *Austria longobarda* (Cittadella: Tipografia Bertoncello, 1974)

Schiaparelli, L., ed., *I diplomi di Berengario* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1908)

——, ed., *I diplomi di Guido e Lamberto* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1906)

——, ed., *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario 2. e di Adalberto* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1924)

——, ed., *I diplomi italiani di Lodovico 3. e di Rodolfo 2* (Roma: Forzani e C., 1910)

——, ed., 'Il rotolo dell'archivio Capitolare di Novara', *ASL*, 27 (1900), 5–48

Schieffer, T., ed., *Lotharii I. et Lotharii II. Diplomata*, MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 3 (Berlin: MGH, 1966)

Sickel, T., ed., *Conradi I., Henrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 1 (Hannover: MGH, 1879–84)

——, ed., *Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, MGH, Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae, 2 (Berlin: MGH, 1888)

Squatriti, P., trans., *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2007)

Strecker, K., ed., *Epitaphia Mediolanensia*, MGH, Poetae Latini medii aevi, 4 (Berlin: MGH, 1923), pp. 1009–11

Sulpicius Severus, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. and (French) trans. by J. Fontaine, 3 vols (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967)

Testard, M., ed., *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis. De officiis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000)

Thorpe, L., trans., *Einhard and Notker. Two Lives of Charlemagne* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969)

Tjäder, J. O., ed., *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 3 vols (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1955–82)

Tremp. E., ed., *Theganus. Gesta Hludowici imperatoris. Astronomus. Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, MGH, SRG, 64 (Hannover: MGH, 1995)

Valentini, A., ed., *Codice necrologio liturgico di San Salvatore e Santa Giulia* (Brescia: Tipografia F. Apollonio, 1887)

Valentini, R., and G. Zucchetti, eds, *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, vol. II (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1942)

Venarde, B. L., ed. and trans., *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011)

Victor of Tunnana, *Chronicon*, ed. by T. Mommsen, in *Chronica Minora*, II, MGH, AA, 11 (Berlin: MGH, 1893), pp. 198–206

Vignati, C., ed., *Codice Diplomatico Laudense* (Milano: G. Brigola, 1879)

Vogel, F., ed., *Ennodi opera*, MGH, AA, 7 (Berlin: MGH, 1885)

Waitz, G., ed., *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, MGH (Berlin: MGH, 1878)

Walker, G. S. M., ed. and trans., *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1975)

Wanner, K., ed., *Ludovici II diplomata* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1994)

Werminghoff, A., ed., *Concilia aevi Karolini*, 2 vols, MGH, Concilia, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1906–08)

Wright, F. A., trans., *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1930)

Young, A., *Travels in France and Italy during the years 1787, 1788 and 1789*, 2 vols., 2nd edn (London: W. Richardson, 1794)

Zagni, L., ed., *Le pergamene della basilica di S. Vittore di Varese (899–1202)* (Milano: Università degli Studi di Milano, 1992); online at <http://cdlm.unipv.it/edizioni/mi/varese-svittore/>

Zeumer, K., ed., *Lex Romana Raetica Curiensis*, in MGH, Leges in Folio, 5 (Hannover: MGH, 1887–89), pp. 289–444

Secondary Works

XXXVI Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina: seminario internazionale di studi sul tema. 'Ravenna e l'Italia fra Goti e Longobardi', Ravenna, 14–22 aprile 1989 (Ravenna: Il Girasole, 1989)

Abou-El-Haj, B., *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formation and Transformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Agnoletti, M., ed., *Italian Historical Rural Landscapes: Cultural Values for the Environment and Rural Development* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013)

Agorni, M., *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: British Women, Translation and Travel Writing (1739–1797)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002)

Airlie, S., 'Narratives of Triumph and Rituals of Submission', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 9 (1999), 93–119

——, 'The Palace Complex', in *The Shapes of Power and Institutions in Medieval Christendom and Islam*, ed. by J. Hudson and A. Rodríguez (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 255–90

——, *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012)

——, 'Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II', *P&P*, no. 161 (1998), 3–38

Airoldi, L., 'Il "Codice Della Croce" e il suo vero autore', *Aevum*, 68 (1994), 661–75

Alberti, A., 'Produzione e commercializzazione della pietra ollare in Italia settentrionale tra Tardoantico e Altomedioevo', in *I Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale: Auditorium del Centro studi della Cassa di risparmio di Pisa (ex Benedettine), Pisa, 29–31 maggio 1997*, ed. by S. Gelichi (Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 2000), pp. 335–39

Albertoni, G., 'La fine dell'impero carolingio e i conflitti per il regno italico nei *Gesta Berengarii*', *RMR*, 17.2 (2016), 281–99

——, 'Law and the Peasant: Rural Society and Justice in Carolingian Italy', *EME*, 18 (2010), 417–45

Albertoni, G., and L. Provero, 'Storiografia europea e feudalesimo italiano tra alto e basso medioevo', *QS*, 28 (1993), 243–67

Albuzzi, A., 'Pergamene inedite dei secoli x e xi nell'archivio privato Antonia Traversi di Meda', *Aevum*, 70 (1996), 193–211

Aldeghi, G., and G. Riva, 'Il ponte romano sull'Adda tra Olginate e Calolzio', *Archivi di Lecco e della provincia*, 4 (2005), 3–30

Alemani, F., 'Inzago di Piazza in Piazza: Piazza Maggiore', *Storia in Martesana*, 7 (2013), 1–154

Alessio, G. C., ed., *Dall'eremo al cenobio: la civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante* (Milano: Libri Scheiwiller 1987)

Alfonso, I., ed., *The Rural History of Medieval European Societies: Trends and Perspectives* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007)

Althoff, G., *Family, Friends and Followers: Political and Sociel Bonds in Early Medieval Europe*, trans. by C. Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

——, *Otto III*, trans. by P. G. Jestice (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003)

Alzati, C., *Ambrosiana Ecclesia: Studi su la chiesa Milanese e l'ecumene cristiana fra tarda antichità e medioevo* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1993)

Ambrosiana: Scritti di storia, archeologia ed arte pubblicati nel XVI centenario della nascita di S. Ambrogio (Milano: A. Faccioli, 1942)

Ambrosioni, A., 'Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores', in *Medioevo e latinità in memoria di Enzo Franceschini* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1993), pp. 35–50

——, 'Contributo alla storia della festa di San Satiro a Milano', *AA*, 23 (1972), 71–96

——, 'Controversie tra il monastero e la canonica di Sant'Ambrogio alla fine del secolo XII', *Rendiconti: Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 105 (1971), 643–80

——, 'Gli arcivescovi nella vita di Milano', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 85–118

——, *Milano, papato e impero in età medievale: Raccolta di studi*, ed. by M. P. Alberzoni and A. Lucioni (Milano: Vita e Pensiero 2003)

——, 'Per una storia del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio', *AA*, 40 (1980), 291–317

——, 'Il più antico elenco de chierici della diocesi ambrosiana ed altre aggiunte al "Decretum" di Burcardo: una voce della polemica anti patarinica?', *Aevum*, 50 (1976), 274–320

——, 'Sant'Ambrogio di Milano', in *Monasteri Benedettini in Lombardia*, ed. by G. Picasso (Milano: Banco Ambrosiano, 1980), pp. 25–37

Amoretti, C., *Viaggio da Milano ai tre laghi Maggiore, di Lugano e di Como e ne'monti che li circondano* (Milano: G. Silvestri, 1806)

Amory, P., *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Andenna, G., 'Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche locali dal V al X secolo', in Caprioli, Rimoldi, and Vaccaro, *Storia Religiosa della Lombardia*, IX, 123–42

Anderson, P., *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: Verso, 1974)

Andreolli, B., 'Terre monastiche: Evoluzione della patrimonialità nonantolana tra alto e basso Medioevo', in Spinelli, *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana*, pp. 737–70

Andrews, D., 'Milano altomedievale sotto Piazza del Duomo: Gli scavi del 1982 e 1983', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 355–63

——, 'Vecchie difficoltà e nuove prospettive nell'archeologia della città medievale', *Archeologia, Uomo, Territorio*, 5 (1986), 139–50

Andrews, D., and D. Perring, 'Milano: Gli scavi in Piazza del Duomo', *Archeologia, Uomo, Territorio*, 2 (1983), 17–24

Anfossi, L., 'Ambrogio in Ennodio', in Lazzati, *Ambrosius Episcopus*, I, 125–29

Anon., 'Angelo Fumagalli', in *DCA*, III, 1295–97

Anon., 'Giovanni Giulini'. in *DCA*, III, 1476–77

Antico Gallina, M., and T. Soldati Forcella, 'Indagine sulla topografia, sulla onomastica, sulla società nelle epigrafi Milanese', *ASL*, Ser. 10, 5 (1979–80), 9–346

Arcamone, M. G., 'I nomi di persona a Milano e a Como prima del Mille', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 365–77

Archetti, G., '"Fecerunt malgas in casina": Allevamento transumante e alpeggi nella Lombardia medievale', in *La pastorizia Mediterraneana: Storia e diritto (secoli XI–XX)*, ed. by A. Mattone and P. F. Simbula (Roma: Carocci, 2011), pp. 486–509

Aresi, B., *Privilegiorum et diplomatum omnium insigni basliicae et imperiali monasterio S. Ambrosii Maioris Mediolani concessorum exemplatum ex eiusdem monasterii archivio fidelissime exscripta et transumptu* (Milano, 1674)

Arjava, A., *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Arslan, E. A., 'Le monete di San Zeno a Campione d'Italia', in Gasparri and La Rocca *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 107–15

——, *Repertorio dei ritrovamenti di moneta altomedievale in Italia 489–1002* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2005); updated to 2016 at <http://ermannoarslan.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/RepertorioAMAggiornamento.pdf> [accessed 25 October 2018]

——, 'Il tremisse "stellato" di Desiderio per Brescia: La moneta tra Longobardi e Carolingi', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 197–209

Arslan, E. A., R. Caimi, and M. Uboldi, 'Gli scavi nel sito fortificato di Pellio Intelvi (CO): Notizie preliminari', in *Dai Celti ai castelli medievali: ricerche archeologiche tra Benace e Lario*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2001), pp. 123–52

Arslan, E. A., and others, 'Geophysical Investigations of the Olonium Roman Site (Northern Como Lake)', *Journal of Applied Geophysics*, 41 (1999), 169–88

Arthur, P., 'From *Vicus* to Village: Italian Landscapes, AD 400–1000', in Christie, *Landscapes of Change*, pp. 103–33

——, *Naples from Roman Town to City-State: An Archaeological Perspective* (London: British School at Rome, 2002)

Arthur, P., G. Fiorentino, and A. M. Grasso, 'Roads to Recovery: An Investigation of Early Medieval Agrarian Strategies in Byzantine Italy in and around the Eighth Century', *Antiquity*, 86 (2012), 444–55

Astill, G., 'Archaeology, Economics and Early Medieval Europe', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 4.2 (1983), 215–31

Atti del 6o Congresso Internazionale di Studio sull'alto Medioevo: 'Longobardi e Lombardia: aspetti di civiltà Longobarda' (Milano, 21–25 ottobre 1978) (Spoleto: CISAM, 1980)

Augenti, A., ed., *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2006)

——, 'Identità urbane in Italia tra IX e XI secolo: un approccio archeologico', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 149–68

——, 'Luoghi e non luoghi: palazzo e città nell'Italia tardoantica e altomedievale', in *Les Palais dans les villes: Espaces urbains et lieux de la puissance publique dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. by P. Boucheron and J. Chiffoleau (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2004), pp. 15–38

Aureggi, O., 'Pievi, villaggi e borghi nelle valli dell'Adda', *ASL*, Ser. 8, 10 (1960), 41–55

Ausenda, G., ed., *After Empire: Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians*, Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology, 1 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995)

Ausenda, G., P. Delogu, and C. Wickham, eds, *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009)

Azzara, C., 'Ecclesiastical Institutions', in La Rocca, *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 85–101

——, 'Le nozze di Anstruda: Codice e pressi nell'Italia di diritto longobardo', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 223–36

Baggio, S., and S. Glauco, 'La lingua del *dossier* Totone', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 285–306

Bailey, T., 'Ambrosian Processions of the Saints', in *Music in Medieval Europe*, ed. by T. Bailey and A. Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 263–86

Baitieri, M., 'Gli arcivescovi di Milano in età carolingia' (unpublished masters' dissertation, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2013–14)

——, 'Il Milanese tra Longobardi e Carolingi' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Università degli Studi di Milano, 2011–12)

Baker, P., 'Society and Economy in Northern Italy in the Early Medieval Period (*c.* AD 6th to 11th Centuries): A Zooarchaeological Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2000)

——, 'Socio-economic Aspects of Food Supply in Early Medieval Brescia: The Zooarchaeological Remains from Longobard S. Giulia', in Brogiolo, *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean*, pp. 89–96

Balossino, S., 'Iustitia, lex, consuetudo: per un vocabolario della giustizia nei capitolari italici', *RMR*, 6.1 (2005), art. #1

Balzaretti, R., 'British Women Travellers and Italian Marriages, *c.* 1789–1844', in *Italian Sexualities Uncovered: The Long Nineteenth Century (1879–1914)*, ed. by V. Babini, C. Beccalossi, and L. Riall (London: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 251–71

——, 'Charlemagne in Italy', *History Today*, 46 (1996), 28–34

——, 'Chestnuts in Charters: Evidence for Specialised Production in Tenth-Century Genoa and Milan', in Balzaretti, Barrow, and Skinner, *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 356–71

——, 'Cities and Markets in Early Medieval Europe', in Ausenda, *After Empire*, pp. 113–42

——, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries: Local Economies in the Po Valley 700–875', in Christie and Loseby, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 213–34

——, 'The Curtis, the Archaeology of Sites of Power', in Francovich and Noyé, *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano*, pp. 99–108

——, *Dark Age Liguria: Regional Identity and Local Power, c. 400–1020* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013)

——, 'Debate: Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', *P&P*, no. 135 (1992), 142–50

——, 'Elites and Silver in Milan and its Region in the Ninth Century', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 403–38

——, 'Fatherhood in Late Lombard Italy', in Nelson, Reynolds, and Johns, *Gender and Historiography*, pp. 9–20

——, 'History, Archaeology and Early Medieval Urbanism: The North Italian Debate', *Accordia Research Papers*, 2 (1991), 87–104

——, 'Images of Dark Age Milan', *Medieval World*, 4 (1992), 48–54

——, 'The Lands of Saint Ambrose: The Acquisition, Organisation and Exploitation of Landed Property in North-western Lombardy by the Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio Milan, *c*. 780–1000' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1989)

——, 'Lombard Fathers', *AM*, 38 (2011), 45–58

——, 'Masculine Authority and State Identity in Liutprandic Italy', in *Die Langobarden: Herrschaft und Identität*, ed. by W. Pohl and P. Erhart (Wien: Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 2005), pp. 363–84

——, 'Monasteries, Towns and the Countryside: Reciprocal Relationships in the Archdiocese of Milan, 614–814', in Brogiolo, Gauthier, and Christie, *Towns and their Territories*, pp. 235–57

——, 'The Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio and Dispute Settlement in Early Medieval Milan', *EME*, 3 (1994), 1–18

——, 'Narratives of Success and Narratives of Failure: Representations of the Career of King Hugh of Italy (*c*. 885–948), *EME*, 24 (2016), 185–208

——, 'The Politics of Property in Ninth-Century Milan: Familial Motives and Monastic Strategies in the Village of Inzago', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 111 (1999), 747–70

——, 'Review Article. Early Medieval Milan', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 35 (1991), 155–60

——, 'Review Article. Liutprand of Cremona', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 52 (2008), 246–56

——, 'Review Article. San Vincenzo al Volturno: History Rewritten?', *EME*, 8 (1999), 387–99

——, 'Sexual Cultures in the Early Medieval West', in *Indecent Exposure: Sexuality, Society and the Archaeological Record*, ed. by L. Bevan (Glasgow: Cruithnes Press, 2001), pp. 47–61

——, 'Sexuality in Late Lombard Italy, *c*. 700–*c*. 800', in *Medieval Sexuality: A Casebook*, ed. by A. Harper and C. Proctor (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 7–30

——, 'Spoken Narratives in Ninth-Century Milanese Court Records', in Tyler and Balzaretti, *Narrative and History*, pp. 11–37

——, 'Theodelinda, "most glorious queen": Gender and Power in Lombard Italy', *Medieval History Journal*, 2 (1999), 183–207

——, '"These are things that men do, not women": The Social Regulation of Female Violence in Langobard Italy', in Halsall, *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 175–92

——, 'Women and Weapons in Early Medieval Europe', in *Il genere nella ricerca storica: Atti del VI Congresso SIS*, ed. by S. Chemotti and M. C. La Rocca (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2015), pp. 137–50

——, 'Women, Property and Urban Space in Tenth-Century Milan', *G&H*, 23 (2011), 547–75

Balzaretti, R., J. Barrow, and P. Skinner, eds, Italy and Early Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Balzaretti, R., M. Pearce, and C. Watkins, eds, *Ligurian Landscapes: Studies in Archaeology, Geography and History* (London: Accordia Research Institute, 2004)

Banaji, J., *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity: Gold, Labour, and Aristocratic Dominance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

——, 'Aristocracies, Peasantries and the Framing of the Early Middle Ages', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9 (2009), 59–91

——, 'Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages: What Kind of Transition?', *Historical Materialism*, 19 (2011), 109–44

——, *Theory as History: Essays on Modes of Production and Exploitation* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010)

Banaudi, D., and F. Spalla, *Campione d'Italia: Uomini, luoghi, architetture* (Viterbo: BetaGamma, 2002)

Banham, D., and R. Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Banti, O., 'Considerazioni a proposito di alcune epigrafi dei secoli VIII–IX conservate a Brescia', in Stella and Brentegani, *S. Giulia di Brescia*, pp. 163–77

——, 'Epigrafi "documentarie", "chartae lapidariae" e documenti (in senso proprio)', in *Scritti di storia, diplomatica ed epigrafica*, ed. by S. P. P. Scalfati (Pisa: Pacini, 1995), pp. 133–47

Barbero, A., *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004)

Barbiera, I., *Memorie sepolte: Tombe e identità nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII)* (Roma: Carocci, 2012)

Barbiero, I., 'L'edizione del Museo Diplomatico dell'Archivio di Stato di Milano', *Archivi e Cultura*, 14 (1980), 241–49

Barker, G., 'The Italian Landscape in the First Millenium AD: Some Archaeological Approaches', in Randsborg, *The Birth of Europe*, pp. 62–73

——, ed., *A Mediterranean Valley: Landscape Archaeology and Annales History in the Biferno Valley* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995)

Barker, G., and J. Lloyd, eds, *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (London: British School at Rome, 1991)

Barnish, S. J. B., 'Ennodius' Lives of Epiphanius and Antony: Two Models for the Christian Gentleman', *Studia Patristica*, 24 (1993), 13–19

——, 'Liberty and Advocacy in Ennodius of Pavia: The Significance of Rhetorical Education in Late Antique Italy', in *Hommages à Carl Deroux*, vol. V, *Christianisme et Moyen Age Neo-Latin et survivance de la latinité* (Brussels: Latomus, 2003), pp. 20–28

——, '*Religio in stagno*: Natire, Divinity, and the Christianisation of the Countryside in Late Antique Italy', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 9 (2001), 387–402

——, 'The Transformation of Classical Cities and the Pirenne Debate', *JRA*, 2 (1989), 385–400

Barone, G., L. Capo, and S. Gasparri, eds, *Studi sul medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi* (Roma: Viella, 2001)

Barrow, J. S., *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800 – c. 1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)

——, 'Friends and Friendship in Anglo-Saxon Charters', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Julian Haseldine (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 91–105

Bartoli Langeli, A., 'I documenti', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 237–64

——, *Notai: scrivere documenti nell'Italia medievale* (Roma: Viella, 2005)

——, 'Private Charters', in La Rocca, *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 205–19

——, 'Sui "brevi" italiani altomedievali', *BIIM*, 105 (2003), 1–23

Bastiaensen, A. A. R., 'Paulin de Milan et le culte des martyrs chez Saint Ambrose', in Lazzati, *Ambrosius Episcopus*, II, 143–50

Beales, D., *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Becker, H., 'Das Königliche Frauenkloster San Salvator/Santa Giulia in Brescia im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung', *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien*, 17 (1983), 299–392

Behre, K.-E., 'The History of Rye Cultivation in Europe', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*, 1 (1992), 141–56

Belloni, L. M., 'Campione terra italiana', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 3 (1963), 94–147

——, 'L'isola comacina dal VI al IX secolo', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 3 (1963), 81–93

Bellù, A., 'Alfio Rosario Natale', *ASL*, Ser. 12, 3 (1996), 573–75

——, 'Un prezioso contribuito archivistico: le annotazioni dorsali delle pergamene del Museo Diplomatico (sec. VI a 900) per la prima volta edita', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 10 (1971–73), 15–32

Bennett, J. M., 'Feminism and History', *G&H*, 1 (1989), 251–72

——, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

Bernard-Valette, C., '"We are between the hammer and the anvil"': Hincmar in the Crisis of 875', in *Hincmar of Reims: Life and Work*, ed. by R. Stone and C. West (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 93–109

Bernareggi, E., 'Attività economiche e circolazione monetaria in età longobarda nella testimonianza delle chartae', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 76 (1970), 117–37

——, *Moneta Langobardorum* (Lugano: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1989)

——, *Il sistema economico e la monetazione dei Longobardi nell'Italia Superiore* (Milano: Ratto, 1960)

Bernhardt, J. W., '*Servitium regis* and Monastic Property in Early Medieval Germany', *Viator*, 18 (1987), 53–87

Bertani, A, 'Il "castrum" dell'isola di S. Giulia d'Orta in età longobarda', in Lusuardi Siena and Rossignani, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, II, 247–72

Bertelli, C., 'Un altro serpente in S. Ambrogio', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), 85–87

——, 'Aspetti dell'arte promossa dai Longobardi in Italia nell'VIII secolo', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 189–95

——, 'Castelseprio e Milano', *Settimane*, 34 (1987), 869–906

——, *Il Ciborio della Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano* (Milano: Credito Artigiano, 1981)

——, *Gli affreschi nella torre di Torba* (Milano: Electa, 1988)

——, ed., *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, vol. I, *Milano, una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi* (Milano: Electa, 1987)

——, ed., *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, vol. II, *La città del vescovo dai Carolingi al Barbarossa* (Milano: Electa, 1988)

——, ed., *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, vol. III, *La nuova città dal Commune alla Signoria* (Milano: Electa, 1989)

——, 'Sant'Ambrogio da Angilberto II a Gotofredo', in Bertelli, *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, II, 16–81

Bertelli, C., and G. P. Brogiolo, eds, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno. Catalogo* (Milano: Electa, 2000)

——, eds, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno. Saggi* (Milano: Electa, 2000)

Bertelli, C., and F. Ravaglia, 'Milano', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, pp. 252–59

Bertini, M. B., 'Les Archives en Italie', *Archives*, 34 (2002–03), 13–36

Berto, L. A., 'Remembering Old and New Rulers: Lombards and Carolingians in Carolingian Italian Memory', *Medieval History Journal*, 13 (2010), 23–53

Bertolini, M. G., 'Angilberto', *DBI*, III (1961)

——, 'Ansperto', *DBI*, III (1961)

Bertolini, P., 'Benedetto', *DBI*, VIII (1966)

Bertoni, G., 'L'inizio della giurisdizione dell'abate di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano sulla corte di Limonta e Civenna', *Memorie storiche della diocesi da Milano*, 13 (1966), 167–320

Besta, E., 'Dalla fine dell'unità carolingia alla conquista di Ottone I. L'età ottoniana', in *Storia di Milano*, II, 427–70

——, 'I diplomi regi ed imperali per la chiesa di Como', *ASL*, Ser. 7, 4 (1937), 299–343

——, 'Milano sotto gli imperatori carolingi', in *Storia di Milano*, II, 341–425

——, *Storia della Valtellina e del Contado di Chiavenna*, vol. I, *Dalle origini alla occupazione grigiona* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1955)

Bethemont, J., and J. Pelletier, *Italy: A Geographical Introduction* (London: Longman, 1983)

Bettelli Bergamaschi, M., 'Monachesimo femminile e potere politico nell'alto medioevo: il caso di San Salvatore di Brescia', in *Il monachesimo femminile in Italia dall'alto medioevo al secolo XVII a confronto con l'oggi*, ed. by G. Zarri (Verona: Il Segno dei Gabrieli, 1997), pp. 42–74

——, 'Ramperto vescovo di Brescia (sec. IX) e la *Historia de translatione Beati Filastrii*', *Ricerche storiche sulla chiesa Ambrosiana*, 28 (1975), 48–140

——, 'Ricordo di Monsignor Enrico Cattaneo', *ASL*, Ser. 11, 3 (1986), 499–502

Bianchi, C., ed., *La Porta Nuova della mure medievali di Milano* (Milano: Edizioni ET, 1991)

Bielmann, C., 'A Christianisation of Switzerland? Urban and Rural Transformations in a Time of Transition, AD 300–800' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2013)

Bierbrauer, V., 'Aspetti archeologici di Goti, Alamanni e Longobardi', in *Magistra Barbaritas: I Barbari in Italia* ed. by M. Arcamone and E. Arslan (Milano: Scheiwiller, 1984), pp. 445–508

——, 'Situazione della ricerche sugli insedimenti nell'Italia settentrionale in epoca tarda-antica e nell'alto medioevo (V–VII sec.)', *AM*, 15 (1988), 501–15

Bintliff, J., and M. Pearce, eds, *The Death of Archaeological Theory?* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011)

Biscaro, G., 'Note e documenti santambrosiane', *ASL*, 31 (1904), 302–59

Bischoff, B., *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, trans. by D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Biscottini, P., ed., *La basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore* (Milano: Silvana, 2000)

Bitel, L., *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Bizzochi, R., *Cicisbei: Morale privata e identità nazionale in Italia* (Bari: Laterza, 2008)

Black, C. F., *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London: Longman, 2001)

Black, J., *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003)

Blackburn, M., 'Money and Coinage', in *NCMH*, ii, 538–89

Blair, J., *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

——, 'Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England', *EME*, 4 (1995), 193–212

Blair, J., and R. Sharpe, eds, *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992)

Blake, H., 'Archeologia e storia', *Quaderni Medievali*, 12 (1981), 136–51

Bloch, H., *Montecassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984)

Blockley, P., R. Caimi, D. Caporusso, C. Cattaneo, P. M. De Marchi, and L. Miazzo, 'Campione d'Italia: Scavi archeologici nella ex chiesa di San Zeno', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 29–80

Blomquist, T. W., 'Review of Rossetti 1968', *American Historical Review*, 77 (1972), 766

Blum, J., 'The European Village as Community: Origins and Functions', *Agricultural History*, 45 (1971), 157–78

Bocchi, F., 'Città e mercati nell'Italia padana', *Settimane*, 40 (1993), 139–85

Bognetti, G. P., 'La Brescia dei Goti e dei Longobardi', in *Storia di Brescia* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1963), i, 393–446

——, *L'età longobarda*, 4 vols (Milano: Giuffrè, 1966–68)

——, 'Introduzione alla storia medievale della basilica Ambrosiana' [1942], repr. in Bognetti, *L'età longobarda*, i, 349–80

——, 'Milano longobarda', in *Storia di Milano*, ii, 57–295

——, 'Milano sotto il regno dei Goti', in *Storia di Milano*, ii, 3–54

——, 'La navigazione padana e il sopravivere della civiltà antica', *L'età longobarda*, vol. iv (Milano: Giuffrè, 1964), pp. 541–53

——, 'Pensiero e vita a Milano e nel Milanese durante l'età carolingia', in *Storia di Milano*, ii, 717–803

——, *Studi sulle origini del comune rurale* (Milano: Vita e pensiero, 1978)

——, 'Terrore e sicurezza sotto re nostrani e sotto re stranieri', in *Storia di Milano*, ii, 807–32

Bondioli, P., *La fondazione del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano: nei documenti del secolo ottavo* (Milano: Società editrice 'Vita e Pensiero', 1931)

Bonetti, C., 'San Nazaro: La basilica Apostolorum, l'edifico', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 70–73

Bonnard, G. A., *Edward Gibbon: Memoirs of my Life* (London: T. Nelson, 1966)

——, *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome: His Journal from 20 April to 2 October, 1764* (London: T. Nelson, 1961)

Bonnassie, P., *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Bonora Mazzoli, G., 'Ricerche di topografia antica 2004–2007', *LANX*, no. 2 (2009), 184–93

Bordone, R., and J. Jarnut, eds, *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1988)

Borghi, A., and O. Zastrow, 'La corte di Sant'Ambrogio a Capiate di Olginate: stratificazioni romane e insediamenti altomedievali', in *Studi in onore di F. Rittatore Vonwiller*, vol. II (Como: Malinverno, 1980), pp. 89–177

Borgolte, M., *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit: Eine Prosopographie* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986)

Boselli, P., *Dizionario di Toponomastica Bergamasca e Cremonese* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1988)

——, *Toponimi lombardi* (Milano: SugarCo, 1977)

Bosisio, A., and G. Vismara, eds, *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, vol. I, *Le vicende politiche* (Milano: Il Polifilo, 1973)

Bosshard, H., *Saggio di un glossario dell'antico lombardo* (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1938)

Boswell, J., *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991)

Boucheron, P., and S. Gioanni, eds, *La Mémoire d'Ambroise de Milan: Usages politiques et sociaux d'une autorité patristique en Italie (Vᵉ–XVIIIᵉ siècle)* (Roma: L'École Française de Rome, 2015)

Bougard, F., 'Actes privés et transferts patrimoniaux en Italie centro-septentrionale (VIII–X siècle)', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 111 (1999), 539–62

——, 'Adalhard de Corbie entre Nonantola et Brescia (813): *commutatio*, gestion des biens monastiques et marché de la terre', in *Puer Apuliae: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, ed. by E. Cuozzo and others, vol. I (Paris:, ACHCByz, 2008), pp. 51–67

——, 'Commutatio, cambium, viganeum, vicariatio: L'Échange dans l'Italie des VIIIᵉ–XIᵉ siècles', in *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert / L'Acte d'échange, du VIII au XII siècles*, ed. by I. Fees and P. Depreux (Köln: Böhlau, 2013), pp. 65–98

——, 'La Cour et le gouvernement de Louis II, 840–875', in Le Jan, *La Royauté et les elites dans l'Europe carolingienne*, pp. 249–67

——, 'Le Credit dans l'Occident du haut Moyen Âge: Documentation et pratique', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 439–78

——, 'Dot et douaire en Italie centro-septentrionale, VIIIᵉ–XIᵉ siècle: Un parcours documentaire', in Bougard, Feller and Le Jan, *Dots et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 57–95

——, 'Du centre à la périphérie: Le "Ventre mou" du royaume d'Italie de la mort de Louis II à l'àvenement de l'Ottone Iᵉʳ', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 15–32

——, 'Écrire le procès: Le Compte Rendu judicaire entre VIIIᵉ et XIᵉ siècle', *Médiévales*, 56 (2009), 23–40

——, 'Engelberga', *DBI*, XLII (1993)

——, 'Ermengarda', *DBI*, XLII (1993)

——, 'Garibaldo', *DBI*, LII (1999)

——, *La Justice dans le royaume d'Italie de la fin du VIIIᵉ siècle au début du Xⁱᵉ siècle* (Roma: L'École Française de Rome, 1995)

——, 'Manasse', *DBI*, LXVIII (2007)

——, 'Notaires d'élite, notaires de l'élite dans le royaume d'Italie', in *La Culture du haut moyen âge, une question d'élites?*, ed. by F. Bougard and R. McKitterick (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 439–60

——, 'La Relique au procès: Autour des miracles de saint Colomban', *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 31 (2000), 35–66

——, 'Lo stato e le élites fra 888 e 962: il regno d'Italia a confronto (brevi considerazioni)', in Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962*, pp. 77–84

——, 'La Torre', *AM*, 18 (1991), 369–79

——, 'Trésors et mobilia italiens du haut Moyen Âge', in *Les Trésors de sanctuaires, de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane*, ed. by J.-P. Caillet (Nanterre: Université de Paris X–Nanterre, 1996), pp. 161–97

Bougard, F., L. Feller, and R. Le Jan, eds, *Dots et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Roma: L'École française de Rome, 2002)

Bougard, F., C. La Rocca, and R. Le Jan, eds, *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer: Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut moyen âge* (Roma: L'École Française de Rome, 2005)

Boyd, C. E., 'The Beginnings of the Ecclesiastical Tithe in Italy', *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 158–72

——, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1952)

Brambilla, M., and G. P. Brogiolo, 'Case altomedievali dell'Isola Comacina', *AM*, 21 (1994), 463–67

Braudel, F., *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. by S. Reynolds, 2 vols (London: Fontana, 1975)

Brilli, A., *Il viaggio in Italia: Storia di una grande tradizione culturale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006)

Brivio, E., *Guida della Basilica di S. Ambrogio: Note storiche sulla Basilica ambrosiana di Ferdinando Reggiori* (Milano: Nuove edizioni Duomo, 1986)

Brogiolo, G. P., 'A proposto dell'organizzazione urbana nel medioevo', *AM*, 14 (1987), 27–46

——, ed., *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia: Valutazione dei depositi archeologici e inventario dei vincoli* (Modena: Parini, 1984)

——, 'Architetture e techniche costruttive in età longobarda: i dati archeologici', in *I magistri commacini: Mito e realtà del medioevo lombardo. Atti del XIX Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2009), pp. 211–37

——, 'Aspetti economici e sociali delle città longobarda dell'Itala settentrionale', in Brogiolo, *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean*, pp. 77–89

——, 'Brescia: Building Transformations in a Lombard City', in Randsborg, *The Birth of Europe*, pp. 156–65

——, *Brescia altomedievale: Urbanistica ed edilizia dal IV al IX secolo* (Mantua: Società Archeologica Padana, 1993)

——, 'Le campagne italiane tra tardo antico e alto medioevo nella ricerca archeologica', in *Forme del popolamento rurale nell'Europa Medievale: l'apporto dell'archeologia*, ed. by P. Galletti (Bologna: CLUEB, 2006), pp. 11–32

——, 'Capitali e residenze regie nell'Italia longobarda', in *Sedes regiae (ann. 400–800)* ed. by G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt (Barcelona: Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres, 2000), pp. 135–62

——, 'La chiesa di San Zeno di Campione e la sua sequenza stratigrafica', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 81–105

——, ed., *Le chiese tra VII e VIII secolo in Italia settentrionale* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2001)

——, 'Città altomedievali e archeologia', *Società e storia*, no. 45 (1989), 713–20

——, 'Città e suburbio tra tardoantico e altomedioevo in Italia settentrionale', in *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: Topografía, usos, función*, ed. by D. Vaquerizo (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2010), pp. 79–94

——, 'La città longobarda nel periodo della conquista', in Francovich and Noyé, *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano*, pp. 555–66

——, 'La città tra tarda antichità e Medioevo', in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, pp. 48–56

——, 'Desiderio e Ansa a Brescia: dalla fondazione del monastero al mito', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 143–55

——, ed., *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean* (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 1996)

——, 'Edilizia residenziale di età gota in Italia settentrionale', in *I Goti*, ed. by V. Bierbrauer, O. von Hessen, and E. Arslan (Milano: Electa, 1994), pp. 214–23

——, 'Edilizia residenziale in Lombardia (V–IX)', in *Edilizia residenziale tra V e VIII secolo*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 1994), pp. 103–14

——, ed., *La fine delle ville romane: transformazioni nelle campagne tra tarda antichità e alto medioevo* (Mantova: Parini, 1996)

——, 'Milano e il suo territorio alla luce di archaeologia', in Bertelli, *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, I, 32–47

——, *Le origini della città medievale* (Mantova: Società Archelogica Padana, 2001)

——, 'Per una storia religiosa di Castelseprio: il complesso di Torba e la chiesa di S. Maria foris portas', in *Castelseprio e Torba: sintesi delle ricerche e aggiormamenti*, ed. by P. M. De Marchi (Mantova: SAP Società Archeologica s.r.l, 2013), pp. 213–54

——, 'Review of Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome*', *AM*, 32 (2005), 499–502

——, 'Risultati e prospettive della ricera archeologica sulle campagne altomedievali italiani', in Brogiolo, Chavarria Arnau, and Valenti *Dopo la fine delle ville*, pp. 7–16

——, 'Torba', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Catalogo*, pp. 192–93

——, 'Towns, Forts and the Countryside: Archaeological Models for Northern Italy in the Early Lombard Period (AD 568–650)', in Brogiolo, Gauthier, and Christie, *Towns and their Territories*, pp. 299–324

Brogiolo, G. P., and G. Cantino Wataghin, eds, *Sepolture tra IV e VIII secolo: VII Seminario sul Tardoantico e l'Altomedioevo in Italia Centrosettentrionale (Gardone Riviera, 24–26 ottobre 1996)* (Mantova: Parini, 1992)

Brogiolo, G. P., and L. Castelletti, eds, *Archeologia a Monte Barro*, vol. I, *Il grande edificio e la torre* (Lecco: Editrice Stefanoni, 1991)

——, eds, *Il territorio tra tardo antico e alto medioevo* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1992)

Brogiolo, G. P., A. Chavarria Arnau, and M. Valenti, eds, *Dopo la fine delle ville: Evoluzione nelle campagne tra VI e IX secolo* (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2005)

Brogiolo, G. P., N. Gauthier, and N. Christie, eds, *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, The Transformation of the Roman World, 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2000)

Brogiolo, G. P., and S. Gelichi, eds, *Le ceramiche altomedievali (fine VI–X secolo) in Italia settentrionale: produzione e commerci* (Mantova: Parini, 1996)

——, *La città nell'altomedioevo italiano: Archeologia e storia* (Bari: Laterza, 1998)

——, eds, *Nuove ricerche sui castelli altomedievali in Italia settentrionale* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1996)

Brogiolo, G. P., S. Lusuardi Siena, and P. Sesino, *Ricerche su Sirmione Longobarda* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1989)

Brogiolo, G. P., F. Marazzi, and C. Giostra, eds, *Longobardi: Un popolo che cambia la storia* (Milano: Skira, 2017)

Brogiolo, G. P., and G. Panazza, *Ricerche su Brescia altomedievale*, vol. I, *Gli studi fino al 1978: lo scavo di via A.Mario* (Brescia: Accademia di scienze lettere ed arti, 1988)

Brogiolo, G. P., and B. Ward-Perkins, eds, *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 1999)

Brooke, C. N. L., *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962–1154* (London: Routledge, 2000)

Brown, P. R. L., *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (London: Faber, 1988)

——, 'Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity', *EME*, 9 (2000), 1–24

——, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003)

——, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350–550 AD* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Brown, T. S., 'Culture and Society in Ottonian Ravenna: Imperial Renewal or New Beginnings?', in Herrin and Nelson, *Ravenna*, pp. 335–44

——, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554–800* (London: British School at Rome, 1984)

——, 'Gibbon, Hodgkin, and the Invaders of Italy', in McKitterick and Quinault, *Edward Gibbon and Empire*, pp. 137–61

——, 'Lombard Religious Policy in the Late Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The Roman Dimension', in Ausenda, Delogu, and Wickham, *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, pp. 280–307

Brown, W. C., 'Charters as Weapons: On the Role Played by Early Medieval Dispute Records in the Disputes They Record', *JMH*, 28 (2002), 227–48

——, 'Conflict, Letters, and Personal Relationships in the Carolingian Formula Collections', *Law and History Review*, 25 (2007), 323–44

——, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001)

——, 'When Documents Are Destroyed or Lost: Lay People and Archives in the Early Middle Ages', *EME*, 11 (2002), 337–66

Brown, W. C., M. Costambeys, M. Innes, and A. J. Kosto, eds, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Brubaker, L., and J. M. H. Smith, eds, *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Brugnoli, A., and G. M. Varanini, eds, *Olivi e olio nel medioevo italiano* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2005)

Brühl, C. R., *Fodrum, gistam, servitium Regis* (Köln: Böhlau, 1968)

——, *Studien zu den langobardischen Königsurkunden* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1970)

Brunella, B., and M. Sannazaro, 'Milano, Università Cattolica del S. Cuore: Seconda campagna di scavo', in *Notiziario* (1987), pp. 143–48

Bruno, B., and E. Perencin, 'La campagna di scavo del 1997 nel cortile d'onore (UC IX)', in Sannazaro, *Ricerche archeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, I, 18–26

Brunsch, S. H. 'The Authority of Documents in Early Medieval Italian Pleas', in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. by B. M. Bolton and C. Meek (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 277–87

Buc, P., *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

——, 'Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Liutprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy', *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien*, 29 (1995), 207–25

——, 'The Monster and the Critics: A Ritual Reply', *EME*, 15 (2007), 441–52

——, 'Ritual and Interpretation: The Early Medieval Case', *EME*, 9 (2000), 183–210

Buccellati, G., ed., *The Iron Crown and Imperial Europe*, 2 vols (Monza: Mondadori, 1995–99)

Bührer-Thierry, G., 'Fratelli e sorelle: Solidarità familiari e spartizione del patrimonio nell'alto medioevo', *Genesis*, 9 (2010), 55–66

Bullough, D. A., *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden: Brill, 2004)

——, '"*Bauli*" in the Carolingian "regnum Langobardorum" and the Career of Abbot Waldo', *EHR*, 77 (1962), 625–37

——, 'Burial, Community and Belief in the Early Medieval West', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by P. Wormald with D. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 177–210

——, 'The Career of Columbanus', in Lapidge, *Columbanus*, pp. 1–28

——, *Carolingian Renewal* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990)

——, 'Colombano', *DBI*, XXVII (1982)

——, 'The Counties of the *regnum Italiae* in the Carolingian Period 774–888: A Topographical Study', *PBSR*, 23 (1955), 148–68

——, 'Ethnic History and the Carolingians: An Alternative Reading of Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum*', in *The Inheritance of Historiography*, ed. by C. Holdsworth (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1986), pp. 85–105

——, 'Leo, *qui apud Holtharium magni loci habebatur*, et le gouvernement du *Regnum Italiae* à l'époque carolingienne', *Le Moyen Age*, 67 (1961), 221–45

——, 'Review of G. Rossetti, *Società e istituzioni nel contado Lombardo*', *EHR*, 88 (1973), 875–76

——, 'Review of C. Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale*', *EHR*, 69 (1954), 428–31

——, 'Urban Change in Early Medieval Italy: The Example of Pavia', *PBSR*, 34 (1966), 82–131

Bumpus, T. F., *The Cathedrals and Churches of Northern Italy* (New York: J. Pott, 1907)

Buratti, V., A. Colombo, G. Fumagalli, and F. Mavero, *Adda: Immagini dal Lario all foce* (Oggiono: Cattaneo, 1980)

Burke, P., *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

——, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 2001)

Busch, J. W., 'Landulfi senioris *Historia Mediolanensis*: Überlieferung, Datierung und Intention', *Deutsches Archiv*, 45 (1989), 1–30

——, *Die Mailänder Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Arnulf und Galvaneus Flamma* (München: W. Fink, 1997)

Cagiano de Azevedo, M., 'Milano da S. Ambrogio a Desiderius', *Notizario dal chiostro del Monastero Maggiore*, 3–4 (1969), 35–52

——, 'Milano longobarda', in *Atti del 6° Congresso Internazionale di Studio sull'alto Medioevo*, pp. 131–49

——, 'Northern Italy', in *European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History*, ed. by M. Barley (London: Batsford, 1977), pp. 475–85

Calderini, C., 'Il palazzo di Liutprando a Corteolona', *Contributi dell'Istituto di archeologia dell'università cattolica di Milano*, 5 (1975), 174–217

Cameron, A., 'Gibbon and Justinian', in McKitterick and Quinault, *Edward Gibbon and Empire*, pp. 34–52

——, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London: Duckworth, 1985)

Campbell, J., 'The Sale of Land and the Economics of Power in Early England: Problems and Possibilities', repr. in Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London: Hambledon, 2000), pp. 227–46

Cantarella, G. M., 'La figura di Sant'Anselmo nel contesto del monachesimo longobardo', *RMR*, 4.2 (2003), art. #2

Cantini, F., 'Produzioni ceramiche ed economie in Italia centro-settentrionale', in Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962*, pp. 341–64

Cantino Wataghin, G., 'L'abbazia dei Santi Pietro e Andrea in Novalesa: il contribuito delle indagini archeologiche al recupero della sua memoria', in *Novalesa: Nuove luci dall'abbazia*, ed. by M. G. Cerri (Milano: Electa, 2004), pp. 35–57

——, 'Archeologia dei monasteri: L'altomedioevo', in *I Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale: Auditorium del Centro studi della Cassa di risparmio di Pisa (ex Benedettine), Pisa, 29–31 maggio 1997*, ed. by S. Gelichi (Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 2000), pp. 265–68

——, 'Christianisation et organisation ecclésiastique des campagnes: L'Italie du Nord aux ivᵉ–viiiᵉ siècles', in Brogiolo, Gauthier, and Christie, *Towns and their Territories*, pp. 209–34

——, 'Concluding Remarks', in Dey and Fentress, *Western Monasticism Ante Litteram*, pp. 355–78

——, 'Monasteri di età longobarda: spunti per una ricerca', in *XXXVI Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, pp. 73–100

——, 'Monasteri in Piemonte dalla tarda antichità al medioevo', in Mercando and Micheletto, *Archeologia in Piemonte*, pp. 161–85

——, 'Monasteri tra viii e ix secolo: evidenze archaeologiche per l'Italia settentrionale', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 129–41

Cantino Wataghin, G., and G. P. Brogiolo, 'Tardo antico e altomedioevo nel territorio padano', in Francovich and Noyé, *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano*, pp. 141–58

Cantino Wataghin, G., and C. Lambert, 'Sepolture e città: L'Italia settentrionale tra iv e viii secolo', in Brogiolo and Cantino Wataghin, *Sepolture tra iv e viii secolo*, pp. 89–115

Capitani, O., and G. Sergi, *Ricordo di due maestri: Giovanni Tabacco e Cinzio Violante nella medievistica europea* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2004)

Capogrossi Colognesi, L., *Persistenza e innovazione nelle strutture territoriali dell'Italia romana: L'ambiguità di una interpretazione storiografica e dei suoi modelli* (Napoli: Jovene editore, 2002)

Caporusso, D., 'Milano: problemi di archeologia urbana', *Archeologia, Uomo, Territorio*, 3 (1984), 110–15

——, 'Scavi archeologici effetuati in occasione della construzione della linea 3 della Metropolitana, 1982–1990', in *Notiziario* (1990), pp. 187–90

——, ed., *Scavi MM3: Ricerche di archeologia urbana a Milano durante la costruzione della linea 3 della Metropolitana 1982–1990*, 4 vols in 5 (Milano: Edizioni ET, 1991)

——, ed., *Le torri romane del Monastero Maggiore: Restauri, indagini e lettura storica* (Milano: Comune di Milano, 2017)

——, 'La zona di Porta Nuova: alcuni elementi di topografia per la ricostruzione del quartiere in età Romana e Medioevale', in Bianchi, *La Porta Nuova della mure medievali di Milano*, pp. 15–28

Caporusso, D., and A. Ceresa Mori, 'Milano', in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, pp. 125–39

Capponi, C., ed., *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milano: Silvana, 1996)

——, ed., *La Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio in Milano: Guida storico-artistica* (Milano: Skira, 1998)

——, ed., *Il mosaico di Sant'Ambrogio: Storia del mosaico e dei suoi restauri (1843–1997)* (Cinisello Balsamo: Pizzi, 1997)

——, ed., *San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore in Milano: Guida storico-artistica* (Milano: Skira, 1998)

Caprioli, A., and A. Rimoldi, 'L'età antica — Il vescovo Ambogio', in Caprioli, Rimoldi, and Vaccaro, *Storia Religiosa della Lombardia*, IX, 1–41

Caprioli, A., A. Rimoldi, and L. Vaccaro, eds, *Storia Religiosa della Lombardia*, vol. IX, *Diocesi di Milano*, pt. 1 (Brescia: Edit. La Scuola, 1990)

Carminati, F., and A. Mariani, 'Isola Comacina e Isola Comense: Una storica con-fusione di Identità', *NRS*, 100 (2016), 13–72

Carozzi, C., 'Milano', in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. VI, *Atalante* (Torino: Einaudi, 1976), pp. 244–61

Carr, H., 'Sanctity and Religious Culture amongst the Alpine Passes: A Study of Aspects of Patrocinia, Liturgy and Scriptoria in Early Medieval Churraetia, 400–850 AD' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2011)

Carver, M., *Arguments in Stone: Archaeological Research and the European Town in the Next Millennium* (Oxford: Oxbow, 1993)

——, 'Commerce and Cult: Confronted Ideologies in 6th–9th Century Europe', *Medieval Archaeology*, 59 (2015), 1–23

——, 'S. Maria *foris portas* at Castelseprio: A Famous Church in a New Context', *World Archaeology*, 18 (1987), 312–29

Cassanelli, R., 'Il complesso monastico di S. Maria d'Aurona: Architettura e liturgia a Milano tra età longobardo e carolingia', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 23 (2017), 114–22

——, 'Un contributo all'epigrafia altomedievale Milanese: la lapide sepolcrale di Bene-detto, primo abbate di S. Ambrogio', *ASL*, Ser. 11, 9 (1992), 503–13

——, 'Materiali lapidei a Milano in età longobarda', in Bertelli, *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, I, 238–57

——, 'Materiali lapidei altomedioevali decorati e iscritti nell'abbazia di San Colombano a Bobbio', in *Storia di Piacenza*, vol. I, *Dalle origini all'anno mille*, ed. by F. Ghizzoni (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza e Vigevano, 1990), pp. 501–33

Castagnetti, A., 'Il conte Leone (801–847) e i suoi figli (840–881) nell'amministrazione missatica della giustizia', in *Medioevo: Studi e documenti*, vol. II, ed. by A. Castagnetti, A. Ciaralli, and G. M. Varanini (Verona: Libraria Universitaria Editrice, 2007), pp. 7–126

——, 'Dominico e massaricio a Limonta nei secoli 9 e 10', *Rivista di Storia dell'agricoltura*, 7 (1968), 3–20

——, 'Una famiglia longobarda di Inzago (Milano)', *Studi Storici Luigi Simeoni*, 55 (2005), 9–46

——, 'In margine all'edizione delle pergamene Bergamasche: economia e società', in Cortesi, *Bergamo e il suo territorio nei documenti altomedievali*, pp. 27–43

——, 'Locopositi, gastaldi e visconti a Milano in età carolingia', *Studi Storici Luigi Simeoni*, 57 (2007), 13–39

——, *L'organizzazione del territorio rurale del medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982)

——, *La pieve rurale nell'Italia padana* (Roma: Herder, 1976)

——, 'Ragifredo notaio in Milano (865–870), giudice cittadino (879) e giudice impe-riale (892–918)', in *Est enim ille flos Italiae…: vita economica e sociale nella Cisalpina romana*, ed. by P. Basso (Verona: Libraria Universitaria Editrice, 2008), pp. 559–70

——, *La società milanese nell'età carolingia* (Verona: GoPrint, 2017)

——, 'Transalpini e vassalli in area Milanese (secolo IX)', in *Medioevo: Studi e documenti*, vol. I, ed. by A. Castagnetti, A. Ciarelli, and G. M. Varanini (Verona: Libraria Universitaria Editrice, 2005), pp. 7–109

Castelletti, L., and I. Nobile, 'Como', in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, pp. 99–104

Castiglioni, E., and M. Rottoli, 'Broomcorn Millet, Foxtail Millet and Sorghum in North Italian Early Medieval Sites', *Post-Classical Archaeologies*, 3 (2013), 131–44

Cattaneo, E., *Cataloghi e biografie dei vescovi di Milano dalle origini al secolo XVI* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1982)

——, 'Missionari orientali a Milano nell'età longobarda', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 3 (1963), 216–47

——, 'Il monachesimo a Milano dalle origini all'età postcarolingia', *AA*, 40 (1980), 7–29

——, 'Il più antico elenco di chiesa di Milano (età carolingia)', *Notizario dal chiostro del Monastero Maggiore*, 3–4 (1969), 25–33

——, 'La preghiera benedettina nella basilica Ambrosiana', in Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*, pp. 260–73

——, *Terra di Sant'Ambrogio: La chiesa Milanese nel primo millennio* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1989)

——, 'La tradizione Ambrosiana come esperienza religiosa culturale cittadina', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 119–36

——, 'La tradizione e il rito ambrosiani nell'ambiente lombardo-medioevale', in E. Cattaneo, *La Chiesa di Ambrogio* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1986), pp. 117–52

——, 'La vita commune del clero a Milano (sec. IX–XIV)', *Aevum*, 48 (1974), 246–69

Cattin, G., *Music in the Middle Ages*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Cau, E., 'I documenti private di Bergamo', in Cortesi, *Bergamo e il suo territorio nei documenti altomedievali*, pp. 151–67

Cavallaro, L., 'Da *Genua* a *Ianua*', in *Storia Illustrata di Genova*, vol. I, ed. by L. Borzani, G. Pistarino, and F. Ragazzi (Milano: Sellino, 1993), pp. 33–47

Cavallo, G., 'Libri e cultura nelle due Italie longobarde', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 85–103

Ceresa Mori, A., ed., *L'anfiteatro di Milano e il suo quartiere* (Milano: Skira, 2004)

——, *Le colonne di San Lorenzo: Storia e restauro di un monumento Romano* (Modena: Panini, 1989)

——, 'Dal foro romano all'Ambrosiana: dati archeologici sulle dinamiche di trasformazione di un settore urbano Milanese', *Studia Ambrosiana*, 4 (2010), 91–113

——, '*Mediolanum* dall'oppidum celtico alla città romana', in Christie, *Settlement and Economy in Italy*, pp. 465–76

——, 'Milano', in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, pp. 179–99

——, 'Milano: Indagini nell'area del foro. Biblioteca Ambrosiana', in *Notizario* (1990), pp. 173–85

Cervi, M. G., ed., *Novalesa: Nuove luci dall'abbazia* (Milano: Electa, 2004)

Cevasco, R., *Memoria verde: Nuovi spazi per la geografia* (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2007)

——, ed., *La natura della montagna: scritti in ricordo di Giuseppina Poggi* (Genova: Oltre edizioni, 2013)

Chard, C., *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999)

Chavarría Arnau, A., 'Changes in Scale in the Italian Countryside from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages', in *Scale and Scale Change in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by J. Escalona Monge (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 121–32

——, '*Splendida sepulcra ut postieri audient*: aristocrazie, mausolei e chiese funerarie nelle campagne tardoantiche', in *Archeologia e società tra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo and A. Chavarría Arnau (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2007), pp. 127–45

Chazelle, C., and C. Cubitt, eds, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007)

Cheyette, F. L., 'The Disappearance of the Ancient Landscape and the Climatic Anomaly of the Early Middle Ages: A Question to be Pursued', *EME*, 16 (2008), 127–65

——, 'The Origins of European Villages and the First European Expansion', *Journal of Economic History*, 37 (1977), 182–206

Chiappa Mauri, L., 'Acque e mulini nella Lombardia medievale: Alcune riflessioni', in *I mulini nell'Europa medievale*, ed. by P. Galetti and P. Racine (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), pp. 233–68

——, *I mulini ad acqua nel Milanese (x–xv secolo)* (Milano: Biblioteca della Nuova rivista storica, 1984)

Chiesa, P., ed., *Le cronache medievali di Milano* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2001)

——, ed., *Paolino d'Aquileia e il contribuito all'Europa carolingio* (Udine: Forum, 2003)

——, ed., *Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione longobarda e rinnovamento carolingio* (Udine: Forum, 2000)

Christie, N., 'The Alps as a Frontier, A.D. 168–774', *JRA*, 4 (1991), 410–30

——, 'Byzantine Liguria: An Imperial Province against the Lombards, AD 568–643', *PBSR*, 58 (1990), 229–71

——, *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)

——, 'Invasion or Invitation? The Longobard Occupation of Northern Italy, A.D. 568–569', *Romanobarbarica*, 11 (1991), 80–108

——, 'Italy and the Roman to Medieval Transition', in *Europe between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Recent Archaeological and Historical Research in Western and Southern Europe*, ed. by J. Blintliff and H. Hamerow, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 617 (Oxford: BAR, 1995), pp. 99–110

——, ed., *Landscapes of Change: Rural Evolutions in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004)

——, *The Lombards* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)

——, 'Milan as Imperial Capital, and its Hinterland', *JRA*, 6 (1993), 485–87

——, 'Settlement and Defence of Byzantine and Langobard Northern and Central Italy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1985)

——, ed., *Settlement and Economy in Italy, 1500 BC to AD 1500* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1995)

Christie, N., and S. Loseby, eds, *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996)

Christie, N., and A. Rushworth, 'Urban Fortification and Defense Strategy in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Italy', *JRA*, 1 (1988), 73–88

Cimino, R., 'Angelberga: il monastero di San Sisto di Piacenza e il corso del fiume Po', *RMR*, 13.2 (2012), 141–62

——, 'Italian Queens in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2014)

Cipolla, C., 'Une crise ignoreé: Comment s'est perdue la proprieté ecclesiastique dans l'Italie du nord entre le x e le xii siècles', *Annales*, 2 (1944), 317–27

Cirelli, E., 'Le città del Italia del nord nell'epoca dei re (888–962 AD)', in Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962*, pp. 131–68

Clanchy, M. T., 'Medieval Mentalities and Primitive Legal Practice', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. by P. Stafford, J. Nelson, and J. Martindale (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 83–94

Clark, G., *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Clark, J. M., *The Abbey of St Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926)

Coates Stephens, R., 'Housing in Early Medieval Rome, 500–1000 AD', *PBSR*, 64 (1996), 239–59

Cognasso, F., 'Attorno alla fondazione della Novalesa', *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino*, 58 (1960), 362–64

Cohn, S. K., *Creating the Florentine State: Peasants and Rebellion, 1348–1434* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Coleman, E., 'Cremona: City and Civic Identity, 996–1128' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oxford, 1987)

Colgrave, B., 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in *Studies in Language, Literature, and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. by E. B. Atwood and A. A. Hill (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1962), pp. 156–72

Collins, R., *Charlemagne* (London: Macmillan, 1998)

——, *Early Medieval Europe, 300–1000* (London: Macmillan, 1991)

——, *Die Fredegar-Chroniken* (Hannover: Hahn, 2007)

Collins, R., and P. Godman, eds., *Charlemagne's Heir* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)

Colombo, M. E., and B. Howes, 'Sant'Ambrogio: La basilica martyrum', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 84–88

Comaroff, J. L., and J. Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992)

Comba, R., and F. Panero, eds, *Aziende agrarie nel medievo: Forme della conduzione fondiaria nell'Italia nord-occidentale (secoli ix–xv)* (Cuneo: Società per gli studi storici, archeologici ed artistici della provincia di Cuneo 2000)

Compatangelo-Soussignan, R., J.-R. Bertrand, J. Chapman, and P. Y. Laffont, eds, *Marqueurs des Paysages et systèmes socio-économiques* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008)

Conant, K. J., *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, 800–1200* (London: Penguin, 1959)

Congost, R., 'Property Rights and Historical Analysis: What Rights? What History?', *P&P*, no. 181 (2003), 73–106

Connell, R. W., *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1987)

——, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995)

Constable, G., 'The Ceremonies and Symbolism of Entering Religious Life and Taking the Monastic Habit, from the Fourth to the Twelfth Centuries', *Settimane*, 33 (1986), 771–834

——, 'Cluny in the Monastic World of the Tenth Century', *Settimane*, 38 (1991), 371–438

——, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *cura animarum* in the Early Middle Ages', *Settimane*, 28 (1981), 349–84

——, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964)

——, '*Nona et decima*: An Aspect of Carolingian Economy', *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 224–50

Conti, L. , 'Giovanni Giulini', *DBI*, LVII (2001)

Conti, P. M., *Devotio e viri devoti in Italia, da Diocleziano ai Carolingi* (Padua: Cedam, 1971)

Conti, R., ed., *Il duomo di Monza* (Milano: Skira, 1990)

Contreni, J. J., 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', in *NCMH*, II, 709–57

Coon, L. L., *Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011)

Cooper, K., 'The Martyr, the *Matrona* and the Bishop: The Matron Lucina and the Politics of Martyr Cult in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Rome', *EME*, 8 (1999), 297–317

——, ed., 'The Roman Martyrs and the Politics of Memory', Special Issue, *EME*, 9.3 (2000)

Corradini, R., M. Gillis, R. McKitterick, and I. Van Renswoude, eds, *Ego Trouble: Authors and their Identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010)

Corrarati, P., 'Nomi, individui, famiglie a Milano nel secolo XI', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 106 (1994), 459–74

Corrò, E., C. Moine, and S. Primon, 'Setting the Scene: The Role of Sant'Illario Monastery in Early Medieval Venice in the Light of Recent Landscape Studies', in Gelichi and Gasparri, *Venice and its Neighbors from the 8th to 11th Century*, pp. 116–41

Cortesi, M., ed., *Bergamo e il suo territorio nei documenti altomedievali* (Bergamo: Provincia di Bergamo, 1991)

Corti, P., and B. Castelli, 'OLGINATE (LC) Località Capiate, corte di S. Ambrogio: Sito pluristratificato', *Notizario* (2010–11), pp. 204–07

Cosentino, S., 'Social Instability and Economic Decline of the Ostrogothic Community in the Aftermath of the Imperial Victory: The Papyri Evidence', in Herrin and Nelson, *Ravenna*, pp. 133–49

Costamagna, G., and M. Amelotti, *Alle origini del notariato italiano* (Roma: Giuffrè, 1975)

Costambeys, M., 'An Aristocratic Community on the Northern Frankish Frontier, 690–726', *EME*, 3 (1994), 39–62

——, 'Disputes and Documents in Early Medieval Italy', in *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West, 300–1200*, ed. by K. Cooper and C. Leyser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 125–54

——, 'Kinship, Gender and Property in Lombard Italy', in Ausenda, Delogu, and Wickham, *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, pp. 69–94

——, 'The Laity, the Clergy, the Scribes and their Archives: The Documentary Record of Eighth- and Ninth-Century Italy', in Brown and others, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 231–58

——, 'The Monastic Environment of Paul the Deacon', in Chiesa, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 127–38

——, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy: Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa, c. 700–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

——, 'The Transmission of Tradition: Gregorian Influence and Innovation in Eighth-Century Italian Monasticism', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 78–101

Coupland, S., 'Charlemagne's Coinage: Ideology and Economy', in Story, *Charlemagne*, pp. 211–29

Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Anselm of Besate and Some North Italian Scholars of the Eleventh Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23 (1972), 115–24

——, 'Archbishop Aribert of Milan', *History*, 51 (1966), 1–15

——, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972)

——, 'The Papacy, the Patarines and the Church of Milan', *TRHS*, 5th Ser., 18 (1968), 25–48

——, 'The Succession of the Archbishops of Milan in the Time of Urban II', *EHR*, 83 (1968), 285–94

Cracco, G., 'Social Structure and Conflict in the Medieval City', in *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. by A. Molho and others (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), pp. 309–29

Cracco Ruggini, L., *Economia e società nell'Italia Annonaria: rapporti fra agricoltura e commercio dal IV al VI secolo* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1961)

——, 'Monza imperiale e regia', in *IV Congresso Internazionale* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1969), pp. 377–91

——, 'Review of Angelo Paredi *Vita e Meriti di Sant'Ambrogio*', *Athenaeum*, 43 (1965), 236–41

——, 'Su la fortuna della *vita Ambrosii*', *Athenaeum*, 41 (1963), 98–110

——, '*Ticinum*: dal 476 d.c. alle fine del Regno Gotico', in *Storia di Pavia*, I, 271–312

——, 'Vicende rurali dell'Italia antica dall'età tetrarchia ai longobardi', *RSI*, 76 (1964), 261–86

Crawford, M. H., 'Paul the Deacon between Justinian and Bologna' (forthcoming)

Crivelli, L., *S. Simpliciano: un vescovo, una basilica. Guida storico-artistica dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Milano: Tipocromo, 1994)

Crone, P., *Pre-Industrial Societies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)

Crosara, F., '*Rex langobardiae — rex Italiae*: Note in margine alla "Historia" di Andrea di Bergamo', in *Atti del 2 Congresso Internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo: Grado-Aquileia-Gorizia-Cividale-Udine, 7–11 settembre 1952* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1953), 155–80

Cubitt, C., *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c. 650–c. 850* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995)

——, 'The Institutional Church', in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500–c. 1000*, ed. by P. Stafford (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 376–94

Curta, F., 'Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving', *Speculum*, 81 (2006), 671–99

Cusani, F., *Storia di Milano dall'origine ai nostri giorni e cenni storico-statistico sulla città e province lombarde*, 8 vols (Milano: Pirotta, 1861)

Cuscito, G., 'L'epigrafia cristiana', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 116–19

——, 'Epigrafia cristiana di Milano', in *DCA*, ii, 1111–17

Darmstädter, P., *Das Reichsgut in der Lombardei und Piemont (568–1250)* (Strasbourg: Trübner, 1896)

Dassman, E., 'Ambrosius und die Märtyrer', *Jarbuch für die Antike und Christentum*, 18 (1975), 49–68

David, M., 'Appunti per lo studio della pavimentazione tardoantica della basilica dei SS. Apostoli e Nazaro maggiore a Milano', *Sibrium*, 15 (1980–81), 177–94

——, *La basilica di San Nazaro* (Milan: Edizioni ET, 1984)

——, 'La "Cronica extravagans de antiquitatibus civitatis Mediolani" di Galvano Fiamma: Linee metodologiche per una nuova edizione critica', in Chiesa, *Le cronache medievali di Milano*, pp. 89–100

——, 'Fonti archeologiche per un'immagine del territorio brianteo tra vi secolo a.C e vi secolo d.C', in *Storia della Brianza*, vol. iv, *Le arti*, ed. by S. Coppa (Lecco-Oggiono: Cattaneo, 2008), pp. 1–35

——, 'Il paesaggio urbano di Mediolanum nell'età di Decimo Magno Ausonio: fonti letterarie e fonti archeologiche a confronto', *Archeologia, Uomo, Territorio*, 30 (2011), 55–64

——, 'La Tarda Antichità nel "territorio varesino"', in *La Storia di Varese*, iii.2, *Il territorio di Varese in età romana* (Varese: Università dell'Insubria, 2014), pp. 173–95

David, M., and V. Mariotti, 'Africani ed Egiziani nel territorio di *Mediolanum* tra iv e v secolo', in *L'Africa romana: mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano. Atti del XVI Convegno di studio, Rabat, 15–19 dicembre 2004*, ed. by A. Akerraz, P. Ruggeri, A. Siraj, and C. Vismara, 4 vols (Roma: Carocci, 2006), ii, 1063–74

Davies, W., *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

——, *Brittany in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Societies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)

——, 'The Composition of the Redon Cartulary', *Francia*, 17 (1990), 69–90

——, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978)

——, 'Exchange Charters in the Kingdom of Asturias-León, 700–1000', in *Tauschgeschäft und Tauschurkunde vom 8. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert / L'Acte d' échange, du viii au xii siècles*, ed. by I. Fees and P. Depreux (Köln: Böhlau, 2013), pp. 471–90

——, 'Forgery in the Cartulaire de Redon', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, IV, 265–74

——, 'Franks and Bretons: The Impact of Political Climate and Historiographical Tradition on Writing their Ninth-Century History', in Fouracre and Ganz, *Frankland*, pp. 304–21

——, 'Free Peasants and Large Landowners in the West', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 90 (2012), 361–80

——, 'Judges and Judging: Truth and Justice in Northern Iberia on the Eve of the Millennium', *JMH*, 36 (2010), 193–203

——, 'Land and Power in Early Medieval Wales', *P&P*, no. 81 (1978), 3–23

——, 'On Servile Status in the Early Middle Ages', in *Serfdom & Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage*, ed. by M. L. Bush (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 225–46

——, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990)

——, 'Priests and Rural Communities in East Brittany in the Ninth Century', *Etudes Celtiques*, 20 (1983), 177–97; repr. in Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages*, article V

——, 'Sale, Price and Valuation in Galicia and Castile-León in the Tenth Century', *EME*, 11 (2002), 149–74

——, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London: Duckworth, 1988)

——, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982)

——, *Wales in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Societies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)

——, *Windows on Justice in Northern Iberia, 800–1000* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Davies, W., and P. Fouracre, eds, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

——, eds, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

——, eds, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Davies, W., G. Halsall, and A. Reynolds, eds, *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006)

Davies, W., M. Handley, J. T. Koch, and G. Le Duc, *The Inscriptions of Early Medieval Brittany* (Oakville, CT: Celtic Studies, 2000)

Davis, J. R., and M. McCormick, eds, *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008)

De Angelis, G., 'Aganone vescovo le la scrittura Carolina a Bergamo alla metà del IX secolo: dinamiche ed eredità di un'innovazione culturale', *Scrineum-Rivista*, 4 (2007), 7–36

——, 'Cittadini prima di cittadinanza: alcune osservazioni sulle carte altomedievali di area lombarda', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 169–90

——, 'Il monastero di Santa Maria di Cairate dalle origini al Quattrocento', in Mariotti, *Un monastero nei secoli*, pp. 213–36

Debbia, M., *Il bosco di Nonantola: storia medievale e moderna di una comunità della bassa modenese* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1990)

Decker, M., *Tilling the Hateful Earth: Agricultural Production and Trade in the Late Antique East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Declercq, G., 'Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)', in Heidecker, *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, pp. 147–70

De Felice, R., 'Carlo Amoretti', *DBI*, III (1961)

Deiana, A., 'Cairate e il suo territorio nell'alto medioevo', in *Documenti per la storia del territorio di Cairate: Dalle origini all'Alto Medioevo* (Cairate: Lativa, 1984), pp. 91–97

De Jong, M., 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer', in *NCMH*, II, 622–53

——, 'Charlemagne's Balcony: The *Solarium* in Ninth-Century Narratives', in J. R. Davis and M. McCormick, *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 277–89

——, 'Charlemagne's Church', in Story, *Charlemagne*, pp. 103–35

——, 'Growing up in a Carolingian Monastery: Magister Hildemar and his Oblates', *JMH*, 9 (1983), 99–128

——, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Lieden: Brill, 1996)

——, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

——, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: The Public Penance of Louis the Pious', *EME*, 1 (1992), 29–52

De Jong, M., and P. Erhart, 'Monachesimo tra i Longobardi e i Carolingi', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: saggi* pp. 105–27

Delano-Smith, C., *Western Mediterranean Europe: A Historical Geography of Italy, Spain and Southern France since the Neolithic* (London: Academic Press, 1979)

Del Bello, S., *Indice toponomastico altomedievale del territorio di Bergamo, secoli VII–IX* (Bergamo: Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo, 1986)

Della Corte, F., 'Laudes Mediolani dal tardo antico all'alto medioevo', *Cultura e scuola*, 23 (1984), pp. 49–55

Della Misericordia, M., *Divenire comunità: comuni rurali, poteri locali, identità sociali e territoriali in Valtellina e nella montagna lombarda nel tardo medioevo* (Milano: Unicopli, 2006)

Della Peruta, F., ed., *Milano antica e medievale*, Storia Illustrata di Milano, 1 (Milano: Sellino, 1992)

Delogu, P., '*Consors regni*: un problema carolingio', *BIIM*, 76 (1964), 47–98

——, 'L'Editto di Rotari e la società del VII secolo', in *Visigoti e longobardi*, ed. by J. Arce and P. Delogu (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2001), pp. 329–55

——, 'L'istituzione comitale nell'Italia Carolingia', *BIIM*, 79 (1968), 53–114

——, 'I langobardi e la scrittura', in *Studi Storici in onore di O. Bertolini*, vol. I (Pisa: Pacini, 1972), pp. 313–24

——, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy', in *NCMH*, II, 290–319

——, 'The Rebirth of Rome in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries', in *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700–1050*, ed. by R. Hodges and B. Hobley, CBA Research Report, 68 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988), pp. 32–42

——, 'Strutture politiche e ideologia nel regno di Lodovico II', *BIIM*, 80 (1968), 137–89

Demarchi, F., 'Il Libro di preghiere di Arnolfo II come compendio di milanesità', in Foletti, Quadri, and Rossi, *Milano allo specchio*, pp. 131–46

De Marchi, P. M., 'Castelseprio: il *castrum* lo stato delle conoscenze tra tardo antico e alto medioevo. Note', in Percivaldi, *Il Seprio nel medioevo*, pp. 45–64

——, ed., *Castelseprio e Torba: sintesi delle ricerche e aggiornamenti* (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2013)

——, 'Edifici di culto e territorio nei secoli VII e VIII: Canton Ticino, Area Abduana, Brianza e Comasco. Note per un'indagine', in Brogiolo, *Le chiese tra VII e VIII secolo in Italia Settentrionale*, pp. 63–92

——, 'L'età longobarda', in Fortunati, Pagani and Poggiani Keller, *Verdello*, pp. 259–70

——, 'Milano e le testimonianze altomedievali del monastero Maggiore: Il riutilizzo della torre del civico romano', *Quaderni del Chiostro del Monastero Maggiore di Milano*, 1 (2004), 47–66

——, 'La Valtellina tra tarda romanità e alto medioevo: i piccolo oggetti', in *La Valtellina nei secoli: studi e ricerche archeologiche*, ed. by V. Mariotti (Mantova: SAP Società archeologica s.r.l., 2015), pp. 637–47

De Marchi, P. M., V. Mariotti, and L. Miazzo, 'La necropoli longobarda di Arsago Seprio', *AM*, 31 (2004), 101–68

De Nie, G., 'History and Miracle: Gregory's Use of Metaphor', in Mitchell and Wood, *The World of Gregory of Tours*, pp. 261–79

Depreux, P., 'Das Königtum Bernhards von Italien und sein Verhältnis zum Kaisterum', *QF*, 72 (1992), 1–24

——, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997)

De Prisco, A., *Il Latino tardoantico e altomedievale* (Roma: Jouvence, 1991)

De'Rosmini, C., *Dell'Istoria di Milano*, 4 vols (Milano, 1820)

De Rossi, G. B., *La Roma sotterranea cristiana* (Roma, 1864)

De Rubeis, F., 'Epigraphs', in La Rocca, *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 220–27

——, 'Le scrittura epigrafica in età longobarda', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: saggi*, pp. 71–83

——, ed., *Le scritture dai monasteri* (Roma: Istitutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2003)

——, 'Silloge epigrafiche: le vie della pietra in età carolingia', in Chiesa, *Paolino d'Aquileia e il contribuito all'Europa carolingio*, pp. 93–114

——, 'La tradizione epigrafica in Paolo Diacono', in Chiesa, *Paolino d'Aquileia e il contribuito all'Europa carolingio*, pp. 139–62

De Rubeis, F., and F. Marazzi, eds, *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII–XI): topografia e strutture* (Roma: Viella, 2008)

De Seta, C., *L'Italia del Grand Tour da Montaigne a Goethe* (Napoli: Electa, 2001)

Desio, A., 'Carratteri fisici e geologici della provincia di Milano', *Annali della Sperimentazione Agraria*, 32 (1938), 1–57

Destefanis, E., *Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2002)

De Vingo, P., 'Forms of Representation of Power and Aristocratic Funerary Rituals in the Langobard Kingdom of Northern Italy', *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 63 (2012), 117–54

De Vogüé, A., 'En lisant Jonas de Bobbio: Notes sur la vie de Saint Colomban', *Studia Monastica*, 30 (1988), 63–103

——, 'The Master and St Benedict: A Reply to Marilyn Dunn', *EHR*, 107 (1992), 95–103

——, *Les Règles monastiques anciennes (400–700)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985)

Devroey, J.-P., '*Ad utilitatem monasterii*: mobiles et préoccupations de gestion dans l'économie monastique du monde franc', *Révue Bénédictine*, 103 (1993), 224–40

——, *Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque (VIᵉ–IXᵉ siècles)*, vol. 1, *Fondements matériels, échanges et lien social* (Paris: Belin, 2003)

——, 'The Economy', in *The Early Middle Ages: Europe, 400–1000*, ed. by R. McKitterick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 97–129

——, 'Huile et vin: Consommation domestique, prélèvement seigneurial et spécialisation pour le marché', *Settimane*, 54 (2007), 447–95

——, 'Men and Women in Early Medieval Serfdom: The Ninth-Century North Frankish Evidence', *P&P*, no. 166 (2000), 3–30

——, *Puissants et misérables: Système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Francs (VIᵉ–IXᵉ siècles)* (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2006)

——, 'Les Services de transport à l'abbaye de Prüm au IXᵉ siècle', *Revue du Nord*, 61 (1979), 543–69

Devroey, J.-P., L. Feller, and R. Le Jan, eds, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010)

Devroey, J.-P., and N. Schroeder, 'Beyond Royal Estates and Monasteries: Landownership in the Early Medieval Ardennes', *EME*, 20 (2012), 39–69

Devroey, J.-P., and A. Wilkins, 'Diversité des forms domaniales en Europe Occidentale', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 90 (2012), 249–60

Dey, H. W., '*Diaconiae, Xenodochia, Hospitalia* and Monasteries: "Social Security" and the Meaning of Monasticism in Early Medieval Rome', *EME*, 16 (2008), 398–422

Dey, H. W., and E. Fentress, eds, *Western Monasticism Ante Litteram: The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011)

Dianzani, P., *Santa Maria d'Aurona a Milano: Fase altomedievale* (Torino: Le Lettere, 1989)

Di Cori, P., 'Postfazione: Visione critica della storia e femminismo', in J. W. Scott, *Genere, politica, storia* (Roma: Viella, 2013), pp. 249–304

Diem, A., 'The Carolingians and the *Regula Benedicti*', in *Religious Franks*, ed. by R. Meens and others (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 243–61

——, *Die monastiche Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des Klosterwesens* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2005)

——, 'Monks, Kings, and the Transformation of Sanctity: Jonas of Bobbio and the End of the Holy Man', *Speculum*, 82 (2007), 521–59

——, 'New Ideas Expressed in Old Words: The *Regula Donati* on Female Monastic Life and Monastic Spirituality', *Viator*, 43 (2012), 1–38

——, 'Review of Dunn, *The Emergence of Monasticism*', *History*, 89 (2004), 449–50

——, 'Rewriting Benedict: The *Regula cuiusdam ad virgines* and Intertextuality as a Tool to Construct Monastic Identity', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 17 (2007), 313–28

Di Girolamo, M. A., and B. Howes, 'San Simpliciano: La basilica Virginum', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 104–09

Dimitrokallis, G., 'Osservazioni sull'architettura di San Satiro a Milano e sull'origine delle chiese tetraconche altomedioevali', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 7 (1968), 122–40

Diurni, G., *Le situazioni possessorie nel medioevo: età longobarda-franca* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1988)

Dizionario della chiesa ambrosiana, 6 vols. (Milano: Nuove Edizioni Duomo, 1988)

Dockès, P., *Medieval Slavery and Liberation* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1984)

Dolcetti Corazza, V., ed., *Vercelli tra oriente ed occidente tra tarda antichità e medioevo* (Alessandria: Ediz. dell'Orso, 1998)

Dooley, B., 'The Public Sphere and the Organization of Knowledge', in *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796*, ed. by J. Marino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 209–28

Dopsch, A., *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1937)

Dowd, D. F., 'The Economic Expansion of Lombardy, 1300–1500', *Journal of Economic History*, 21 (1961), 143–60

Drew, K. F., 'The Italian Monasteries of Nonantola, San Salvatore and Santa Maria Theodota in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, *Manuscripta*, 9 (1965), 131–54

——, 'Land Tenure and Social Status in Medieval Italy as Demonstrated by the Cartulary of Farfa', *Rice University Studies*, 58.4 (1972)

——, *Law and Society in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum, 1988)

Duby, G., *The Early Growth of the European Economy*, trans. by H. B. Clarke (London: Edward Arnold, 1974)

——, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West* (London: Edward Arnold, 1962)

——, 'Sur l'historie agraire de I'Italie', *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 18 (1963), 352–62

Du Cange, D., and others, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883–87)

Dunn, M., 'Columbanus, Charisma and the Revolt of the Monks of Bobbio', *Peritia*, 20 (2006), 1–27

——, *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000)

——, 'The Master and St Benedict: A Rejoinder', *EHR*, 107 (1992), 104–11

——, 'Mastering Benedict: Monastic Rules and their Authors in the Early Medieval West', *EHR*, 105 (1990), 567–94

Duparc, P., 'Les Cluses et la frontière des Alpes', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 109 (1951), 5–31

Durliat, J., *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine: le Problème des subsistences* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1990)

Dyer, C., ed., *Rodney Hilton's Middle Ages: An Exploration of Historical Themes* (Oxford: Past & Present, 2007)

Dyson, S. L., *The Roman Countryside* (London: Duckworth, 2003)

Effros, B. 'The Enduring Attraction of the Pirenne Thesis', *Speculum*, 92 (2017), 184–208

Elbern, V. H., *Der karolingische Goldaltar von Mailand* (Bonn: Verkürzte Fassung, 1952)

Engelbert, P., 'Zur frühgeschichte des Bobbieser Skriptoriums', *Révue Bénédictine*, 78 (1968), 220–60

Ennen, E., *The Medieval Woman* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989)

Erhart, P., K. Heidecker, and B. Zeller, eds, *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit* (Dietkon-Zürich: Urs Graf Verlag, 2009)

Escalona, J., 'Mapping Scale Change: Hierarchization and Fisson in Castilian Rural Communities during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in Davies, Halsall, and Reynolds, *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, pp. 143–66

Espositio, M., 'The Ancient Bobbio Catalogue', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 32 (1931), 337–44

Estey, F. N., 'The Scabini and the Local Courts', *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 119–29

Everett, N., 'The Earliest Recension of the Life of S. Sirus of Pavia (Vat. Lat. 5771)', *SM*, Ser. 3, 43 (2002), 857–958

——, 'The Hagiography of Lombard Italy', *Hagiographica*, 7 (2000), 49–126

——, 'Lay Documents and Archives in Early Medieval Spain and Italy, *c.* 400–700', in Brown and others, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 63–94

——, 'Literacy and the Law in Lombard Government', *EME*, 9 (2000), 93–127

——, *Literacy in Lombard Italy, c. 568–774* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

——, 'Narrating the Life of Eusebius of Vercelli', in Tyler and Balzaretti, *Narrative and History*, pp. 133–66

——, 'Scribes and Charters in Lombard Italy', *SM*, Ser. 3, 41 (2000), 39–83

Faccio, G. C., *Profilo storico della città di Vercelli: dalle origini al XI secolo* (Vercelli: La Sesia, 1974)

Fagioli Vercellone, G., 'Angelo Fumagalli', *DBI*, L (1998)

Faith, R., *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2007)

——, 'Farms and Families in Ninth-Century Provence', *EME*, 18 (2010), 175–201

——, 'Forces and Relations of Production in Early Medieval England', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9 (2009), 23–41

——, 'The Structure of the Market for Wool in Early Medieval Lincolnshire', *Economic History Review*, 65 (2012), 674–700

Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München, 16.–19. September 1986, MGH, Schriften, 33, 5 vols (Hannover: MGH, 1988)

Fanning, S. C., 'Lombard Arianism Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 241–58

——, 'A Review of Lombard Prosopography', *Medieval Prosopography*, 2 (1981), 13–34

Farra, F. C., 'Onomastica e toponomastica nei documenti altomedievali del Museo Diplomatico del Archvio di Stato di Milano', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 10 (1971–73), 29–40

Fasoli, G., 'Navigazione fluviali: Porti e navi sul Po', *Settimane*, 25 (1978), 555–607

Favreau, R., *Épigraphie medievale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997)

——, *Les Inscriptions medievale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979)

Favrod, J., ed., *La Chronique de Marius d'Avenches (455–581): Texte, traduction et commentaire* (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 1991)

Fedeli, A. M. and C. Pagani, eds, *Il volto di una piazza: Indagini archeologiche per la realizzazione del parcheggio in Piazza Sant'Ambrogio a Milano* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2015)

Feller, L., *Les Abruzzes médiévales: Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du siècle IXᵉ au XIIᵉ* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1995)

——, 'Dette, strategies matrimoniales et institution d'heritier: sur l'elite paysanne lombarde au IXᵉ siecle', *Revue Historique*, 645 (2008), 339–68

——, 'Introduction: Formes et fonctions de la richesse des élites au Haut Moyen Âge', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 5–30

——, 'Morgengabe, dos, tertia: rapport introductif', in Bougard, Feller, and Le Jan, *Dots et douaires dans le haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 1–25

——, 'Précaires et livelli: les transferts patrimoniaux *ad tempus* en Italie', *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Âge*, 111 (1999), 725–46

——, 'Sulla libertà personale nell'VIII secolo: i dipendenti dei Totoni', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 179–207

——, 'Sur la formation des prix dans l'économie du haut Moyen Âge', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 66.3 (2011), 627–61

Feller, L., A. Gramain, and F. Weber, *La Fortune de Karol: marché de la terre et liens personnels dans les abruzzes au haut moyen âge* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2005)

Feller, L., and C. Wickham, eds, *Le Marché de la terre au moyen âge* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2005)

Fentress, J., and E. Fentress, 'The Hole in the Doughnut', *P&P*, no. 173 (2001), 204–19

Ferrari, G., *Early Roman Monasteries: Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convent of Rome from the Vth through the Xth century* (Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, 1957)

Ferrari, M., 'La biblioteca del monastero di S. Ambrogio: episodi per una storia', in Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*, pp. 82–164

——, 'Centri di trasmissione: Monza, Pavia, Milano, Bobbio', *Settimane*, 22 (1975), 303–20

——, 'Dungal', *DBI*, XLII (1993)

——, 'Le iscrizioni', in Capponi, *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 145–55

——, 'Manoscritti e cultura', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 241–75

——, 'Manoscritti e testi fra Lombardia e Germania nel secolo X', in *Lateinische Kultur im X. Jahrhundert*, ed. by W. Berschin (Stuttgart: Hiersemann 1991), pp. 105–15

——, 'Il nome di Mansueto arcivescovo di Milano (*c.* 672–681)', *Aevum*, 82 (2008), 281–91

——, 'Nuovi frammenti documentari Bobbiesi', *IMU*, 10 (1967), 1–23

——, 'Recensiones milanesi tardo-antiche, carolinge, basso-medioevali di opere di Sant'Ambrogio', in Lazzati, *Ambrosius Episcopus*, II, 35–102

Fibiger Bang, P., 'Trade and Empire: In Search of Organizing Concepts for the Roman Economy', *P&P*, no. 195 (2007), 3–54

Fichtenau, H., *Living in the Tenth Century*, trans. by P. J. Geary (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988)

Fido, F., 'The Enlightenment and Parini', in *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature*, ed. by P. Brand and L. Pertile (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 343–96

Fieni, L., 'Indagine archeologico archaeometrica sulla basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore a Milano: primi risultati sull'età tardoantica e medioevale', *Arqueologia de la Arquitectura*, 4 (2005), 61–79

Fiorio Tendone, C., 'Dati e riflessioni sulle tombe altomedievali internamente intonacate e dipinte rinvenute a Milano e in Italia Settentrionale', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 403–29

Fo, D., *Sant'Ambrogio e l'invenzione di Milano*, ed. by F. Rame and G. Palombi (Torino: Einaudi, 2009)

Foletti, G., 'Archeologia altomedievale nel Canton Ticino', in *Archeologia della Regione insubrica: Dalla preistoria all'altomedioevo*, ed. by F. Ricci (Como: Società Archeologia Comense, 1997), pp. 113–80

Foletti, I., 'Il ciborio di Sant'Ambrogio tra passato (e futuro): un monumento perno nella ricezione e nella costruzione dell'identità figurativa milanese', in Foletti, Quadri, and Rossi, *Milano allo specchio*, pp. 81–110

——, 'Del vero volto di Ambrogio: riflessioni sul mosaico absidale di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano in epoca carolingia', *Arte Lombarda*, 166 (2012), 5–14

——, *Oggetti, reliquie, migranti: la basilica ambrosiana e il culto dei suoi santi (386–972)* (Roma: Viella, 2018)

——, 'Le tombeau d'Ambroise: cinq siècles de construction identitaire', in *L'Évêque, l'image et la mort: identité et mémoire*, ed. by N. Bock, I. Foletti, and M. Tomasi (Roma: Viella, 2014), pp. 73–102

——, 'Il trionfo della figura: Sant'Aquilino, San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro a Milano e la retorica cristiana del v secolo', in *Medioevo: Natura e Figura*, ed. by C. A. Quintavalle (Milano: Skira, 2015), pp. 17–25 Foletti, I., and I. Quadri, 'L'immagine e la sua memoria: l'abside di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano e quella di San Pietro a Roma nel Medioevo', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 76 (2013), 475–92

Foletti, I., I. Quadri, and M. Rossi, eds, *Milano allo specchio: da Costantino al Barbarossa, l'autopercezione di una capitale* (Roma: Viella, 2016)

Fonseca, C. D., *La signoria del monastero maggiore di Milano sul luogo di Arosio* (Genoa: Congedo, 1974)

Fontana, S., 'Le "imitazioni" della sigillata africana e le ceramiche da mensa italiche tardo-antiche', in *La ceramica in Italia VI–VII secolo* ed. by L. Sagui (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1998), pp. 83–100

Foot, J., *Milan since the Miracle: City, Culture and Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 2001)

Foot, S., 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles', in *Writing Medieval History*, ed. by N. Partner (London: Edward Arnold, 2005), pp. 88–108

——, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

——, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?', in Tyler and Balzaretti, *Narrative and History*, pp. 39–65

Forni, G., 'Le strutture agrarie del Milanese in età romana nel loro contesto padano', *Rassegna di studi del civico museo archeologico e del civico gabinetto numismatica di Milano*, 49 (1992), 51–72

Fortin, J. R., 'Saint Augustine's Letter 211 in the Rule of the Master and the Rule of Saint Benedict', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 14 (2006), 225–34

Fortunati, M., L. Pagani, and R. Poggiani Keller, eds, *Verdello: dalle origini all'altomedioevo. Ricerche archeologiche e storiche* (Verdello: Comune di Verdello, 2003)

Forzati Golia, G., 'Nota sul monastero pavese di S. Pietro in Verzolo: il problema della origini', *Aevum*, 53 (1979), 252–72

Fossier, R., *Peasant Life in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)

Fossier, R., and J. Chapelot, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages* (London: Batsford, 1985)

Fouracre, P., *The Age of Charles Martel* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

——, 'Carolingian Justice: The Rhetoric of Improvement and Contexts of Abuse' [1995], in Fouracre, *Frankish History*, Essay XI, pp. 771–803

——, 'Cultural Conformity and Social Conservatism in Early Medieval Europe', *History Workshop Journal*, 33 (1992), 152–61

——, 'Eternal Light and Earthly Needs: Practical Aspects of the Development of Frankish Immunities', in Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 53–81

——, '"Framing" and Lighting: Another Angle on Transition', in Balzaretti, Barrow, and Skinner, *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 305–14

——, *Frankish History: Studies in the Construction of Power* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)

——, 'The Incidence of Rebellion in the Early Medieval West', in *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West, 300–1200*, ed. by K. Cooper and C. Leyser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 104–24

——, 'Marmoutier and its Serfs in the Eleventh Century', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 15 (2005), 29–50

——, 'The Use of the Term *beneficium* in Frankish Sources: A Society Based on Favours', in Davies and Fouracre, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 62–88

Fouracre, P., and D. Ganz, eds, *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages; Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008)

Fouracre, P., and R. A. Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France: History and Hagiography, 640–720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)

Fowks Tobin, B., 'Arthur Young, Agriculture, and the Construction of the New Economic Man', in *History, Gender and Eighteenth-Century Literature*, ed. by B. Fowks Tobin (London: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 179–97

Foxhall, L., *Olive Cultivation in Ancient Greece: Seeking the Ancient Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Francovich, R., and R. Hodges, *Villa to Village: The Transformation of the Roman Countryside, c. 400–1000* (London: Duckworth, 2003)

Francovich, R., and G. Noyé, eds, *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano (VI–X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994)

Francovich Onesti, N., *Le regine dei Longobardi e altri saggi* (Roma: Artemide, 2013)

——, *Vestigia longobarde in Italia (568–774): lessico e antroponimia* (Roma: Artemide, 2000)

Friedrich Silber, I., 'Monasticism and the "Protestant Ethic": Asceticism, Rationality and Wealth in the Medieval West', *British Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1993), 103–23

Fronza, V., 'Timber and Earth in the Architecture of Italian Early Medieval Fortified Sites (8th–10th Centuries AD)', in *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe: Defended Communities of the 8th–10th Centuries*, ed. by N. Christie and H. Herold (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2016), pp. 302–19

Frugoni, C., *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)

Fuhrmann, H., and D. Jasper, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001)

Fumagalli, A., *Delle antichità longobardico-milanesi illustrate con dissertazioni dai monaci della congregazione cisterciese di Lombardia*, 4 vols (Milano: Nell'Imperial monistero di S. Ambrogio maggiore, 1792–93)

——, *Istituzioni diplomatiche*, 2 vols (Milano: Genio tipografico, 1802)

Fumagalli, V., *Coloni e Signori nell' Italia settentrionale, ss. 6–11* (Bologna: Patron, 1978)

——, 'Introduzione del feudalesimo e sviluppo dell'economia curtense nell'Italia settentrionale', in *Structures Feodales et Feodalisme dans l'Occident Mediterranean (xeme-xiiieme siecles)* (Paris: L'École Française de Rome, 1980), pp. 313–25

——, *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages*, trans. by S. Mitchell (Cambridge: Polity, 1994)

——, ed., *Medioevo rurale: sulle tracce della civiltà contadina* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1990)

——, ed., *Le Prestazione d'opera nelle campagne Italiane del Medioevo* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1987)

——, 'Strutture materiali e funzioni dell'azienda curtense, Italia del Nord', *AM*, 7 (1980), 21–29

——, *Terra e società nell'Italia padana: i secoli IX e X* (Torino: Einaudi, 1976)

Furciniti, F., 'Mansueto, Damiano e il Basileus: la *Suggestio* e l'*Expositio fidei* della sinodo milanese a Costantino IV' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 2011)

Gabba, E., 'Condizioni fisico-geografiche della fortuna di Milano', in *Milano e I Milanesi* prima del mille, pp. 47–57

Gagetti, E., '"*Cernimus ... in gemmis insignibusque lapidibus mira sculptoris arte ... formatas imagines*": l'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio e il rimpiego glittico nell'alto medievo', *ASL*, Ser. 12, 8 (2002), 11–62

Galetti, P., *Abitare nel Medioevo: forme e vicende dell'insediamento rurale nell'Italia altomedievale* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 1997)

——, 'Allevamento e produzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dell'alto Medioevo', in *La pastorizia Mediterraneana: storia e diritto (secoli XI–XX)*, ed. by A. Mattone and P. F. Simbula (Roma: Carocci, 2011), pp. 735–47

——, *Una campagna e la sua città: Piacenza e territorio nei secoli VIII–X* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1994)

——, 'La casa contadina nell'Italia padana dei secoli VIII–X', *Quaderni Medievali*, 16 (1983), 6–28

——, ed., *Civiltà del legno: per una storia del legno come materiale per costruire dell'antichità ad oggi* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2004)

——, 'Per una storia dell'abitazione rurale nell'altomedievo: le dimensioni della casa nell'Italia padana in base alle fonti documentarie', *BIIM*, 90 (1982–83), 147–76

Gamberini, A., ed., *A Companion to Late Medieval and Early Modern Milan: The Distinctive Features of an Italian State* (Leiden: Brill, 2015)

Gambi, L., and M. C. Gozzoli, *Milano* (Bari: Laterza, 1982)

Gandino, G., *Il vocabolario politico e sociale di Liutprando di Cremona* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1995)

Ganz, D., 'Book Production in the Carolingian Empire and the Spread of Carolingian Minuscule', in *NCMH*, II, 786–808

——, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990)

——, 'Dúngal (fl. *c*. 800–827)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8263> [accessed 27 June 2017]

——, 'The Ideology of Sharing: Apostolic Community and Ecclesiastical Property in the Early Middle Ages', in Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 17–30

Ganz, D., and W. Goffart, 'Charters Earlier than 800 from French Collections', *Speculum*, 65 (1990), 906–32

Garnsey, P. D. A., 'Economy and Society of *Mediolanum* under the Principate', *PBSR*, 44 (1976), 13–27

Gasparri, S., ed., *774: ipotesi su una transizione* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008)

——, ed., *Alto medioevo mediterraneo* (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2005)

——, 'Columbanus, Bobbio, and the Lombards', in *Columbanus and the Peoples of Post-Roman Europe*, ed. by A. O'Hara (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 243–58

——, *La cultura tradizionale dei Longobardi: struttura tribale e resistenze pagane* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1985)

——, 'Culture barbariche, modelli ecclesiastici, tradizione romana nell'Italia longobarda e franca', *RMR*, 6.2 (2005), art. #3

——, 'The First Dukes and the Origins of Venice', in Gelichi and Gasparri, *Venice and its Neighbors from the 8th to 11th Century*, pp. 5–26

——, 'L'identità nordorientale e Venezia: dalla tarda età longobarda al regno di Berengario', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 57–78

——, 'Mercanti o possessori? Profilo di un ceto dominante in un'età di transizione', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 157–78

——, '"Nobiles et credentes omines liberi arimanni": Linguaggio, memoria sociale e tradizione longobarda nel regno italico', *BIIM*, 105 (2003), 25–51

——, ed., *Il regno dei Longobardi in Italia: archeologia, società, istituzioni* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2004)

——, 'Il regno e la legge: Longobardi, Romani e Franchi nello sviluppo dell'ordinamento pubblico (secoli VI–X)', *La cultura*, 28.2 (1990), 293–366

——, 'Strutture militari e legami di dipendenza in Italia in età longobarda e carolingia', *RSI*, 98 (1986), 664–726

——, 'I testamenti nell'Italia settentrionale fra VIII e IX secolo', in Bougard, La Rocca, and Le Jan, *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer*, pp. 97–113

Gasparri, S., and C. La Rocca, eds, *Carte di famiglia: Strategie, rappresentazione e memoria del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione (721–877)* (Roma: Viella, 2005)

Gatti Perer, M. L., ed., *La Basilica di S. Ambrogio: il tempio ininterrotto* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1995)

——, ed., *Milano ritrovata* (Milano: Casa Editrice il Vaglio Cultura Arte, 1986)

——, ed., *Dal monastero di S. Ambrogio all'Università Cattolica* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1990)

Gavinelli, S., 'Irlandesi, libri biblici greco-latini e il monastero di S. Ambrogio in età carolingia', in Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*, pp. 350–60

——, 'Per un'enciclopedia carolingia (Codice Bernese 363)', *IMU*, 26 (1984), 1–25

Geary, P. J., *Aristocracy in Provence* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1985)

——, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978; 2nd edn, 1990)

——, 'Land, Language and Memory in Europe, 700–1100', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 9 (1999), 169–84

——, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002)

——, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Geertz, C., *The Interpretation of Cultures* (London: Fontana, 1993)

——, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988)

Gelichi, S., 'Alla fine di una transizione? L'Italia settentrionale nel primo Alto Medioevo tra città, villaggi e economie', *Territorio, Sociedad y Poder*, 2 (2009), 143–58

——, 'Archeologia longobarda e archeologia dell'alto medioevo italiano: un bilancio critico', in Gasparri, *Alto medioevo mediterraneo*, pp. 169–84

——, 'L'archeologia nella laguna veneziana e la nascita di una nuova città', *RMR*, 11.2 (2010), 137–67

——, 'Comacchio: A Liminal Community in a Nodal Point during the Early Middle Ages', in Gelichi and Gasparri, *Venice and its Neighbors from the 8th to 11th Century*, pp. 142–67

——, 'Nonantola and the Archaeology of Early Mediaeval Monasteries in North Italy', <http://www.arqueologiamedieval.com/articulos/109/nonantola-and-the-archaeology-of-early mediaeval-monasteries-in-north-italy> [accessed 16 January 2009]

——, 'La richezza nella società longobarda', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 157–81

——, 'The Rise of an Early Medieval Emporium and the Economy of Italy in the Late Longobard Age', *Annales Series Historia et Sociologia*, 18 (2008), 319–36

——, 'Societies at the Edge: New Cities in the Adriatic Sea during the Early Middle Ages (8th–9th Centuries)', in Gelichi and Hodges, *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology*, pp. 285–300

——, 'Testimonianze archeologiche di età longobarda in Emilia-Romagna', in *XXXVI Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, pp. 149–88

——, 'Venice in the Early Middle Ages: The Material Structures and Society of "civitas aput rivoaltum" between the 9th and 10th Centuries', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 251–72

Gelichi, S., and S. Gasparri, eds, *Venice and its Neighbors from the 8th to 11th Century: Through Renovation and Continuity* (Leiden: Brill, 2018)

Gelichi, S., and R. Hodges, eds, *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy Compared: Essays for Riccardo Francovich* (Turnhout, Brepols: 2015)

Gelichi, S., and C. La Rocca, eds, *Tesori: Forme di accumulazione della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–XI)* (Roma: Viella, 2004)

Gelichi, S., and C. Negrelli, 'Ceramica e circolazione delle merci nell'Adriatico tra VII e X secolo', in *Actas del VIIII Congreso Internacional de Cerámica Medieval en el Mediterráneo: Ciudad Real-Almagro, del 27 de febrero al 3 de marzo de 2006* (Ciudad Real: Asociación Española de Arqueología Medieval, 2009), I, 49–62

Gerzaguet, C., 'La "Mémoire textuelle" d'Ambroise de Milan en Italie: manuscrits, centres de diffusion, voies de transmission (Ve–XIIe siècle)', in Boucheron and Gioanni, *La Mémoire d'Ambroise de Milan*, pp. 211–33

Ghiglione, N., 'Osservazioni critiche sulla nuova edizione dei diplomi degli arcivescovi milanesi (789–893)', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 10 (1971–73), 3–18

Ghignoli, A., 'Istituzioni ecclesiastiche e documentazione nei secoli VIII–XI: appunti per una prospettiva', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 162 (2004), 619–65

Giannichedda, E., *Uomini e cose: appunti di archaeologia* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2006)

Gibbon, E., *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 6 vols (London, 1771–89); 4 vols (London: Frederick Warne, 1887)

Giddens, A., *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (London: MacMillan, 1979)

Gillett, A., ed., *On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000)

Gilsdorf, S., *The Favor of Friends: Intercession and Aristocratic Politics in Carolingian and Ottonian Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2014)

Gini, P., 'L'archivio vescovile di Como e i suoi fondi documentali', *Arte Lombarda* 16 (1971), 55–60

Ginzburg, C., *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. by J. Tedeschi and A. C. Tedeschi (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976)

——, 'Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm' [1979, Italian], in Ginzburg, *Myths, Emblems, Clues*, trans. by J. Tedeschi and A. C. Tedeschi (London, 1990)

——, 'Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It', *Critical Inquiry*, 20 (1993), 10–35

——, *Occhiaci di legno: Nove rlflessioni sulla distanza* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1998)

Giostra, C., 'Goths and Lombards in Italy: The Potential of Archaeology with Respect to Ethnocultural Identification', *Post-Classical Archaeologies*, 1 (2011), 7–36

——, 'I Longobardi e le città: forme materiali e scelte culturali', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 20 (2014), 48–62

——, 'Ritorno a Castelseprio: La ripresa delle indagini nel *castrum* e nel borgo', <http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2017-399.pdf> [accessed 24 October 2018]

Giostra, C., and M. Leonardi, 'Il borgo: indagini diagnostiche preliminari', in *1287 e dintorni: Ricerche su Castelseprio a 730 anni dalla distruzione*, ed. by M. Sannazaro, S. Lusuardi Siena, and C. Giostra (Quingentole: SAP Società Archeologica s.r.l., 2017), pp. 275–94

Giovè, N., 'Donne che non lasciano traccia: presenze e mani femminili nel documento altomedievale', in La Rocca, *Agire da Donna*, pp. 189–209

Giulini, G., *Memorie spettanti alla storia, al governo ed alla descrizione della città e campagna di Milano nei secoli bassi*, new edn, 7 vols. (Milan: Francesco Colombo Librajo, 1854–57)

Gnocchi, C., 'Ilduino', *DBI*, LXII (2004)

Godding, R., 'Italia hagiographica (II): Chronique d'hagiographie italienne', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 114 (1996), 411–30

——, 'Review of Tomea 1993', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 112 (1994), 401–22

Godman, P., *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985)

Goffart, W., *Barbarian Tides: The Migration Age and the Late Roman Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006)

——, *Barbarians and Romans, AD 418–584: The Techniques of Accommodation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)

——, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (AD 550–800)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)

——, *Rome's Fall and After* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989)

Goldberg, E. J., *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006)

Golinelli, P., ed., *La Pataria: lotte religiose e sociali nella Milano del XI secolo* (Novara: Jaca Book, 1984)

Goodson, C., 'Garden Cities in Early Medieval Italy', in Balzaretti, Barrow, and Skinner, *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 339–55

Gorla, B., 'L'arcivescovo Ansperto e i suoi rapporti con Giovanni VIII', *AA*, 21 (1971), 24–115

Goy, R. J., *Chioggia and the Villages of the Venetian Lagoon: Studies in Urban History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)

Gradowicz-Pancer, N., 'De-gendering Female Violence: Merovingian Female Honour as an "Exchange of Violence"', *EME*, 11 (2002), 1–18

Grafton, A., *The Footnote: A Curious History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1997)

Granier, T., 'Capitales royales e princières d'Italie lombarde d'après le poèsie d'éloge (VII–IX siècles)', in *Les Villes capitales au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 57–74

Gray, N., 'Dark Age Figure Sculpture in Italy', *Burlington Magazine*, 67 (1935), 191–202

Greenhalgh, M., *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 1989)

Grendi, E., 'Micro-analisi e storia sociale', *QS*, 12 (1977), 506–20

——, 'Ripensare la microstoria?', in Revel, *Giochi di scala*, pp. 227–37

Greppi, P., *Cantieri, maestranze e materiali nell'edilizia sacra a Milano dal IV al XII secolo: Analisi di un processo di trasformazione* (Firenze: All'Insega el Giglio, 2016)

Greppi, P., R. Bugini, and L. Folli, 'Tecniche e materiali da costruzione nella Milano antica e Medievale', *LANX*, no. 19 (2014), 95–128

Grey, C., *Constructing Communities in the Late Roman Countryside* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Grierson, P., 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence', *TRHS*, 5th Ser., 9 (1959), 123–40

——, *Dark Age Numismatics* (London: Variorum, 1979)

——, 'Money and Coinage under Charlemagne', in Grierson, *Dark Age Numismatics*, Essay 18, pp. 501–36

——, 'The Silver Coinage of the Lombards', *ASL*, Ser. 8, 6 (1956), 30–140

——, 'Symbolism in Early Medieval Charters and Coins', *Settimane*, 23 (1976), 601–30

Grierson, P., and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. I, *The Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Grove, A. T., and O. Rackham, *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001)

Guerra Medici, M. T., '"City Air". Women in the Medieval City', in *Donne tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna in Italia: Ricerche*, ed. by G. Casagrande (Perugia: Morlacchi Editore, 2004), pp. 25–51

——, *I diritti delle donne nella società altomedievale* (Napoli: Liguori, 1986)

Guglielmotti, P., *Ricerche sull'organizzazione del territorio nella Liguria medievale* (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2005)

Guida generale degli archivi di Stato italiani, 4 vols (Roma: Ministero per i Beni culturali e ambientali, 1981–94)

Gurevich, A., *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Haeussler, R., *Becoming Roman? Diverging Identities and Experiences in Ancient Northwest Italy* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013)

Hahn, C., 'The Meaning of Early Medieval Treasuries', in *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, ed. by Bruno Reudenbach (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), pp. 1–20

——, 'Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 53 (1999), 167–87

Halsall, G., *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul* (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

——, 'From Roman *fundus* to Early Medieval *grand domaine*: Crucial Ruptures between Antiquity and the Middle Ages', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 90 (2012), 273–98

——, 'Movers and Shakers: The Barbarians and the Fall of Rome', *EME*, 8 (1999), 131–45

——, 'Towns, Societies and Ideas: The Not-So-Strange Case of Late Roman and Early Merovingian Metz', in Christie and Loseby *Towns in Transition*, pp. 235–61

——, ed., *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998)

——, 'Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West: An Introductory Survey', in Halsall, *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 1–45

Hamerow, H., *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe, 400–900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Hamilton, S., *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200* (Harlow: Longman, 2013)

——, 'Inquiring into Adultery and Other Wicked Deeds: Episcopal Justice in Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Italy', *Viator*, 41 (2010), 21–44

Hammer, C. I., *A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages: Slaves and their Families in Early Medieval Bavaria* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002)

Hanlon, G., *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1800* (London: Longman, 2000)

Hann, C. M., ed., *Property Relations: Renewing the Anthropological Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Hansen, I. L., and C. Wickham, eds, *The Long Eighth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2000)

Haour, A., *Rulers, Warriors, Traders, Clerics: The Central Sahel and the North Sea, 800–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Hare, A., *Cities of Northern Italy*, vol. I (London: George Allen, 1883)

Harris, W. V., ed., *Rethinking the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

Harrison, D., *The Early State and the Towns: Forms of Integration in Lombard Italy, AD 568–774* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993)

Hartmann, L. M., 'Italy under the Lombards', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), pp. 194–221

Hauptfeld, G., 'Zur langobardischen Eroberung Italiens: Das Heer und die Bischöfe', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 91 (1983), 37–94

Haverkamp, A., 'Das Zentralitätgefüge Mailands in hohen Mittelalter', in *Zentralität als Problem der mittelalterlichen Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, ed. by E. Meynen (Köln: Böhlau, 1979), pp. 49–55

Head, T., and T. F. X. Noble, eds and trans, *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1995)

Heath, C., *The Narrative Worlds of Paul the Deacon: Between Empires and Identities in Lombard Italy* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017)

Heather, P., *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

——, *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Pan, 2005)

——, 'The Western Empire, 425–476', in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIV, *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*, ed. A. M. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–32

Heidecker, K., ed., *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000)

——, *The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010)

Heinzelmann, M., *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*, trans. by C. Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Hendy, M. F., 'From Public to Private: The Western Barbarian Coinages as a Mirror of the Disintegration of Later Roman State Structures', *Viator*, 19 (1988), 29–78

Henning, J., 'Slavery or Freedom? The Causes of Early Medieval Europe's Economic Advancement', *EME*, 12 (2003), 269–77

Herlihy, D., 'The Carolingian *Mansus*', *Economic History Review*, 13 (1960), 79–89

——, 'Church Property on the European Continent, 701–1200', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 81–105

——, 'The History of the Rural Seigneury in Italy', *Agricultural History*, 33 (1959), 58–71

——, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990)

Herren, M. W., 'Sedulius Scottus and the Knowledge of Greek', in *Early Medieval Ireland and Europe: Chronology, Contacts, Scholarship. Festschrift for Dáibhí Ó Cróinín*, ed. by P. Moran (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 515–36

Herrin, J., and J. Nelson, eds, *Ravenna: Its Role in Earlier Medieval Change and Exchange* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2016)

Hills, C., 'History and Archaeology: The State of Play in Early Medieval Europe', *Antiquity*, 81 (2007), 191–200

Hilton, R. H., *Bond Men Made Free: Medieval English Peasant Movements and the Rising of 1381* (London: Routledge, 1973)

Hlawitschka, E., *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774–962)* (Freiburg: Eberhard Albert, 1960)

Hobsbawm, E., *On History* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1997)

Hochstetler, D., 'The Meaning of Monastic Cloister for Women according to Caesarius of Arles', in Noble and Contreni, *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 27–40

Hodges, R., ed., 'Aistulf and the Adriatic Sea', *Acta Archaeologica*, 79 (2008), pp. 274–81

——, 'Archaeology and the Class Struggle in the First Millennium A.D.', in Randsborg, *The Birth of Europe*, pp. 178–87

——, *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012)

——, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade* (London: Duckworth, 1982)

——, 'Dream Cities: Emporia and the End of the Dark Ages', in Christie and Loseby, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 289–305

——, 'Emporia, Monasteries and the Economic Foundations of Medieval Europe', in *Medieval Archaeology*, ed. by C. L. Redman (Binghamton: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1989), pp. 57–74

——, 'The Idea of the Polyfocal "Town"? Archaeology and the Origins of Early Medieval Urbanism in Italy', in Gelichi and Hodges, *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology*, pp. 267–84

——, 'In the Shadow of Pirenne: San Vincenzo al Volturno and the Revival of Mediterranean Commerce', in *La storia dell'Italia nell'alto medioevo*, ed. by R. Francovich and G. Noyé (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994), pp. 109–28

——, *Light in the Dark Ages: The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (London: Duckworth, 1997)

——, *Primitive and Peasant Markets* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988)

——, 'Re-writing the History of Early Medieval Italy: Twenty-Five Years of Medieval Archaeology Reviewed', *Rural History*, 1 (1990), 17–36

——, ed., *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, vol. I, *The 1980–86 Excavations, Part 1* (London: British School at Rome, 1993)

——, ed., *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, vol. II, *The 1980–86 Excavations, Part 2* (London: British School at Rome, 1995)

——, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London: Duckworth, 2000)

——, 'Trade and Market Origins in the Ninth Century: An Archaeological Perspective', in *Charles the Bald*, ed. by M. Gibson and J. Nelson (London: Variorum, 1990), pp. 203–23

Hodges, R., and B. Hobley, *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700–1050* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988)

Hodges, R., S. Leppard, and J. Mitchell, 'Reconstructing the Later Eighth-Century *Claustrum* at San Vincenzo al Volturno', *PBSR*, 80 (2012), 145–55

Hodges, R., and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (London: Duckworth, 1983)

Hodgkin, T., *Italy and her Invaders*, 8 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896)

Hoffmann, R. C., *An Environmental History of Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Holmes Dudden, F., *The Life and Times of St Ambrose*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935)

Hooke, D., *Trees in Anglo-Saxon England: Literature, Lore and Landscape* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010)

Horden, P., 'The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 35 (2005), 361–89

Horden, P., and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

——, 'Four Years of Corruption: A Response to Critics', in Harris, *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, pp. 348–75

——, 'The Mediterranean and "the New Thalassology"', *American Historical Review*, 111 (2006), 722–40

Horn, W., and E. Born, *The Plan of St Gall*, 3 vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979)

Houghton, R., 'The Vocabulary of Groups in Eleventh-Century Mantua', *EME*, 24 (2016), 448–77

Hudson, P., *Archaeologia urbana e programmazione della ricerca: l'esempio di Pavia* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1981)

——, 'Pavia', in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, pp. 140–50

——, 'Pavia: l'evoluzione urbanistica di una capitale altomedievale', in *Storia di Pavia*, II, 237–315

Hudson, P., and C. La Rocca, 'Lombard Immigration and its Effects on North Italian Rural and Urban Settlement', in *Papers in Italian Archaeology*, vol. IV, *The Cambridge Conference*, British Archaeology Reports, International Series, 246 (Oxford: BAR, 1985), pp. 225–46

Hummer, H., *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Humphries, M., *Communities of the Blessed: Social Environment and Religious Change in Northern Italy, AD 200–400* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Hyde, J. K., 'Medieval Descriptions of Cities', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 48 (1966), 308–40

Imberciadori, I., 'Vite e vigna nell'alto medioevo', *Settimane*, 13 (1966), 307–42

Innes, M. J., 'Charlemagne's Will: Piety, Politics and the Imperial Succession', *EHR*, 112 (1997), 833–55

——, 'Framing the Carolingian Economy', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9 (2009), 42–58

——, *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 300–900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book* (London: Routledge, 2007)

——, 'Kings, Monks and Patrons: Political Identities and the Abbey of Lorsch', in Le Jan, *La Royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne*, pp. 301–24

——, 'Land, Freedom and the Making of the Early Medieval West', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 16 (2006), 39–74

——, 'Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire', in Davis and McCormick, *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, pp. 247–66

——, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Innes, M. J., and R. McKitterick, 'The Writing of History', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by R. McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 193–220

Isabella, G., 'Modelli regalità nell'età di Ottone I' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bologna, 2006–07)

Izdebski, A., 'Bishops in Late Antique Italy: Social Importance vs. Local Power', *Phoenix*, 66 (2012), 158–75

James, E., *Europe's Barbarians, AD 200–600* (Harlow: Pearson, 2009)

Jarnut, J., *Bergamo, 568–1098* (Weisbaden: Steiner, 1979)

——, 'Dove abitaranno le aristocrazie longobarde?', in Brogiolo, Chavarria Arnau, and Valenti, *Dopo la fine delle ville*, pp. 343–47

——, *Geschichte der Langobarden* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1982)

——, 'Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme und König Bernards von Italien: Der Versuch einer Rehabilitierung', *SM*, Ser. 3, 30 (1989), 637–48

——, 'Ludwig der Fromme, Lothar I und das Regnum Italiae', in Collins and Godman, *Charlemagne's Heir*, pp. 349–62

——, *Prosopographische und Sozialgeschichtliche Studia zum Langobardenreich in Italien (568–774)* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1972)

Jarnut, J., M. Becker, and W. Reinsch, eds, *Karl Martell im Seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994)

Jarrett, J., 'Introduction: Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters', in Jarrett and McKinley, *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, pp. 1–18

——, *Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia, 880–1010* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010)

Jarrett, J., and A. S. McKinley, eds., *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013)

Jenal, G., 'Doppelklöster und monastische Gesetzgebung im Italien des frühen und hohen Mittelalters', in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen im Mittelaler*, ed. by K. Elm and M. Parisse (Berlin: Dunker and Humbolt, 1992), pp. 25–55

——, *Italia ascetica et monastica: Das Asketen- und Mönchtum in Italien von den Anfängen bis zur Zeit der Langobarden (ca. 150/250–604)*, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1995)

——, 'Il monachesimo femminile in Italia tra tardo-antico e medioevo', in *Il monachesimo femminile in Italia dall'alto medioevo al secolo XVII a confronto con l'oggi*, ed. by G. Zarri (Verona: Il Segno dei Gabrieli, 1997), pp. 17–39

Jesch, J., 'Runic Inscriptions and the Vocabulary of Land, Lordship, and Social Power in the Late Viking Age', in *Settlement and Lordship in Viking and Early Medieval Scandinavia*, ed. by B. Søren and M. Sindbæk (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 31–44

Jewell, H., *Women in Dark Age and Early Medieval Europe, c. 500–1200* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

Jones, P., *Economia e società nell'Italia medievale* (Torino: Einaudi, 1978)

——, 'L'Italia agraria nell'alto medioevo: problemi di cronologia e di continuità', *Settimane*, 13 (1966), 57–92

——, *The Italian City-State: From Commune to Signoria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

——, 'An Italian Estate, 900–1200', *Economic History Review*, 7 (1954), 18–32

——, 'Italy', in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), pp. 340–431

——, 'La storia economica: dalla caduta dell'impero romano at secolo XIV', in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. II (Torino: Einaudi, 1974), pp. 1469–1810

Jones, P. M., *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art, Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Joye, S., *La Femme ravie: Le Mariage par rapt dans les sociétés médiévales du Haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012)

Karras, R. M., 'The History of Marriage and the Myth of Friedelehe', *EME*, 14 (2006), 119–51

Keefe, S. A., 'Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: A Handlist of Tracts and Manuscripts', in *Carolingian Essays*, ed. by U.-R. Blumenthal (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), pp. 169–237

——, 'The Claim of Authorship in Carolingian Baptismal Expositions: The Case of Odilbert of Milan', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, v, 385–401

Keller, H., *Adelsherrschaft und städtische Gesellschaft in Oberitalien: 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1979); Italian trans. *Signori e vassalli nell'Italia delle città (secoli IX–XII)* (Torino: Einaudi, 1995)

——, 'Der Gerichtsort in oberitalienischen und toskanischen städten: Untersuchungen zur Stellung der Stadt im Herrschaftssystem des Regnum Italicum vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert', *QF*, 49 (1969), 1–71

——, 'The Privilege in the Public Interaction of the Exercise of Power: Forms of Symbolic Communication beyond the Text', in Mostert and Barnwell, *Medieval Legal Process*, pp. 75–108

——, 'Zur Struktur der Königsherrshaft im karolingischen und nachkarolingischen Italien: Der "consiliarius regis" in den italienischen Königsdiplomen des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts', *QF*, 47 (1967), 123–223

Keller, H., and S. Ast, 'Ostensio cartae: Italienische Gerichtsurkunden des 10. Jahrhunderts zwischen Schriftlichkeit und Performanz', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 53 (2007), 99–122

Kelly, S., 'Trading Privileges from Eighth-Century England', *EME*, 1 (1992), 1–28

Kempshall, M., *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400–1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

——, 'Some Ciceronian Aspects of Einhard's Life of Charlemagne', *Viator*, 26 (1995), 11–38

Kennell, S. A. H., *Magnus Felix Ennodius: A Gentleman of the Church* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000)

Kershaw, P., 'Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian Lay Intellectual', in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. by P. Wormald and J. L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 77–105

——, 'English History and Irish Readers in the Frankish World', in Fouracre and Ganz, *Frankland*, pp. 126–51

Kertzer, D., and R. Saller, eds, *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991)

Kieser, A., 'From Asceticism to Administration of Wealth: Medieval Monasteries and the Pitfalls of Rationalization', *Organization Studies*, 8 (1987), 103–23

Kinney, D., '"Capella reginae": S. Aquilino in Milan', *Marsyas*, 15 (1970–71), 13–35

——, 'The Evidence for the Dating of S. Lorenzo in Milan', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 31 (1972), 92–107

Kleinhenz, C., ed., *Medieval Italy: An Encylopedia*, vol. ii (New York: Routledge, 2004)

Klingshirn, W., 'Caesarius' Monastery for Women in Arles and the Composition and Function of the "Vita Caesarii"', *Revue Benedictine*, 100 (1990), 441–81

Kosto, A. J., and A. Winroth, eds, *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2000)

Kovalev, K., and A. C. Kaelin, 'Circulation of Arab Silver in Medieval Afro-Eurasia: Preliminary Observations', *History Compass*, 5 (2007), 560–80

Koziol, G., *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012)

Krautheimer, R., *Three Christian Capitals* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983)

Kruse, S. E., 'Trade and Exchange across Frontiers', in *Silver Economy in the Viking Age*, ed. by J. Graham-Campbell and G. Williams (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), pp. 163–76

Kuehn, T. J., 'Person and Gender in the Laws', in *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. by J. C. Brown and R. C. Davis (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 87–106

Lafferty, S. D. W., *Law and Society in the Age of Theoderic the Great: A Study of the 'Edictum Theoderici'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Lagazzi, L., *Segni sulla terra: determinazione dei confini e percenzione dello spazio nell'alto-medioevo* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1991)

La Guardia, R., ed., *Milano tra l'età repubblicana a l'età Augustea* (Milano: Comune di Milano, 1992)

Lamirande, E., 'La Datation de la "Vita Ambrosii" de Paulin de Milan', *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 27 (1981), 44–55

——, *Paulin de Milan et la 'Vita Ambrosii': Aspects de la religion sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris: Descleé, 1983)

Lapidge, M., ed., *Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997)

La Rocca, C., ed., *Agire da Donna: modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione (secoli vi–x)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007)

——, 'Angilberga, Louis II's Wife and her Will (877)', in Corradini and others, *Ego Trouble*, pp. 221–26

——, 'Città altomedievali, storia e archeologia', *Studi Storici*, 27 (1986), 725–35

——, '"Dark Ages" a Verona: edilizia privata, aree aperte e strutture pubbliche in una città dell'Italia settentrionale', *AM*, 13 (1986), 31–78

——, 'Donare, distribuire, spezzare: pratiche di conservazione della memoria e dello status in Italia tra viii e ix secolo', in Brogiolo and Cantino Wataghin, *Sepolture tra iv e viii secolo*, pp. 77–87

——, 'Le fonte archaeologiche d'età gotica e longobarda', in *Il Veneto nel Medioevo: dalla 'Venetia' alla Marca Veronese*, ed. by A. Castagnetti and G. M. Varanini (Verona: Banco Popolare di Verona, 1989), pp. 81–164

——, ed., *Italy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

——, 'La legge e la pratica: potere e rapporti sociali nell'Italia dell'viii secolo', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 45–69

——, 'A Man for All Seasons: Pacificus of Verona and the Creation of a Local Carolingian Past', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 250–79

——, 'Milano longobarda', in Della Peruta, *Milano antica e medievale*, pp. 161–80

——, *Pacifico di Verona: il passato carolingio nella costruzione della memoria urbana* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1995)

——, 'Perceptions of an Early Medieval Urban Landscape', in *The Medieval World*, ed. by J. Nelson and P. Linehan (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 416–31

——, 'Le piazze di Verona nell'alto medioevo', *Archivio Veneto*, 139 (1992), 5–22

——, '"Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose": trasformazioni della città altomedievale in Italia settentrionale', *Società e Storia*, no. 45 (1989), 721–28

——, 'Public Buildings and Urban Change in Northern Italy in the Early Mediaeval Period', in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. by J. Rich (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 161–80

——, 'Residenze urbane ed élites urbane tra viii e x secolo in Italia settentrionale', in Augenti, *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, pp. 55–65

——, 'Rituali di famiglia: Pratiche funerarie nell'Italia longobarda', in Bougard, La Rocca, and Le Jan, *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer*, pp. 431–57

——, 'Segni di distinzione: Dai corredi funerari alle donazioni "post obitum" nel regno longobardo', in Paroli, *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda*, pp. 31–54

——, 'I testamenti del gruppo familiare di Totone di Campione', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 209–22

——, 'Trasformazioni della città in "Longobardia"', *Studi Storici*, 30 (1989), 993–1011

La Rocca, C., and P. Majocchi, eds, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy, c. 800–1100* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015)

La Rocca, C., and A. Malena, eds, 'Donne in familia nell'alto medioevo', special issue, *Genesis*, 9 (2010)

La Rocca, C., and L. Provero, 'The Dead and their Gifts: The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and his Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863–864)', in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 225–80

Latis, E., ed., *La basilica di San Vincenzo in Prato, Milano* (Milano: Silvana, 1989)

Latuada, S., *Descrizione di Milano* (Milano: Giuseppe Cairoli, 1737–38); repr. ed. by P. Gerevini, 5 vols (Milano: La vita felice, 1995)

Laurent, M.-A., 'Organisation de l'espace et mobilisation des resources autour de Bobbio', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 479–94

Laurent, M.-A., and V. Vanderberg, 'Le *Breve memorationis* du monastère de Bobbio (834–836): introduction et édition', in *Penser la paysannerie médiévale, un défi impossible?*, ed. by A. Dierkens, N. Schroeder, and A. Wilkin (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017), pp. 82–91

Lavan, L., ed., *Local Economies? Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2013)

——, ed., *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism* (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001)

Lavizari, P. A., *Storia della Valtellina in dieci libri descritta*, 2 vols (Capolago: Tipografia Elvetica, 1838)

Lazzati, G., ed., *Ambrosius Episcopus: atti del Congresso internazionale di studi ambrosiani nel XVI centenario della elevazione di sant'Ambrogio alla cattedra episcopale, Milano, 2–7 dicembre 1974*, 2 vols (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1976)

Leccisotti, T., 'Aspetti e problemi del monachesimo in Italia', *Settimane*, 4 (1957), 311–37

Lecky, W. E. H., *The History of European Morals: From Augustus to Charlemagne*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green, 1890)

Le Goff, J., 'Documento/Monumento', in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, vol. v (Torino: Einaudi, 1978), pp. 38–43

Le Jan, R., *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIᵉ–Xᵉ siecle): Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995)

——, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Âge* (Paris: Picard, 2001)

——, 'Il gruppo familiare di Totone: identità e strategie patrimoniali', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 13–28

——, ed., *L'Historiographie des élites dans le haut Moyen Âge*, Actes du colloque, Université de Marne-la-Vallée, 28–29 novembre 2003, <http://lamop.univ-paris1.fr/lamop/LAMOP/elites/index.html>

——, 'Reichenau and its *Amici Viventes*: Competition and Cooperation?', in *Religious Franks: Religion of Power in the Frankish Kingdoms. Studies in Honour of Mayke De Jong*, ed. by R. Meens and others (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 262–78

——, ed., *La Royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (au début du ixe aux environs de 920* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Centre d'Histoire l'Europe du Nord-Ouest, 1998)

Leonardi, C., 'Dungal, karolingischer Autor', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, III (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1986), pp. 1456–58

Leonardi, C., 'Intellectual Life', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III, ed. by T. Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 186–211

Leveto, P. D., 'The Marian Theme of the Frescoes in S. Maria di Castelseprio', *Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), 393–413

Levi, G., 'On Microhistory', in Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, pp. 97–119

Levine, P., 'Historical Evidence for Calligraphic Activity in Vercelli from St Eusebius to Atto', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 561–81

——, 'Liudprand of Cremona: History and Debasement in the Tenth Century', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 26 (1991), 70–84

Levy, E., *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1951)

Leyser, C., *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

——, 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona, *c.* 890–*c.* 970', *EHR*, 125 (2010), 795–817

——, 'Introduction: Making Early Medieval Societies', in *Making Early Medieval Societies: Conflict and Belonging in the Latin West, 300–1200*, ed. by K. Cooper and C. Leyser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 1–15

——, 'Review Article. Church Reform: Full of Sound and Fury, Signifying Nothing?', *EME*, 24 (2016), 478–99

——, 'The Temptations of Cult: Roman Martyr Piety in the Age of Gregory the Great', *EME*, 9 (2000), 289–307

Leyser, K., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. by T. Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1994)

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G., 'The Collected Letters of Ambrose of Milan: Correspondence with Contemporaries and with the Future', in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane* ed. by L. Ellis and F. L. Kidner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 95–107

——, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

——, 'Late Antiquity and the Concept of Decline', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 45 (2001), 1–11

Lifshitz, F., 'Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographic" Texts as Historical Narrative', *Viator*, 25 (1994), 95–113

Linklater, A., *Owning the Earth: The Transforming History of Land Ownership* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013)

Little, C. T., 'Avori milanesi del X secolo', in Bertelli, *Il Millennio Ambrosiano*, II, 82–101

——, 'From Milan to Magdeburg: The Place of the Magdeburg Ivories in Ottonian Art', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 441–51

Liva, A., *Notariato e documento notarile a Milano: dall'alto medioevo alla fine del settecento* (Roma: Consiglio nazionale del notariato, 1979)

Lizzi, R., 'Ambrose's Contemporaries and the Christianization of Northern Italy', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 80 (1990), 156–73

Lobban, J. H., *Dr Johnson's Mrs Thrale* (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1910)

Lo Monaco, F., 'Aganone di Bergamo e la Lombardia lotaringia', *Archivio Storico Bergamasco*, 1 (1981), 9–24

Lopez, R. S., 'An Aristocracy of Money in the Early Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 1–43

——, 'The Evolution of Land Transport in the Middle Ages', *Past and Present*, 9 (1956), 17–29

——, 'Monetà e monetieri nell'Italia barbarica', *Settimane*, 8 (1961), 57–88

——, 'Review of C.Violante, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale*', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 617–25

Loseby, S., 'Reflections on Urban Space: Streets through Time', *RMR*, 12.1 (2011), 3–24

Loveluck, C., 'Rural Settlement Hierarchy in the Age of Charlemagne', in Story, *Charlemagne*, pp. 230–58

——, ed., *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its Wider Context* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007)

Löx, M., 'L'"architectus sapiens" Ambrogio e le chiese di Milano', in Foletti, Quadri, and Rossi, *Milano allo specchio*, pp. 55–80

——, 'Die Kirche San Lorenzo in Mailand: Eine Stiftung des Stilicho?', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung*, 114 (2008), 407–38

Lucioni, A., 'L'età della pataria', in Caprioli, Rimoldi, and Vaccaro, *Storia Religiosa della Lombardia*, IX, 167–94

Lunardi, G., N. Bartolomasi, and G. Popolla, *L'Abbazia di Novalesa (726–1996)* (Pinerolo: Alzani, 1998)

Lusuardi Siena, S., 'Alcune riflessioni sulla "ideologia funeraria" longobarda alla luce del recente scavo nella necropoli di S. Martino a Trezzo sull'Adda', in Paroli, *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda*, pp. 365–75

——, 'Città e campagna nell'altomedioevo: riflessioni sull'eredità di un Maestro', in *Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo: inventario di un'eredità*, ed. by S. Lusuardi Siena, M. P. Rossignani, and M. Sannazaro (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2012), pp. 23–32

——, 'Il complesso episcopale: il gruppo cattedrale', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 36–39

——, ed., *La conserva di giazzo: la ghiacciaia del monastero cistercense di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1997)

——, 'I corpi dei santi Gervasio e Protasio a la sepoltura di Ambrogio', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 98–103

——, 'Fonti archeologiche per l'età longobarda in Italia settentrionale: le acquisizioni più recenti', in Lusuardi Siena, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, III, 199–207

——, 'Insediamenti Goti e Longobardi in Italia', in *XXXVI Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, pp. 191–226

——, 'Milano: la città nei suoi edifici. Alcuni problemi', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 209–40

——, 'La necropoli longobardo in località Cascina S. Martino nel quadro dell'insediamento alto medievale a Trezzo sull'Adda (Milano)', in Brogiolo and Castelletti, *Il territorio tra tardo antico e alto medioevo*, pp. 131–48

——, '*Pium super amnen iter*: riflessioni sull'epigrafe di Aldo da S. Giovanni in Conca a Milano', *Arte Medievale*, 2nd Ser., 4 (1990), 1–12

——, ed., *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, vol. III, *Fonti archae-ologiche e iconografiche per la storia e la cultura degli insediamenti nell'altomedioevo* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2003)

——, ed., *I signori degli anelli: un aggiornamento sugli anelli-sigillo longobardi* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2004)

——, 'Topografia della zona di via Torino tra tarda antichità e altomedioevo', in *Milano Ritrovata: L'asse di via Torino*, ed. by M. L. Gatti Perer (Milano: Il Vaglio cultura Arte, 1986), pp. 145–54

——, 'Tracce archeologiche della "deposito" dei santi Gervasio e Protasio negli scavi otto-centeschi in Sant'Ambrogio', *Studia Ambrosiana*, 3 (2009), 125–53

Lusuardi Siena, S., C. Giostra, and E. Spalla, 'Sepolture e luoghi di culto in età longob-arda: il modello regio', in *II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale: Musei civici, Chiesa di Santa Giulia, Brescia, 28 settembre–1 ottobre 2000*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo (Firenze: All'insegna del giglio, 2000), pp. 273–83

Lusuardi Siena, S., E. Neri, and P. Greppi, 'Le chiese di Ambrogio e Milano: ambito topo-grafico ed evoluzione costruttiva dal punto di vista archeologico', in Boucheron and Gioanni, *La Mémoire d'Ambroise de Milan*, pp. 31–86

Lusuardi Siena, S., and M. P. Rossignani, 'Milano, Università Cattolica del S. Cuore: Scavo nei cortili', in *Notizario* (1986), pp. 139–45

——, eds, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, vol. II, *Dall'antichità al medioevo: Aspetti insediative manufatti* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2003)

Lusuardi Siena, S., M. P. Rossignani, and M. Sannazaro, eds, *L'abitato, la necropoli, il mon-astero: Evoluzione di un comparto del suburbio milanese all luce degli scavi nei cortili dell'Università Cattolica* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2011)

Lusuardi Siena, S., and others, 'Recenti indagini nel complesso episcopale milanese', *Archeologia, Uomo, Territorio*, 30 (2011), 65–75

Luzzatto, G., 'Changes in the Italian Agrarian Economy (from the Fall of the Carolingians to the Beginning of the Eleventh Century)', in *Early Medieval Society*, ed. by S. Thrupp (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), pp. 206–18

——, *An Economic History of Italy in the Middle Ages*, trans. by P. J. Jones (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961)

Maassen, F., 'Eine Mailänder synode vom Jarhe 863', *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 49 (1865), 306–09

Mabillon, J., *Museum Italicum, seu collection veterorum scriptorium ex bibliothecis italicis*, ed. by J. N. e M. German (Paris: Montalant, 1724)

MacKie, G., *Early Christian Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003)

——, 'Symbolism and Purpose in an Early Christian Martyr Chapel: The Case of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan', *Gesta*, 34 (1996), 91–101

——, 'Warmundus of Ivrea and Episcopal Attitudes to Death, Martyrdom and the Millennium', *PBSR*, 78 (2010), 219–63

MacLean, S., '"After his death a great tribulation came to Italy...": Dynastic Politics and Aristocratic Factions after the Death of Louis II, *c*. 870–*c*. 890', *Millennium Jahrbuch*, 4 (2007), 239–60

——, 'The Carolingian Response to the Revolt of Boso, 879–87', *EME*, 10 (2001), 21–48

——, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

——, *Ottonian Queenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

——, 'Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe, *P&P*, no. 178 (2003), 3–38

MacMullan, R., *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997)

Macphail, R. I., 'The Reworking of Urban Stratigraphy by Human and Natural Processes', in *Urban–Rural Connexions: Perspectives from Environmental Archaeology*, ed. by A. R. Hall and H. H. Kenward (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1994), pp. 13–43

Macphail, R. I., H. Galinié, and F. Verhaeghe, 'A Future for Dark Earth?', *Antiquity*, 77 (2003), 349–58

Maddicott, J., 'Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred', *P&P*, no. 123 (1989), 3–51

Magistretti, M., 'Del "Quodlibet" di Francesco Castelli e del preposto Giovanni Pietro Visconti di Mafiolo, entrambi Ordinari della Chiesa Milanese (sec. xvi)', *ASL*, 45 (1918), 1–30

Magnani, A., and Y. Godoy, *Teodolinda: La longobarda* (Milano: Jaca Book, 2017)

Majocchi, P., 'La morte del re: rituali funerari regi e commemorazione dei sovrani nell'alto medioevo', *Storica*, 49 (2011), 7–61

——, 'Le sepolture regie del regno italico (secoli vi–x)' <https://www.academia.edu/958803/Le_sepolture_regie_del_regno_italico_secoli_VI–X_repertorio_digitale_a_cura_di_Piero_Majocchi_2007_url_http_sepolture.storia.unipd.it>

——, 'Sviluppo e affermazione di una capitale altomedievale: Pavia in età gota e longobarda', *RMR*, 11.2 (2010), 169–79

Manacorda, F., *Ricerche sugli inizi delle dominazione dei Carolingi in Italia* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1968)

Manaresi, C., 'Un placito falso per il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano', in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica in onore di Vincenzo Federici* (Firenze: Olschki, 1944), pp. 59–78

Mancassola, N., *L'azienda curtense tra Langobardia e Romania: rapporto di lavoro e patti colonici dall'età carolingia al Mille* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2008)

Mannoni, T., and E. Poleggi, 'The Condition and Study of Historic Town Centres in Northern Italy', in *European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History*, ed. by M. Barley (London: Batsford, 1977), pp. 219–41

Mantegna, C., 'Il documento privato di area longobarda in età carolingia', in Erhart, Heidecker, and Zeller, *Die Privaturkunden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 57–71

Manzoni, A., *Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardica in Italia* (Milano, 1870)

Marazzi, F., *I 'Patrimonia Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae' nel Lazio (secoli IV–X): struttura amministrativa e prassi gestionali* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1998)

——, 'Roma in transizione o Roma tardoantica? Spunti di riflessione su un problema di "quasi longue durée"', in Barone, Capo, and Gasparri, *Studi sul medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi*, pp. 317–54

——, 'Rome in Transition: Economic and Political Change in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries', in Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, pp. 21–41

Marcora, C., 'Il Santorale ambrosiano — Ricerche sulla formazione degli inizi al sec. IX', *AA*, 5 (1953), 1–175

Mariani, A., and F. Carminati, *La curtis di Capiate fra tardo antico e medioevo: Scoperte inedite e nuove ricerche sul territorio* (Milano: Associazione Capiate-Radici nel Futuro ONLUS, 2017)

Marino, J. A., ed., *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Mariotti, V., ed., *Un monastero nei secoli: Santa Maria Assunta di Cairate; scavi e ricerche* (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2014)

——, ed., *La Valtellina nei secoli: studi e ricerche archeologiche*, 2 vols (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2015)

Markus, R. A., *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

——, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Markus, R. A., and C. Sotinel, 'Epilogue', in Chazelle and Cubitt, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 265–78

Marrocchi, M., 'Lotario II Re d'Italia', *DBI*, LXVI (2008)

Martindale, J., '"His Special Friend"? The Settlement of Disputes and Political Power in the Kingdom of the French (Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Century)', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 5 (1995), 21–58

Martinelli, L., 'Note sui beni fondiari di un grande proprietario del X secolo: il conte Attone di Lecco', *SSDM*, 1 (1976), 1–15

Martinelli, L., and R. Perelli-Cippo, eds., 'Sant'Abbondio 1010–2010', <http://www.santabbondio.eu>

Martinelli Perelli, L., 'Luci ed ombre nella storiografia sulla Valtellina medioevale', *NRS*, 63 (1979), 603–20

Martinengo-Cesaresco, E. L. H., *Lombard Studies* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902)

Martínez Jiménez, A. J., 'Monte Barro: An Ostrogothic Fortified Site in the Alps', *Assemblage*, 11 (2011), 34–46

Massa, S., 'Il vasellame fine tardoantico dai livelli di "dark" del lotto 3 (UC VII, US 1098)', in Lusuardi Siena and Rossignani, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, II, 131–46

Matthews, S., *The Road to Rome: Travel and Travellers between England and Italy in the Anglo-Saxon Centuries*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 1680 (Oxford: BAR, 2007)

Mayr-Harting, H., and R. I. Moore, eds, *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. C. H. Davis* (London: Hambledon, 1985)

Mazzali, E., and G. Spini, *Storia della Valtellina e della Valchiavenna*, 3 vols (Sondrio: Bissoni, 1968–73)

Mazzi, A., 'Note metrologica: un ragguaglio milanese del secolo IX fra lo iugero romano e il lombardo', *ASL*, 28 (1901), 351–59

——, 'Questioni metrologiche lombarde', *ASL*, 38 (1911), 1–64

Mazzi, M. S., 'Milano dei secoli IX–XII in contributi dell'ultimo trentennio', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 132 (1974), 317–415

McClendon, C. B., 'Church Building in Northern Italy around the Year 1000: A Reappraisal', in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium*, ed. by N. Hiscock (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 221–32

——, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987)

McCormick, M., *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2011)

——, 'Comparing and Connecting: Comacchio and the Early Medieval Trading Towns', in *From One Sea to Another: Trading Places in the European and Mediterranean Early Middle Ages*, ed. by S. Gelichi and R. Hodges (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 477–502

——, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

——, 'New Light on the "Dark Ages": How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy', *P&P*, no. 177 (2002), 17–54

——, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

——, 'Origins of the European Economy: A Debate', *EME*, 12 (2003), 307–24

McGuire, B., *Friendship and Community: The Monastic Experience, 350–1250* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1988)

McKitterick, R., *Books, Scribes and Learning* (London: Variorum, 1994)

——, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

——, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

——, 'Eighth-Century Foundations', in *NCMH*, II, 681–94

——, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977)

——, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians* (London: Longman, 1983)

——, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

——, 'The Illusion of Royal Power in the Carolingian Annals', *EHR*, 115 (2000), 1–20

——, 'Latin and Romance: An Historian's Perspective', in *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by R. Wright (London: Croom Helm, 1991), pp. 130–45

——, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. II, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

——, 'Paul the Deacon and the Franks', *EME*, 8 (1999), 319–39

——, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2006)

——, 'Town and Monastery in the Carolingian Period', *SCH*, 16 (1979), 93–102

——, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)

McKitterick, R., and R. Quinault, eds, *Edward Gibbon and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

McLynn, N., *Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994)

McNamara, M., *The Psalms of the Early Irish Church* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000)

Melucco Vaccaro, A., *I Longobardi in Italia* (Milano: Longanesi, 1982)

Menant, F., *Lombardia feudale: studi sull'aristocrazia padana nei secoli X–XIII* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1994)

——, 'Pour une histoire médiévale de l'enterprise minière en Lombardie', *Annales*, 42 (1987), 779–96

——, 'La Société d'ordres en Lombardie: A propos d'un livre recent', *Cahiers de civilisation Médiévale*, 26 (1983), 227–37

Meneghini, R., and R. Santangeli Valenzani, *Roma nell'altomedievo: Topografia e urbanistica della città dal V al X secolo* (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 2004)

Menghin, W., *Die Langobarden. Archäologie und Geschichte* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1985)

Menis, G. L., 'Le giurisdizioni metropolitiche di Aquileia e di Milano nell'antichità', in *Aquileia e Milano*, ed. by S. Tavano (Udine: Arti grafiche friulane, 1973), pp. 271–94

Mercando, L., and E. Micheletto, eds, *Archeologia in Piemonte: Il medioevo* (Torino: Umberto Allemandi, 1998)

Merino, C. C., ed., *El 'De viris illustribus' de Isidore de Sevilla: Estudio y edition critica* (Salamanca: Consejo Superior de Investicagiones Científicas, 1964)

Messbarger, R., *The Century of Women: Representations of Women in Eighteenth-Century Italian Public Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002)

Meyer, A., *Felix et inclitus notarius: Studien zum italienischen Notariat vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 2000)

Michelotto, P. G., 'La Lombardia romana', in *Storia della Lombardia*, vol. I, *Dalle origini al Seicento*, ed. by L. Antonelli and G. Chittolini (Roma: Laterza, 2003), pp. 21–41

Milani, C., 'Osservazioni linguistiche sul "Sermo beati Thome episcopi Mediolani"', *Aevum*, 45 (1971), 87–129

Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille (VIII–X secolo): Atti del X congresso internazionale di Studi sull'alto medioevo (Spoleto: CISAM, 1986)

Milburn, R., *Early Christian Art and Architecture* (Berkeley: University of Cailfornia Press, 1988)

Milis, L. J. R., *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992)

Miller, M. C., *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000)

——, *The Formation of a Medieval Church: Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993)

Mingay, G. E., 'Arthur Young', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30256> [accessed 24 October 2018]

Mirabella Roberti, M., *Milano romana* (Milano: Rusconi libri, 1984)

Mitchell, J., 'L'arte nell'Italia longobarda e nell'Europa carolingia', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 173–87

——, 'Artistic Patronage and Cultural Strategies in Lombard Italy', in Brogiolo, Gauthier, and Christie *Towns and their Territories*, pp. 347–70

——, 'The Display of Script and Uses of Painting in Longobard Italy', *Settimane*, 41 (1994), 887–951

——, 'Literacy Displayed: The Use of Inscriptions at the Monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Early Ninth Century', in McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 186–225

Mitchell, K., and I. N. Wood, eds, *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden: Brill, 2002)

Mitchell, W. J. T., ed., *On Narrative*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981)

Modzelewski, K., 'La transizione dall'antichità al feudalesimo', in *Annali della Storia d'Italia*, vol. I (Torino: Einaudi, 1982), pp. 5–109

Molinari, M. V., 'Sul codice Vercellese delle leggi longobarde', in Dolcetti Corazza, *Vercelli tra oriente ed occidente tra tarda antichità e medioevo*, pp. 221–47

Momigliano, A., 'Mabillon's Italian Disciples', in Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 277–93

Mompeglio Mondini, G., *La tradizione intorno agli edifici romani di Milano dal secolo IV al secolo XVIII* (Milano: Ceschina, 1943)

Monaci Castagno, A., 'Tradizioni eusebiane e cultura religiosa dal tardo antico all'alto Medioevo', in Dolcetti Corazza, *Vercelli tra oriente ed occidente tra tarda antichità e medioevo*, pp. 1–12

Montanari, M., *L'alimentazione contadina nell'altomedioevo* (Napoli: Liguori, 1982)

——, *Alimentazione e cultura nel medioevo* (Roma: Laterza, 1988)

——, *The Culture of Food* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)

Montanari, M., and B. Andreolli, *L'azienda curtense in Italia* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1983)

Monumenta Monasterii Leonensis Brevi Commentario Illustrata: Accedit Appendix Documentorum ad tria alia monasteria Brixiam spectantium (Roma: Tipographia S. Michaelis ad Ripam, 1759)

Moore, H. L., *Feminism and Anthropology* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998)

Moore, R. I., *The First European Revolution, c. 970–1215* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000)

——, *The Origins of European Dissent* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977)

Mor, C. G., '*Consors regni*: la regina nel diritto pubblico italiano dei secoli IX–X', *Archivio giuridico F. Serafini*, 135 (1948), 7–32

——, 'Un'ipotesi sulla data del "Pactum" c.d. liutprandino coi "milites" di Comacchio relativo alla navigazione sul Po', *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 135 (1977), 493–502

——, 'La storiografia italiana del secolo IX da Andrea di Bergamo ad Erchemperto', in *Atti del 2 Congresso Internationale di studi sull'alto Medioevo : Grado-Aquileia-Gorizia-Cividale-Udine, 7-11 settembre 1952* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1953), pp. 241–47

Mordek, H., *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, MGH, Hilfsmittel, 15 (München: MGH, 1995)

Moretti, A., 'Le chiese collegiate della Svizzera italiana', in *Helvetia sacra*, vol. II, pt. 1, ed. by A. Moretti (Berne: Francke, 1984), pp. 17–37

Moorhead, J., *Ambrose: Church and Society in the Late Roman World* (London: Longman, 1999)

——, *The Roman Empire Divided*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2013)

——, *Theodoric in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

Moreland, J., *Archaeology and Text* (London: Duckworth, 2001)

——, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages* (London: Duckworth, 2010)

——, 'Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy', in Moreland, *Archaeology, Theory and the Middle Ages*, pp. 75–114

——, 'Method and Theory in Medieval Archaeology in the 1990's', *AM*, 18 (1991), 7–42

——, 'Review of Paul Courbin, *What Is Archaeology?*', *History and Theory*, 30 (1991), 246–61

——, 'Wilderness, Wasteland, Depopulation and the End of the Roman Empire?', *Accordia Research Papers*, 4 (1993), 89–110

Moreland, J., and M. Pluciennik, 'Excavations at Casale San Donato, Castel Nuovo di Farfa 1990', *AM*, 18 (1991), 477–90

Moreland, J., and R. Van Der Noort, 'Integration and Social Reproduction in the Carolingian Empire', *World Archaeology*, 23 (1992), 320–31

Moreno, D., 'Activation Practices, History of Environmental Resources, and Conservation', in *Nature Knowledge: Ethnoscience, Cognition, and Utility*, ed. by G. Sanga and G. Ortalli (New York: Berghahn, 2004), pp. 386–90

——, *Dal documento al terreno: storia e archeologia dei sistema agro-silvo-pastorali* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990)

——, 'Domestico *vs* selvatico: annotazioni su tassonomia e storia locale', *QS*, 31 (1996), 87–104

——, 'Review of V. Fumagalli, *Landscapes of Fear*', *Environmental History*, 1.1 (1996), 123–24

Morigia, P., *Historia dell'Antichità di Milano* (Venezia: Appresso i Guerra, 1592)

——, *Sommario delle cose mirabilis della città di Milano: raccolto deal R. P. F. Paolo Morigia* (Milano, 1609)

Morimoto, Y., 'De "modèle du regime domanial" aux "vertus du comparatisme": Quelques considerations introductives', *Revue Belge de Philiologie et d'Histoire*, 90 (2012), 261–72

Mortier, P., *Nouveau Thèâtre d'Italie, ou description exacte de ses villes, palais, eglise*, 3 vols (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1704)

Mostert, M., ed., *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999)

Mostert, M., and P. S. Barnwell, eds, *Medieval Legal Process: Physical, Spoken and Written Performance in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011)

Muir, E., and G. Ruggiero, eds, *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991)

Mumby, J., 'The Descent of Family Land in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research*, 84 (2011), 399–415

——, 'Property Rights in Anglo-Saxon Wills: A Synoptic View', in Nelson, Reynolds, and Johns, *Gender and Historiography*, pp. 159–74

Muratori, L. A., *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi* (Milano: ex typographia Societatis Palatinæ, 1738–42)

——, *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane*, 6 vols (Napoli: a spese di Antonio Cervone, 1783)

——, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vols I–XXV (Milano: Ex typographae societatis palatinae in regia curia, 1723–51)

Murray, A., 'Money and Robbers, 900–1100', *JMH*, 4 (1978), 55–93

Murray, A. C., ed., *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998)

Narducci, L., 'Vincenzo Forcella', *DBI*, XLVIII (1997)

Natale, A. R., 'Falsificazioni e cultura storica in pergamene santambrosiane', *ASL*, Ser. 8, 1 (1948–49), 25–42

Nathan, G., 'The Ideal Male in Late Antiquity: Claudian's Example of Flavius Stilicho', *G&H*, 27 (2015), 10–27

Naval Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook Series: Italy*, vol. II (London: H.M.S.O., 1944)

Navoni, M., 'Dai longobardi ai Carolingi', in Caprioli, Rimoldi, and Vaccaro, *Storia Religiosa della Lombardia*, IX, 83–122

Nees, L., 'Art and Architecture', in *NCMH*, II, 809–44

Negrelli, C., 'Dal VI all'VII secolo: continuità e rotture nella circolazione dei manufatti ceramici tra Romagna e Delta Padana', in *Le forme della crisi: Produzioni ceramiche e commerce nell'Italia centrale tra Romani e Longobardi (III–VIII sec. d.C)*, ed. by E. Cirelli, F. Diosono, and H. Patterson (Bologna: Ante Quem, 2015), pp. 139–49

——, 'Potenzialità e limiti delle ricerche sugli indicatori ceramici nelle regioni altoadriatiche e padane tra tardo antico e alto medioevo', *Post-Classical Archaeologies*, 1 (2011), 139–58

——, 'Produzione, circolazione e consume tra VI–IX secolo: dal territorio del Padovetere a Comacchio', in *Genti del Delta da spina a Comacchio: Uomini, territorio e culto dall'antichità all'alto Medioevo* (Comacchio: Corbo Edit., 2007), pp. 437–72

Nehlsen-von Stryk, K., *Die boni homines des frühen Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der fränkischen Quellen* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1981)

Nelson, J. L., 'Carolingian Royal Funerals', in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by F. Theuws and J. L. Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 131–84

——, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992)

——, *Courts, Elites, and Gendered Power in the Early Middle Ages: Charlemagne and Others* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2007)

——, 'Debate: Trade, Industry and the Wealth of King Alfred, Comment 2', *P&P*, no. 135 (1992), 151–63

——, 'Dhuoda', in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. by P. Wormald and J. L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 106–20

——, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814–898: The West', in *NCMH*, II, 110–41

——, 'Kingship and Empire', in *NCMH*, II, 383–430

——, 'Making a Difference in Eighth-Century Politics: The Daughters of Desiderius', in Murray, *After Rome's Fall*, pp. 171–90

——, 'Making Ends Meet: Wealth and Poverty in the Carolingain Church', *SCH*, 24 (1987), 25–35

——, 'Munera', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 383–401

——, 'Parents, Children and the Church in the Earlier Middle Ages', *SCH*, 31 (1994), 81–114

——, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon, 1986)

——, 'Viaggiatori, pellegrini e vie commerciali', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei Longobardi: Saggi*, pp. 163–71

——, 'The Wary Widow', in Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 82–113

——, 'Women at the Court of Charlemagne: A Case of Monstrous Regiment?', in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. by J. C. Parsons (Stroud: Sutton, 1994), pp. 43–61

——, 'Writing Early Medieval Biography', *History Workshop Journal*, 50 (2000), 129–36

Nelson, J. L., S. Reynolds, and S. M. Johns, eds, *Gender and Historiography: Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012)

Nelson, J. L., and A. Rio, 'Women and Laws in Early Medieval Europe', in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. by J. M. Bennett and R. M. Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 103–17

Neri, E., E. Spalla, and S. Lusuardi Siena, 'Il complesso episcopale di Milano: dall'insediamento romano al duomo visconteo. Una problematica sintesi diacronica', *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 20 (2014), 192–206

Newhauser, R., *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Nicolaj, G., 'Il documento privato italiano nell'Alto Medioevo', in *Libri e documenti d'Italia: dai Longobardi alla rinascita delle città. Atti del Convegno nazionale dell'Associazione*

Italiana paleografi e diplomatisti (Cividale, 5–7 ottobre 1994), ed. by C. Scalon (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1996), pp. 153–98

Niermeyer, J. F., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976)

Niezen, R. W., 'Hot Literacy in Cold Societies: A Comparative Study of the Sacred Value of Writing', *CSSH*, 33 (1991), 225–54

Noble, T. F. X., and J. J. Contreni, eds, *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987)

——, *The Republic of St Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984)

——, 'The Revolt of King Bernard of Italy', *SM*, Ser. 3, 15 (1974), 315–26

Nove, A., *Milano non è Milano* (Roma: Laterza, 2004)

Occhipinti, E., 'Appunti per la storia del Monastero Maggiore di Milan in età medioevale: il problema della origini e la configurazione giuridico-patrimoniale', *SSDM*, 2 (1977), 47–96

——, *Il contado milanese nel secolo XIII: L'amministrzione della proprietà fondiaria del Monastero Maggiore* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1982)

——, 'Immagini di città: Le "laudes civitatem" e la rappresentazione dei centri urbani nell'Italia settentrionali', *Società e Storia*, no. 51 (1991), 23–52

Odegaard, C., 'The Empress Engelberga', *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 77–105

——, 'Imperial Diplomas for Menaggio and Comacina', *Speculum*, 19 (1944), 344–50

O'Hara, A., and F. Taylor, 'Aristocratic and Monastic Conflict in Tenth-Century Italy: The Case of Bobbio and the Miracula Sancti Columbani', *Viator*, 44 (2013), 43–62

Olcese, G., ed., *Ceramiche in Lombardia tra il II secolo a.c. e VII secolo d.c* (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 1998)

Olivieri, D., *Dizionario di Toponomastica Lombarda*, 2nd edn (Milano: Ceschina, 1961)

Oltrocchi, B., *Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium series historico-chronologico*, 3 vols (Milano, 1755)

Orselli, A. M., 'Coscienza e imagini della città nelle fonti tra V e IX secolo', in Brogiolo, *Early Medieval Towns in the Western Mediterranean*, pp. 9–16

Orsini, G. R., 'Vescovi, abbazie, chiese e i loro possessi valtellinesi', *ASL*, Ser. 8, 9 (1959), 147–88

Orsini, P., 'Il monastero di San Vittore di Meda nell'altomedioevo', *I quaderni della Brianza*, 43 (1985), 38–110

Ortenberg, V., *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Ortenberg West-Harling, V., '"Venecie due sunt": Venice and its Grounding in the Adriatic and North Italian Backgound', in Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962*, pp. 237–64

Ovitt, G. O., 'Manual Labor and Early Medieval Monasticism', *Viator*, 17 (1986), 1–18

Padoa Schioppa, A., 'Aspetti della giustizia milanese nell'età Carolingia', *ASL*, Ser. 11, 5 (1988), 9–25

——, 'La giustizia ecclesiastica milanese nell'età di Ansperto', in Padoa Schioppa, *Studi sul diritto canonico medievale*, pp. 127–72

——, *Studi sul diritto canonico medievale* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2017)

Pagani, S., *Milano com'era – Milano com'é* (Milano: Ceschina, 1971)

Palestra, A., 'I cimiteri palaeocristiani Milanesi', *Archivio Ambrosiano*, 28 (1975), 23–47

——, 'L'insula di Ansperto', *Diocesi di Milano*, 7 (1966), 165–70

——, 'Tombe palaeocristiane e altomedievali a Milano', in *Archeologia e storia a Milano e nella Lombardia orientale* (Como: Pietro Ciroli, 1980), pp. 303–15

Panato, M. 'Il Rodano in epoca carolingia (VIII e IX secolo): un sistema economico-fluviale' (unpublished masters dissertation, University of Bologna, 2014–15)

Panazza, G., *Lapidi e sculture palaecristiane e preromaniche di Pavia* (Torino: Viglongo, 1953)

Pandolfi, L. S., 'L'archivio di Sant'Ambrogio di Milano', in *Ambrosiana*, pp. 239–48

——, 'Origine e sviluppo della basilica di S. Giovanni a Monza', *ASL*, Ser. 9, 4 (1964–65), 214–22

Panero, F., *Schiavi, servi e villani nell'Italia medievale* (Torino: Paravia Scriptorium, 1999)

——, 'Servi, coltivatori dipendenti e giustizia signorile nell'Italia padana dell'età carolingia', *NRS*, 72 (1988), 551–82

——, *Servi e rustici: ricerche per una storia della servitù, del servagio e della libera dipendenza rurale nell'Italia medievale* (Vercelli: Società Storica Vercellese, 1990)

Pani, L., 'Aspetti della tradizione manoscritta dell'*Historia Langobardorum*', in Chiesa, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 367–412

——, 'Manuscript Production in Urban Centres: Graphic and Textual Typologies', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 273–306

Pantoni, A., 'Documenti epigrafici sulla presenza di settentrionali a Montecassino nell'alto Medioevo', *Benedictina*, 12 (1958), pp. 205–23; repr. in A. Pantoni and F. Avagliano, *Montecassino: scritti di archeologia e arte*, vol. I (Montecassino: Abbazia di Montecassino, 1998)

Paredi, A., 'I franchi', in Bosisio and Vismara, *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, I, 104–25

——, 'I longobardi', in Bosisio and Vismara, *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, I, 76–103

——, 'Nota storica sui salteri milanesi del IX secolo', in *Minature altomedievali lombarde* (Milano: Banco Ambrosiano, 1978), pp. 151–78

——, 'Paulinus of Milan', *Sacris Erudiri*, 14 (1963), 206–30

——, 'I re d'Italia', in Bosisio and Vismara, *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, I, 126–47

Parisse, M., and O. Oexle, eds, *L'Abbaye de Gorze au X siècle* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993)

Paroli, L., ed., *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda: atti del convegno, Ascoli Piceno, 6–7 ottobre 1995* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1997)

Paroli, L., and P. Delogu, eds, *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo all luce dei recenti scavi archaeologici* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1993)

Pasini, C., 'Chiesa di Milano e Sicilia: punti di contatto sal IV all'VIII secolo', in Pricoco, Rizzo Nervo, and Sardella, *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria tra IV e VIII secolo*, pp. 365–98

Pasquali, G., 'La corvée nei politicci italiani dell'alto medioevo', in Fumagalli, *Le Prestazione d'opera elle campagne Italiane del Medioevo*, pp. 107–28

——, 'Gestione economica e controllo sociale di S. Salvatore – S. Giulia dall'epoca longobarda all'età comunale', in Stella and Brentegani, *S. Giulia di Brescia*, pp. 131–46

——, 'Olivi e olio nella Lombardia prealpina: la coltura e la resa agricola in un sistema Curtense', *SM*, Ser. 3, 13 (1972), 257–65; repr. in Brugnoli and Varanini, *Olivi e olio nel medioevo italiano*, pp. 121–30

——, 'I problemi dell'approvvigionamento alimentare nell'ambito del sistema curtense', *AM*, 8 (1981), 93–116

Passi Pitcher, L., 'Cremona', in Brogiolo, *Archeologia Urbana in Lombardia*, pp. 105–15

Patitucci Uggeri, S., 'Il delta Padano nell'età dei Goti', in *XXXVI Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, pp. 269–322

Pavoni, R., *Liguria medievale: da provincia romana a stato regionale* (Genoa: ECIG, 1992)

Paxton, F. S., *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990)

Pearce, M., 'Le città fallite: Considerazioni sulla robustezza delle istiuzioni cittadine', *Athenaeum*, 95 (2007), 815–17

——, 'Have Rumours of the "Death of Theory" Been Exaggerated?', in Bintliff and Pearce, *The Death of Archaeological Theory?*, pp. 80–87

——, *Il territorio di Milano e Pavia tra mesolitico e prima età di ferro: Dalla carta archeologica alla ricostruzione del paesaggio* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994)

Pearce, M., E. Calandra, and M. G. Diani, 'Riso amaro: Recent Field Survey in the Lomellina (PV)', in *Papers of the Fourth Conference on Italian Archaeology*, ed. by E. Herring, R. Whitehouse, and J. Wilkins (London: Accordia, 1992), III, 119–22

Pearce, M., and P. Tozzi, 'Map 39 *Mediolanum*', in *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World: Directory*, ed. by R. J. A. Talbert, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 573–86

Pearson, K. L. 'Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 1–32

Peccatori, S., ed., *Insula Ansperti: il complesso monumentale di S. Satiro* (Milano: Banco Agricola Milanese, 1992)

Pedrana, C., 'Sentieri e strade storiche in Valtellina e nei Grigioni: dalla pre istoria all'epoca austro-ungarica' (2004), <http://www.castellomasegra.org/saggi/strade.pdf> [accessed 9 December 16]

Pellegrini, G. B., *Toponomastica italiana* (Milano: Hoepli, 1990)

Penco, G., 'Centri e movimenti monastici nella Liguria altomedievale', *Benedictina*, 10 (1956), 1–21

——, *Storia del monachesimo in Italia: dalle origini al Mille* (Roma: Paoline, 1961)

——, 'La vita monastica in Italia dell'epoca di S. Martino di Tours', *Studi Anselmiana*, 46 (1961), 67–83

Pensa, P., 'Dall'età carolingia all'affermarsi delle Signorie', in Caprioli, Rimoldi, and Vaccaro, *Storia Religiosa della Lombardia*, IX, 43–85

Percival, J., 'P. Ital. 3 and Roman Estate Management', in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, ed. by J. Bibauw, vol. II, Collection Latomus, 102 (Brussels: Latomus 1969), pp. 607–15

——, 'Seigneurial Aspects of Late Roman Estate Management', *EHR*, 84 (1969), 449–73

Percivaldi, E., 'Il Seprio nel medioevo: appunti su un territorio a la sua storia', in Percivaldi, *Il Seprio nel medioevo*, pp. 13–44

——, ed., *Il Seprio nel medioevo: Longobardi nella Lombardia settentrionale (secc. VI–XIII)* (Città di Castello: Il Cercio, 2011)

Perelli Cippo, R., 'Ricerche sul borgo di Velate e sul santuario de S. Maria di Monte in età medioevale', *NRS*, 56 (1972), 642–74

Peroni, A., 'Il monastero altomedioevale di S. Maria "Teodota" a Pavia: Ricerche urbanistiche e architettoniche', *SM*, Ser. 3, 13 (1972), 1–93

Pertot, G., 'Le fabbriche del monastero attraverso i secoli', in Capponi, *San Maurizio al Monastero Maggiore in Milano*, pp. 19–23

Pestell, T., and K. Ulmschneider, eds, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650–850* (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2003)

Peters, E., '*Quid nobis cum pelago*? The New Thalassology and the Economic History of Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 34 (2003), 49–61

Petoletti, M., 'Copiare le epigrafe nel medioevo: l'epitafio di Ansperto in S. Ambrogio a Milano e la sua fortuna', *IMU*, 43 (2002), 91–114

——, '"Urbs nostra": Milano nello specchio delle epigrafi "arcivescovili" dell'alto medioevo (secoli VIII–IX)', in Foletti, Quadri, and Rossi, *Milano allo specchio*, pp. 13–38

Petrucci, A., 'Alfabetismo ed educazione degli scribi altomedievali (secc. VII–X)', in *The Role of the Book in Medieval Culture*, ed. by P. Ganz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 109–31

——, 'Scrittura e libro nell'Italia altomedievale', *SM*, Ser. 3, 14 (1973), 961–1002

——, *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. by C. M. Radding (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995)

Pettit, E., 'Holiness and Masculinity in Aldhelm's *Opus Geminatum De Virginitate*', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Midde Ages*, ed. by P. H. Cullum and K. J. Lewis (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 2004), pp. 8–23

Peyer, H. C., *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterliche Italien* (Zürich: Europa, 1955)

Pianta, L. del, M. Livi Bacci, G. Pinto, and E. Sonnino, eds, *La popolazione italiana dal medioevo a oggi* (Roma: Laterza, 1996)

Picard, J.-C., *Le Souvenir des Évêques: Sépultures, listes episcopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au xe siècles* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 1988)

Picasso, G., 'Milano nell'età carolingia', in Della Peruta, *Milano antica e medievale*, pp. 181–200

——, 'Il monachesimo nell'alto medioevo', in *Dall'eremo al cenobio: La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, ed. by G. C. Alessio (Milano: Scheiwiller,1987), pp. 5–65

——, ed., *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo: Convegno di studi nel XII centenario: 784–1984* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1988)

——, '*Si quis nefandum crimen...* (Amb. 2, 375): un canone penitenziale milanese dell'alto medioevo', in *Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale*, III, ed. by P. Zerbi (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1975), pp. 213–22

Pilsworth, C., 'Beyond the Medical Text: Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Italian Sources', *Social History of Medicine*, 24 (2011), 26–40

——, 'Could You Just Sign This for Me John? Doctors, Charters and Occupational Identity in Early Medieval Northern and Central Italy', *EME*, 17 (2009), 363–88

——, *Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy: More to Life than Leeches* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014)

——, 'Medicine and Hagiography in Italy, *c.* 800–*c.* 1000', *Social History of Medicine*, 13 (2000), 253–64

——, 'Representations of Sanctity in Milan and Ravenna, *c.* 400–900 AD' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1998)

Pini, A. L., 'Due colture specialistiche del Medioevo: la vite e l'olivo nell'Italia padana', in Fumagalli, *Medioevo rurale*, pp. 119–78

——, *Vite e vino nel medievo* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1989)

Pinto, G., 'Dalla tarda antichità alla metà del XVI secolo', in del Pianta and others, *La popolazione italiana dal medioevo a Oggi*, pp. 15–71

Piras, F., 'L'edificio romano in via Brisa: un settore del palazzo imperiale di Milano', LANX: Rivista della Scuola di Specializzazione in Archeologia, 11 (2012), 35–83

Pirenne, H., 'Un prétendu drapier milanais en 926', *SM*, n.s., 1 (1928), 131–33

Pivano, S., 'Sistema Curtense', *BISI*, 30 (1909), 91–145

——, 'Il testamento e la famiglia dell'imperatrice Angelberga', *ASL*, 49 (1922), 263–94

Pizarro, J. M., *Writing Ravenna: The 'Liber Pontificalis' of Andreas Agnellus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995)

Pizzi, A., ed., *Milano capitale dell'impero romano, 286–402 d.c.* (Milano: Silvana, 1990)

Pochettino, G., 'L'imperatrice Angelberga, 850–90', *ASL*, 48 (1921), 39–141

Poggiani-Keller, R., ed., *Bergamo dalle origine all'altomedioevo: documenti per un'archeologia urbana* (Modena: Panini, 1986)

Pohl, W., 'Frontiers in Lombard Italy: The Laws of Ratchis and Aistulf', in *The Transformation of Frontiers: From Late Antiquity to the Carolingians*, ed. by W. Pohl, I. Wood, and H. Reimitz (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 117–41

——, 'Gregory of Tours and Contemporary Perceptions of Lombard Italy', in Mitchell and Wood, *The World of Gregory of Tours*, pp. 131–43

——, 'Heresy in Secundus and Paul the Deacon', in Chazelle and Cubitt, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 243–64

——, 'History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory', *EME*, 10 (2001), 343–74

——, 'Leges Langobardorum', in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, ed. H. Fix, vol. XVIII (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 208–14

——, 'Paulus Diaconus und die "Historia Langobardorum": Text und Tradition', in Scharer and Scheibelreiter *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, pp. 375–406

Pohl-Resl, B., '"Quod me legibus contanget auere": Rechtfähigkeit und Landbesitz langobardischer Frauen', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 101 (1993), 201–27

Poli Vignolo, C., 'Latuada, Serviliano', in *DCA*, III, 1663–66

Polignano, G., 'La *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano* di Emilio Sereni nella cultura storica egeografica del suo tempo', in *Paesaggi agrari: L'irrinunciabile eredità scientifica di EmilioSereni*, ed. by M. Quaini (Milano: Silvana, 2011), pp. 34–47

Politzer, R. L., *A Study of the Language of Eighth-Century Lombardic Documents* (New York: Columbia University, 1949)

Polonio, V., *Il monastero di San Colombano di Bobbio dalla fondazione all'epoca Carolingia* (Genoa: In Palatio Archiepiscopali Ianuensi, 1962)

Porter, A. K., *Lombard Architecture*, 3 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917)

Power, E., *Medieval People* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1937)

Pricoco, S., F. Rizzo Nervo, and T. Sardella, eds, *Sicilia e Italia suburbicaria tra IV e VIII secolo* (Rubbettino: Soveria Manelli, 1991)

Princi Braccini, G., 'Germanisimi editi e inediti nel *Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*: anticipi da uno spoglio integrale e commentato di fonti latine in vista di un *tesoro* longobardo', *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica*, 9 (1998/99), 191–240

——, 'La glossa monzese alla *Historia Langobardorum*, altri documenti del culto di san Giovanni Battista presso i Longobardi e l'incantesimo del Cod. Vat. Lat. 5359', in Chiesa, *Paolo Diacono*, pp. 427–68

Provero, L., 'Forty Years of Rural History for the Italian Middle Ages', in Alfonso, *The Rural History of Medieval European Societies*, pp. 141–72

Pucci, J., 'Pied Beauty: Paulus the Deacon's Poem to Lake Como', *Latomus*, 58 (1999), 872–84

Puleo, T. J., *The Valtellina and UNESCO: Making a Global Landscape* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2012)

Puricelli, G. P., *Ambrosianae Mediolani Basilicae ac Monasterii hodie Cistercienensis monumenta* (Milano: Typis Joannis Petri Ramellati, 1645)

——, *De SS. Martyribus Nazario et Celso, ac Protaso et Gervaso, Mediolani sub Nerone caesaris, deque basilicis in quibus eorum corpora quiescunt* (Milano: Typis Joannis Petri Ramellati, 1656)

Quadrio, F. S., *Dissertazioni critico-storiche intorno alla Rezia di qua dalle Alpi, oggi detta Valtellina* (Milano: Stamperia della Società Palatina, 1755–56)

Quirós Castillo, J. A., 'Agrarian Archaeology in Early Medieval Europe', *Quaternary International*, 346 (2014), 1–16

Raaijmakers, J., *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c. 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Raby, G. J. E., *A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927)

——, *Secular Latin Poetry*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957)

Racine, P., 'Évêque et cité dans le royaume d'Italie: Aux origines des communes italiennes', *Cahiers de civilisation Médiévale*, 27 (1984), 129–39

——, 'Milan à la fin du XIIIe siècle: 60000 ou 200000 habitants?', *Aevum*, 58 (1984), 246–63

——, 'Poteri medievali e percorsi fluviali nell'Italia padana', *QS*, 21 (1986), 9–32

Rackham, O., and J. Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997)

Radding, C. M., *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna, 850–1150* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988)

Raftis, J. A., ed., *Pathways to Medieval Peasants* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981)

——, 'Western Monasticism and Economic Organization', *CSSH*, 3 (1961), 452–69

Raggio, O., 'Microhistorical Approaches to the History of Liguria: From Microanalysis to Local History. Edoardo Grendi's Achievements', in Balzaretti, Pearce, and Watkins, *Ligurian Landscapes*, pp. 97–103

Randsborg, K., ed., *The Birth of Europe: Archaeology and Social Development in the First Millennium A.D.* (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1989)

——, *The First Millennium A.D. in Europe and the Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Rao, A. M., 'Enlightenment and Reform', in *Early Modern Italy, 1550–1796*, ed. by J. Marino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 229–52

Rapetti, A. M., *Campagne Milanesi: aspetti e metamorfosi di un paesaggio rurale fra X e XII secolo* (Cavallermaggiore: Gribaudo editore, 1994)

——, 'Dalla *curtis* al *dominatus loci*: la proprietà fondiaria nel Milanese tra IX e XII secolo', in Comba and Panero, *Aziende agrarie nel medievo*, pp. 13–57

Rapone, F., 'Il mercato nel regno d'Italia (VIII – metà dell'XI secolo): archeologia e storia' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Venice Cà Foscari, 2010–11)

Rapp. C. *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005)

Reggiori, F., *La basilica Ambrosiana: Ricerche e restauri, 1929–1940* (Milano: Hoepli, 1941)

——, *Guida alla basilica di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milano: Boniardi, 1996)

Rennie, K. R., *The Foundations of Medieval Papal Legation* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

Reuter, T., *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c. 800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991)

——, 'Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire', *TRHS*, 5th Ser., 35 (1985), 75–94

——, 'Property Transactions and Social Relations between Rulers, Bishops and Nobles in Early Eleventh-Century Saxony: The Evidence of the *Vita Meinwerci*', in Davies and Fouracre, *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 165–99

Revel, J., ed., *Giochi di scala: La microstoria alla prova dell'esperienza* (Roma: Viella, 2006)

Reynolds, L. D., and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967)

——, *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983)

Reynolds, S., *Before Eminent Domain: Toward a History of Expropriation of Land for the Common Good* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010)

——, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Re-interpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

——, 'Hypotheses Rather than Models: Settlement and Society in Medieval Europe. A Review Article', *CSSH*, 35 (1991), 630–34

——, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

——, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 1 (1991), 21–42

——, 'Tenure and Property in Medieval England', *Historical Research*, 88 (2015), 563–76

Riccardi, A., *Le vicende, l'area e gli avanzi del Regium Palatium […] di Corteolona* (Milano, 1889)

Richter, M., *Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008)

Ricoeur, P., 'History and Rhetoric', in *The Social Responsibility of the Historian*, ed. by F. Bédarida (Oxford: Berghahn, 1994), pp. 7–24

Rigby, S., 'Historical Materialism: Social Structure and Social Change in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 34 (2004), 473–522

Rimoldi, A., 'La figura di Ambrogio nella tradizione dei secoli iv–x', *La scuola cattolica*, 109 (1981), 375–416

Ring, R. R., 'Early Medieval Peasant Households in Central Italy', *Journal of Family History*, 4 (1979), 2–25

——, 'The Lands of Farfa: Studies in Lombard and Carolingian Italy' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1972)

Rio, A., trans., *The Formularies of Angers and Marculf: Two Merovingian Legal Handbooks* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008)

——, 'Freedom and Unfreedom in Early Medieval Francia: The Evidence of the Legal Formulae', *P&P*, no. 193 (2006), 7–40

——, 'High and Low: Ties of Dependence in the Frankish Kingdoms', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 18 (2008), 43–68

——, *Legal Practice and the Written Word in the Early Middle Ages: Frankish Formulae, c. 500–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

——, 'Self-Sale and Voluntary Entry into Unfreedom, 300–1100', *Journal of Social History*, 45 (2012), 661–85

——, *Slavery after Rome, 500–1100* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Rivoira, G. T., *Lombardic Architecture: Its Origin, Development and Derivatives*, 2 vols (London: Heinemann, 1910)

Rizzi, M., ed., *La città e la sua memoria: Milano e la tradizione di Sant'Ambrogio* (Milano: Electa, 1997)

Roberts, G., *The History and Narrative Reader* (London: Routledge, 2001)

Rocchi Coopmans de Yoldi, Giuseppe, 'Nuovi orientamenti sulla basilica di San Carpoforo e sull'Alto Medioevo comasco', *Arte Lombarda*, 149 (2007), 10–32

Roffia, E., ed., *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda* (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1986)

Rollason, D., *The Power of Place: Rulers and their Palaces, Landscapes, Cities, and Holy Places* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016)

Romeo, C., 'La signoria dell'abate di Sant'Ambrogio sul commune rurale di Origgio', *RSI*, 69 (1957), 340–77

Rondini, L. M., 'L'espansione territoriale del monastero di S. Ambrogio di Milano nella zona pedemontana', in Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*, pp. 429–40

Rösener, W., *Peasants in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992)

Rosenwein, B. H., *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006)

——, 'The Family Politics of Berengar I, King of Italy (888–924)', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 247–89

——, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999)

——, *Rhinocerous Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982)

——, *To Be the Neighbor of St Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989)

Rosenwein, B. H., T. Head, and S. Farmer, 'Monks and their Enemies: A Comparative Approach', *Speculum*, 66 (1991), 746–96

Rossetti, G., 'Ancora sui "loca sanctorum": riprendendo il tema della penetrazione in Cologno del monastero milanese di Sant'Ambrogio', *NRS*, 57 (1973), 439–47

——, 'I ceti proprietari e professionali: status sociale funzioni e prestigio a Milano nei secoli VIII–X. I. L'età longobarda', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 165–207

——, 'Formazione, e caratteri della signoria di castello e dei poteri territoriali dei vescovi sulle città nella Langobardia del secolo X', *Aevum*, 49 (1975), 243–309

——, 'Il matrimonio del clero nella società altomedievale', *Settimane*, 24 (1977), 473–567 (with discussion pp. 555–67)

——, 'Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nei primi due secoli di vita: i fondamenti patrimoniali e politici della sua fortuna', in Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*, pp. 20–34

—— , *Società e istituzioni nel contado lombardo durante il medioevo: Cologno Monzese, Secoli VIII–X* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1968)

Rossi, M., 'Castelseprio nell'alto Medioevo', in *Storia dell'Arte a Varese e nel suo territorio*, vol. I, ed. by M. L. Gatti Perer (Varese: Insubria University Press, 2011), pp. 8–49

——, 'Maestranze pittoriche lombarde agli inizi dell'XI secolo', in *Medioevo: le officine*, ed. by A. C. Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2010), pp. 264–75

——, 'Il problema Castelseprio', in *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto* ed. by V. Pace (Udine: Comune di Cividale di Friuli, 2010), pp. 131–37

Rossignani, M. P., and S. Lusuardi Siena, 'La storia del sito alla luce delle indagini archeologiche', in Gatti Perer, *Dal monastero di Sant'Ambrogio all'Università Cattolica*, pp. 23–48

Rota, C. M., 'Paesi del Milanese scomparsi e distrutti', *ASL*, 46 (1919), 564–82

Rotondi, P., 'Ansperto da Biassono, Arcivescovo di Milano', *ASL*, 22 (1895), 143–53

Rottoli, M., 'Crop Diversity between Central Europe and the Mediterranean: Aspects of Northern Italian Agriculture', in *Plants and People: Choices and Diversity through Time*, ed. by A. Chevalier, E. Marinova, and L. Peña-Chocarro (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014), pp. 75–81

——, 'Reflections on Early Medieval Resources in Northern Italy: The Archaeobotanical Andarchaeozoological Data', *Quaternary International*, 346 (2014), 20–27

Rovelli, A., '774. The Mints of the Kingdom of Italy: A Survey', in Rovelli, *Coinage and Coin Use in Medieval Italy*, Essay XIV

——, 'Circolazione monetaria e formulari notarili nell'Italia altomedievale', *BIIM*, 98 (1992), 109–44

——, *Coinage and Coin Use in Medieval Italy* (Basingstoke: Ashgate Variorum, 2012)

——, 'Economia monetaria e monete nel dossier di Campione', in Gasparri and La Rocca, *Carte di famiglia*, pp. 117–40

——, 'La funzione della moneta tra l'VIII e il X secolo: un'analisi della documentazione archeologica', in Francovich and Noyé, *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano*, pp. 521–37

——, 'Some Considerations on the Coinage of Lombard and Carolingian Italy', in Hansen and Wickham, *The Long Eighth Century*, pp. 195–223

Rusca, R., *Descrittione del Borgo di Campione, et altri luoghi circonvicini, et particolarmente di Lugano* (Bergamo: Valerio Ventura, 1625)

——, *Descrittione di Elimonte, suo vago sito, Privilegi, e Historia, con quella di Civenna, et altri luoghi Circonvicini* (Bergamo: Valerio Ventura, 1624)

Russell, J. C., *Late Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1958)

Russo, G., 'Leggi longobardi nel Codice O.I.2 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Modena', in *Atti del 6° Congresso Internazanale di Studio sull'alto Medioevo*, pp. 607–21

Sacchi, F., *Ianua leti: L'architettura funeraria di Milano romana* (Milano: Edizioni Et., 2003)

Salvadori, F., 'Gli animali nell'economia e nell'alimentazione in Italia', in Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962*, pp. 301–40

Salvestrini, F., 'La piu recente storiografia sul monachesimo italico d'eta medievale (ca. 1984–2004)', in *Percorsi recenti degli studi medievali*, ed. by A. Zorzi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2006), 69–163

Samson, R., 'Populous Dark-age Towns: The Finlayesque Approach', *Journal of European Archaeology*, 2 (1994), 97–129

Sanderson, W., 'The Plan of St Gall Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 615–32

Sannazaro, M., 'Archeologia cristiana a Milano: gli ultimi trent'anni', *Archeologia uomo territorio*, 30 (2011), 45–54

——, 'Chiese e comunità rurali nelle fonti epigrafiche dell'Italia settentrionale', in *Chiese e insediamenti nelle campagne tra V e VI secolo: 9o Seminario sul tardo antico e l'alto Medioevo, Garlate, 26–28 settembre 2002*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo (Mantova: Società Archeologica Padana, 2003), pp. 39–55

——, 'Considerazioni sulla topografia e le origini del cimitero Milanese *ad martyres*', *Aevum*, 70 (1996), 81–111

——, 'Costituzione e sviluppo di centri relgiosi cristiani nelle campagne lombarde: problemi topografici e archeologici', in Brogiolo and Casteletti, *Il territorio tra tardo antico e alto medioevo*, pp. 61–71

——, 'Epigrafia e città', in Augenti, *Le città italiane tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, pp. 81–96

——, 'Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo a Milano', in *Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo: inventario di un'eredità*, ed. by S. Lusuardi Siena, M. P. Rossignani, and M. Sannazaro (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2012), pp. 33–47

——, 'La necropoli *ad Martyres*', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 114–15

——, 'Osservazioni sull'epigrafia della prima età longobarda in Italia settentrionale', in Lusuardi Siena, *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, III, 209–22

——, ed., *Ricerche archaeologiche nei cortile dell'Università Cattolica*, vol. I, *La necropolis tardoantica* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 2001)

——, 'Il suburbio sudoccidentale nell'Altomedioevo', in Ceresa Mori, *L'anfiteatro di Milano e il suo quartiere*, pp. 96–99

——, 'Testimonianze altomedievali e medievali dagli scavi nell'area del monastero di Sant'Ambrogio a Milano', in *Scavi medievali in Italia, 1996–1999*, ed. by S. Patitucci Uggeri (Roma: Herder, 2001), pp. 29–46

Sannazaro, M., C. Cattaneo, and C. Ravedoni, 'La necropoli rinvenuta nei cortili dell' Università Cattolica', in Rizzi, *La città e la sua memoria*, pp. 120–29

Sant'Abbondio – lo spazio e il tempo: Tradizione storica e recupero architettonico (Como: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Centrale Beni Archivistici, Regione Lombardia, 1984)

Santangeli Valenzani, R., *Edilizia residenziale in Italia nell'altomedioevo* (Roma: Herder, 2011)

——, 'Residential Building in Early Medieval Rome', in Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, pp. 101–12

Santoro, C., 'Dell'indizione e dell'era volgare nei documenti privati medioevali della Lombardia', in *Miscellanea di studi lombardi in onore de Ettore Verga* (Milano: [n.pub.], 1931), pp. 285–320

——, 'Rettifiche alla datazione di alcune documenti di *CDL*', *ASL*, Ser. 8, 2 (1950), 228–54

Santos, I., 'Early Medieval Urban Identities in Northern Italy: A Conclusion', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 439–46

Sarris, P., 'Introduction: Aristocrats, Peasants and the Transformation of Rural Society, *c*. 400–800', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 9 (2009), 3–22

——, 'The Justinianic Plague: Origins and Effects', *Continuity and Change*, 17 (2002), 169–82

——, 'The Origins of the Manorial Economy: New Insights from Late Antiquity', *EHR*, 119 (2004), 279–311

Sarti, R., 'Oltre il *gender*? Un percorso tra recenti studi italiani di storia economico-sociale', in *A che punto è la storia delle donne in Italia*, ed. by A. Rossi Doria (Roma: Viella, 2003), pp. 93–114

Sartori, A., *Gente di sasso: parlano gli antichi milanesi* (Milano: Viennepierre, 2000)

——, *Guida alla sezione epigrafica delle Raccolte Archeologiche di Milano* (Milano: Comune di Milano, 1994)

——, ed., *The Milan Museum of Archaeology* (Milano: Comune di Milano, 1995)

Savino, G., 'Per una raccolta dei cataloghi medievali delle biblioteche d'Italia', *SM*, Ser. 3, 31 (1990), 789–803

Savio, F., *Gli antichi vescovi d'Italia dalle origini al 1300 descritti per regioni: la Lombardia*, pt. 1, *Milano* (Firenze: Libreria editrice fiorentina, 1913)

Scaravelli, I., 'La collezione canonica Anselmo dedicata: lo status quaestionis nella prospettiva di un'edizione critico', in *Le storie a la memoria: In onore di Arnold Esch*, ed. by R. Delle Donne and A. Zorsi (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2002), pp. 33–52

Scazzosi, L., 'Lombardy', in Agnoletti, *Italian Historical Rural Landscapes*, pp. 221–45

Scharer, A., and G. Scheibelreiter, eds, *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter* (Wien: Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 1994)

Schmid, K., 'Zur Ablösung der Langobardenherrschaft durch die Franken', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 52 (1972), 1–36

Schroll, M. A., *Benedictine Monasticism as Reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941)

Scott, J. W., 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), 1053–75

——, *Genere, politica, storia*, ed. by I. Fazio (Roma: Viella, 2013)

——, 'Women's History', in Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, pp. 43–70

Screen, E., 'The Importance of the Emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish Civil War, 840–843', *EME*, 12 (2003), 25–51

——, 'Lothar I in Italy, 834–40: Charters and Authority', in Jarrett and McKinley, *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, pp. 231–52

Sella, B., 'Milan', in Kleinhenz, *Medieval Italy*, pp. 708–20

Sella, D., *Crisis and Continuity: The Economy of Spanish Lombardy in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979)

Sena Chiesa, G., and E. A. Arslan, eds, *Felix temporis reparatio: atti del Convegno archeologico internazionale Milano capitale dell'impero romano, Milano, 8–11 marzo 1990* (Milano: Edizioni ET, 1992)

Sennhauser, H. R., ed., *Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbauten frühmittelalterlicher Klöster* (Zürich: VDF, 1996)

Sennis, A., 'Destroying Documents in the Early Middle Ages', in Jarrett and McKinley, *Problems and Possibilities of Early Medieval Charters*, pp. 151–69

——, 'Documentary Practices, Archives and Laypeople in Central Italy, Mid-Ninth to Eleventh Centuries', in Brown and others, *Documentary Culture and the Laity in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 321–35

——, 'Monasteries and Cities: Cultural Encounters', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 191–216

——, 'Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries', in Davies, Halsall, and Reynolds, *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, pp. 275–94

——, '"Omnia tollit aetas et cuncta tollit oblivio": ricordi smarriti e memorie costruite nei monasteri altomedievali', *BIIM*, 106 (2004), 94–138

Sereni, E., *History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape*, trans. by R. Burr Litchfield (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997)

——, *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano* (Bari: Laterza, 1961)

Sergi, G., 'The Kingdom of Italy', in *NCMH*, III, 346–71

——, 'Novalesa fra storia e storiografia', in *Novalesa: Nuove luci dall'abbazia*, ed. by M. G. Cerri (Milano: Electa, 2004), pp. 21–33

——, *Potere e territorio lungo la strada di Francia* (Napoli: Liguori, 1981)

——, 'I rapporti vassallatico-beneficiari', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 137–63

Serie di vite e ritratti de' famosi personaggi degli ultimi tempi (Milan: Batelli and Fanfani, 1818)

Sertoli Salis, R. *I principali toponimi in Valtellina e Val Chiavenna* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1955)

Settia, A. A., 'Boschi e castelli: la dinamica di un rapporto', in *Boschi e controllo del territorio nel medioevo*, ed. by G. Chiarle (Torino: La Cassa, 2008), pp. 11–20

——, *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia padana: popolamento, potere e sicurezza fra IX e XIII secolo* (Napoli: Liguori, 1984)

——, 'Lo sviluppo degli abitati rurali in alta Italia: villaggi, casteli e borghi dall'alto al basso Medioevo', in Fumagalli, *Medioevo rurale*, pp. 157–99

——, 'Longobardi in Italia: necropoli altomedievali e ricerca storica', in Francovich and Noyé, *La Storia dell'alto medioevo Italiano*, pp. 57–69

——, 'Pavia carolingia e postcarolingia', in *Storia di Pavia*, II, 69–158

Sharpe, R., 'King Ceadwalla's Roman Epitaph', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by K. O'Brien O'Keefe and A. Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 171–93

Sheehan, M., 'Sexuality, Marriage, Celibacy, and the Family in Central and Northern Italy: Christian Legal and Moral Guides in the Early Middle Ages', in Kertzer and Saller *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*, pp. 168–83

Shepard, A., and G. Walker, eds, *Gender and Change: Agency, Chronology and Periodisation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009)

Sicardi, G. P., 'Note di toponomastica altomedievale sulla città di Piacenza e il suo suburbio', *Bollettino storico piacentino*, 79 (1984), 69–74

Sigonio, C., *Caroli Signoii historiarum de regno Italiae libri quindecim [...]* (Frankfurt, 1575)

Simone Zopfi, L., 'Cisterna e necropoli romane a Cornate d'Adda (MI)', 2006, <http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2006–62.pdf> [accessed 24 October 2018]

Sinatti D'Amico, F., *Intorno alle norme giuridica nella civiltà giuridica altomedievale* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1971)

——, 'I longobardi nella "Langobardia": una società laica?', in *Atti del 6° Congresso Internazionale* di Studio sull'alto Medioevo, pp. 639–58

——, *Per una città: lineamenti di legislazione urbanistica e di politica territoriale nella storia di Milano* (Todi: Tipografia Tiberina, 1979)

——, *Le prove giudiziarie nel diritto longobarda* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1968)

Sivan, H., *Ausonius of Bordeaux: Genesis of a Gallic Aristocracy* (London: Routledge, 1993)

Skinner, P., *Family Power in Southern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

——, *Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800–1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

——, 'Urban Communities in Naples, 900–1050', *PBSR*, 62 (1994), 279–99

——, *Women in Medieval Italian Society* (London: Longman, 2001)

Skinner, P., and E. Van Houts, *Medieval Writings on Secular Women* (London: Penguin, 2011)

Smail, D. L., *On Deep History and the Brain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008)

Smith, B. G., *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998)

Smith, J. M. H., ed., *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (Leiden: Brill, 2000)

——, *Europe after Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

——, 'Gender and Ideology in the Early Middle Ages', *SCH*, 34 (1998), 51–73

——, 'Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia', in Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, pp. 317–34

——, 'Rulers and Relics *c*. 750–*c*. 950: Treasure on Earth, Treasure in Heaven', in *Relics and Remains*, ed. by A. Walsham, *P&P* Supplement, 5 (Oxford: Oxford Journals, 2010), pp. 73–96

Sonnlechner, C. P., 'The Establishment of New Units of Production in Carolingian Times: Making Early Medieval Sources Relevant for Environmental History', *Viator*, 35 (2004), 21–48

Sotinel, C., 'Les Évêques italiens dans la société de l'Antiquité tardive: L'Émergence d'une nouvelle élite?', in *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardo antica*, ed. by R. Lizzi Testa (Roma: Bretschneider, 2006), pp. 377–404

——, 'The Three Chapters and the Transformations of Italy', in Chazelle and Cubitt, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 85–120

Southern, R. W., 'The Truth about the Past', in *History and Historians*, ed. by R. J. Bartlett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 120–34

Spinelli, G., ed., *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana (secc. VIII– X): atti del VII Convegno di studi storici sull'Italia benedettina Nonantola (Modena), 10–13 settembre 2003* (Cesena: Badia di Santa Maria del Monte, 2006)

——, 'L'origine desideriana dei monasteri di S. Vincenzo in Prato e di S. Pietro in Civate', *Aevum*, 60 (1986), 198–217

Spufford, P., *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Squatriti, P., 'Advent and Conquests of the Water Mill in Medieval Italy', in *Technology and Resource Use in Medieval Europe*, ed. by M. Wolfe and E. Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 125–38

——, 'Digging Ditches in Early Medieval Europe,' *P&P*, no. 176 (2002), 11–65

——, 'The Floods of 589 and Climate Change at the Beginning of the Middle Ages: An Italian Microhistory,' *Speculum*, 85 (2010), 799–826

——, 'La gestione delle risorse idriche nei monasteri altomedievali', in De Rubeis and Marazzi, *Monasteri in Europa occidentale*, pp. 275–88

——, *Landscape and Change in Early Medieval Italy: Chestnuts, Economy and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

——, 'Marshes and Mentalities in Early Medieval Ravenna', *Viator*, 23 (1992), 1–18

——, *Water and Society in Early Medieval Italy, AD 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

——, 'Water-Borne Transport and Communication in North Italy during the Early Middle Ages', in *Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference*, vol. VIII, *Travel Technology and Organization in the Middle Ages*, ed. G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (Zellik: Instituut vor heet Archeologische Patrimonium, 1997), pp. 13–20

——, 'Water, Nature, and Culture in the Early Medieval Lucchesia', *EME*, 4 (1995), 21–40

Stafford, P., *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power: England from the Ninth to Early Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)

——, *Queens, Dowagers and Concubines: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993)

Stancliffe, C., 'Kings Who Opted Out', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by P. Wormald with D. Bullough and R. Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 154–76

——, *St Martin and his Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983)

Steedman, C., *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

Stella, C., and G. Brentegani, eds, *S. Giulia di Brescia: archeologia, arte, storia di un monastero dai Longobardi al Barbarossa* (Brescia: Comune di Brescia, 1992)

Stock, B., *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983)

Stofferahn, S., 'Renovatio Abroad: The Politics of Education in Carolingian Italy', in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. by C. J. Chandler and S. A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2013), pp. 149–63

Stone, R., '"Bound from Either Side": The Limits of Power in Carolingian Marriage Disputes, 840–870', *G&H*, 19 (2007), 467–82

——, 'Carolingian Domesticities', in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. by J. M. Bennett and R. M. Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 229–45

——, 'In Search of the Carolingian "Dear Lord"', in Fouracre and Ganz, *Frankland*, pp. 152–66

——, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012)

Storia di Milano, vol. II (Milano: Treccani, 1954)

Storia di Pavia, vols I and II (Pavia: Società Pavese di Storia Patria, 1987)

Story, J., ed., *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

——, 'Lands and Lights in Early Medieval Rome', in Balzaretti, Barrow, and Skinner, *Italy and Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 315–38

Tabacco, G., *I liberi del re nell'Italia carolingia e postcarolingia* (Spoleto: CISAM, 1966)

——, 'Milano nell'età longobarda', in *Milano e i Milanesi prima del mille*, pp. 19–43

——, *Sperimentazioni del potere nell'alto medioevo* (Torino: Einaudi, 1993)

——, *Spiritualità e cultura nel Medioevo* (Napoli: Liguori, 1993)

——, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Tagliabue, M., 'Cronotassi degli abati di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo (784–1497)', in Picasso, *Il monastero di S. Ambrogio nel Medioevo*, pp. 274–349

Talbert, R. J. A., ed., *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000)

Tartari, C. M., 'Il titolo dell'antica Bascilia di Inzago — Sant'Apollinare in terra ambrosiana', *Terra ambrosiana*, 43 (2002), 57–60

Tatum, G. B., 'The Paliotto of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan', *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944), 25–47

Taylor, C., *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Medieval Quercy* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011)

——, 'The Year 1000 and Those Who Labored', in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. by M. Frassetto (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 187–236

Taylor, F., 'Miracula, Saints' Cults and Socio-Political Landscapes: Bobbio, Conques and Post-Carolingian Society' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nottingham, 2012)

——, 'The Saint, the Abbot and the King: Tenth-Century Monastic Politics in the *Miracula sancti Columbani*', in Valenti and Wickham, *Italy, 888–962*, pp. 85–113

Tcherikover, A., '*Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores*: The Fictitious Carolingian Atrium of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan', *Arte Lombarda*, 149 (2007), 5–9

Tellenbach, G., *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. by T. Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Thacker, A., '*Loca Sanctorum*: The Significance of Place in the Study of the Saints', in Thacker and Sharpe *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, pp. 1–43

Thacker, A., and R. Sharpe, eds, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Tiraboschi, G., *Storia dell'Augusta Badia di San Silvestro di Nonatola*, 2 vols (Modena, 1784–85)

Tizzoni, M, 'Mining and Smelting in Medieval Lombardy', in *Papers of the Fourth Conference of Italian Archaeology*, vol. IV (London: Accordia Research Centre, 1992), pp. 231–34

Tomea, P., 'Ambrogio e i suoi fratelli: note di agiografia milanese altomedioevale', *Filologia mediolatina*, 5 (1998), 149–232

——, 'Le suggestioni dell'antico: qualche riflessione sull'epistola proemiale del *De situ civitatis mediolani* e sulle sue fonti', *Aevum*, 63 (1989), 172–85

——, *Tradizione apostolica e coscienza cittadina a Milano nel medioevo: la leggenda di san Barnaba* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1993)

Toneatto, V., 'Élites et rationalité éonomique: Les Lexiques de l'administration monastique du haut Moyen Âge', in Devroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les Élites et la richesse au haut Moyen Âge*, pp. 71–96

Torre, A., 'Un "tournant spatial" en histoire? Paysages, regard, ressources', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 63.5 (2008), 1127–44

Tosi, M., 'Bobbio e la valle del Trebbia', in *Storia di Piacenza*, vol. I, *Dalle origini all'anno mille*, ed. by F. Ghizzoni (Piacenza: Cassa di Risparmio di Piacenza e Vigevano, 1990), pp. 393–499

Toubert, P., *Etudes sur l'Italie médiévale (IXᵉ–XIVᵉ siecles)* (London: Variorum, 1976)

——, *Histoire du haut moyen âge et de l'Italie médiévale* (London: Variorum, 1987)

——, 'L'Italie rurale aux VIII–IX siecles: Essai du typologie domaniale', *Settimane*, 20 (1973), 95–132

——, 'Il sistema curtense: la produzione e lo scambio in Italia nei secoli VIII, IX e X', in *Storia d'Italia, Annali 6: Economia naturale, economia monetaria*, ed. R. Romano and C. Vivanti (Torino: Einaudi, 1983), pp. 5–63

Turner, K., *British Travel Writers in Europe 1750–1800: Authorship, Gender and National Identity* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001)

Tyler, E., and R. Balzaretti, eds, *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006)

Uboldi, M., *Carta archeologica della Lombardia*, vol. III, *Como: le città murata e la convalle* (Modena: Panini, 1993)

Uggé, S., 'Il monastero di Nonantola', in Bertelli and Brogiolo, *Il futuro dei longobardi: Catalogo*, pp. 214–15

Uhlirz, M., 'Die rechtliche Stellung der Kaiserinwitwe Adelheid im Deutschen und im Italischen Reich', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Germanistische Abteilung*, 74 (1957), 85–89

Vaccari, P., 'Campagne in trasformazione: le aree del centro-nord', in Brogiolo, Marazzi, and Giostra, *Longobardi*, pp. 138–43

——, 'Le città del centro-nord', in Brogiolo, Marazzi, and Giostra, *Longobardi*, pp. 128–33

——, 'I diritti concessi alle città lombarde sulle acque e sui fiumi', *ASL*, Ser. 8, 8 (1958), 204–12

Valenti, M., 'I villaggi altomedievali in Italia', in *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*, ed. by J. A. Quiròs Castillo (Bilbao: Universidad del Pais Vasco, 2009), pp. 29–56

Valenti, M., and C. Wickham, *Italy, 888–962: A Turning Point* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013)

Valenziano, C., '"Sublime altare tuum": la conformazione liturgica dell'altare', in Capponi, *L'altare d'oro di Sant'Ambrogio*, pp. 113–43

Valsecchi, B., 'La scrittura carolina nei documenti notarili milanesi: proposta e ricenzione di un modello (sec. IX–X)', *Aevum*, 69 (1995), 311–45

Van Bavel, B. J. P., 'The Organization and Rise of Land and Lease Markets in Northwestern Europe and Italy, *c.* 1000–1800', *Continuity and Change*, 23 (2008), 13–53

Van Dam, R., *Saints and their Miracles in Late Antique Gaul* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)

Van Houts, E., ed., *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past, 700–1300* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001)

Vasina, A., and others, eds, *Ricerche e studi sul 'Brevarium Ecclesiae Ravennatis' (Codice Bavaro)* (Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1985)

Venturi, F., *Settecento riformatore: da Muratori a Beccaria* (Torino: Einaudi, 1965)

Vera, D., 'Forme e funzioni della vendita fondiaria nella tarda antichità', in *Società romana e impero tardo antico*, vol. III, ed. by A. Giardina (Bari: Laterza, 1986), pp. 367–447

Vercelloni, V., *Atlante storico di Milano, città di Lombardia* (Milano: L'Archivolto, 1987)

Verhaeghe, F., 'Urban Developments in the Age of Charlemagne', in Story, *Charlemagne*, pp. 259–87

Verhulst, A., *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

——, 'The Decline of Slavery and the Economic Expansion of the Early Middle Ages', *P&P*, no. 133 (1991), 195–203

——, 'Economic Organization', in *NCMH*, II, 481–509

——, 'La genese du regime domanial classique en France au haute moyen âge', *Settimane*, 13 (1966), 135–60

——, ed., *La Grand Domaine aux epoques mérovingienne et carolingienne* (Gent: Centre Belge d'Histoire Rurale, 1985)

Verlinden, C., *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, 2 vols (Brügge: De Tempel, 1977)

Veronese, A., 'Monasteri femminili in Italia settentrionale nell'alto medioevo confronto con i monasteri maschili attraverso un tentativo di analisi "statistica"', *Benedictina*, 34 (1987), 354–422

Verri, P., *Storia di Milano* (Milano: Giuseppe Marelli, 1783)

Vignodelli, G., 'Berta e Adelaide: la politica di consolidamento del potere regio di Ugo di Arles', *RMR*, 13.2 (2012), 247–94

——, 'La competizione per i beni fiscali: Ugo di Arles e le aristocrazie del regno italico (926–945)', in *Acquérir, prélever, contrôler: Les Ressources en compétition (400–1100)*, ed. by G. Bührer-Thierry, R. Le Jan, and V. Loré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 151–69

——, *Il filo a piombo: il 'Perpendiculum' di Attone di Vercelli e la storia politica del regno italico* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2011)

Vigotti, G., *La diocesi di Milano alla fine del secolo XIII: chiese cittadine e pievi forensi nel 'Liber sanctorum' di Goffredo da Bussero* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1974)

Villa, C., 'A Brescia e a Milano', *IMU*, 24 (1981) 1–17

Villata, M. G., 'Per una storia del notariato nell'Italia centro-settentrionale', in *Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionen*, ed. by M. Schmoeckel and W. Schubert (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2009), pp. 15–64

Violante, C., 'Arderico', *DBI*, IV (1962)

——, *Atti Privati: problemi di Metodo* (Roma: Il centro di ricerca, 1982)

——, 'Bénéfices vassaliques e "livelli" dans le cours de l'évolution féodale', in *Histoire et société: Mélanges offerts à Georges Duby*, vol. II (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1992), pp. 123–33

——, 'Introduction', in Stella and Brentegani, *S. Giulia di Brescia*, pp. 13–20

——, *La pataria Milanese e la riforma ecclesiastica*, vol. I, *Le premesse* (Roma: Nella Sede dell'Istituto, 1955)

——, 'Per lo studio dei prestiti dissimulati in territorio milanese (secoli X–XI)', in *Studi in onore di Amintore Fanfani*, vol. I (Milano: Giuffrè, 1962), pp. 643–735

——, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale* (Bari: Laterza, 1953)

——, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale*, 2nd edn (Bari: Laterza, 1974)

——, *La società Milanese nell'età precommunale*, 3rd edn (Bari: Laterza, 1981)

——, 'Le strutture organizzative della cura d'anime nelle campagne dell'Italia centro-settentrionale', *Settimane*, 28 (1981), 963–1155

——, *Studi sulla cristianità medioevale: società, istituzioni, spiritualità* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1972)

Visconti, A., 'Su alcune "notitiae investiture" contenute in *CDL*', *Annali dell'Università di Macerata*, 6 (1930)

Vocino, G., 'Caccia al discepolo: tradizioni apostoloiche nella produzione agiografica dell'Italia settentrionale (VI–XI secolo)', in La Rocca and Majocchi, *Urban Identities in Northern Italy*, pp. 357–402

——, 'Framing Ambrose in the Resources of the Past: The Late Antique and Early Medieval Sources for a Carolingian Portrait of Ambrose', in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by C. Gantner, R. McKitterick, and S. Meeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 135–51

——, 'Santi e luoghi santi al servizio della politica carolingia (774–877): *Vitae* e *Passiones* del regno italico nel contesto europeo' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Venice Cà Foscari, 2010)

——, 'Under the Aegis of the Saints: Hagiography and Power in Early Carolingian Northern Italy', *EME*, 22 (2014), 26–52

Vollono, G., 'Constructing Identity in Lombard Italy' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield, 2017)

——, 'Exploring Approaches to Italian Early Medieval Archaeology in Post-Communist Europe', *EX NOVO: Journal of Archaeology*, 1 (2016), 85–96

Walker, D. S., *A Geography of Italy* (London: Methuen, 1958)

Ward, E., 'The Career of the Empress Judith, 819–843' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2002)

Ward-Perkins, B., 'La città altomedievale', *AM*, 10 (1983), 111–24

——, 'Continuitists, Catastrophists, and the Towns of Post-Roman Northern Italy', *PBSR*, 65 (1997), 157–76

——, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

——, *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984)

——, 'The Lombard City and the Urban Economy', in Ausenda, Delogu, and Wickham, *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, pp. 95–117

——, 'The Towns of Northern Italy: Rebirth or Renewal?', in *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700–1050*, ed. by R. Hodges and B. Hobley, CBA Research Report, 68 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1988), pp. 16–27

——, 'Urban Continuity?', in Christie and Loseby, *Towns in Transition*, pp. 4–17

Watkins, C., ed., *Ecological Effects of Afforestation* (Wallingford: CABI, 1993)

——, *Trees, Woods and Forests: A Social and Cultural History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014)

Weiner, A. B., *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992)

Weissengruber, F., 'Benützung des Ambrosius durch Cassiodor', in Lazzati, *Ambrosius Episcopus*, II, 378–98

Wemple, S. F., *Atto of Vercelli: Church, State and Christian Society in Tenth-Century Italy* (Roma: Ediz. Storia e Letteratura, 1979)

——, 'San Salvatore/Santa Giulia: Case Study of the Endowment and Patronage of a Major Female Monastery in Northern Italy', in *Women of the Medieval World*, ed. by J. Kirschner and S. F. Wemple (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 85–102

Werdehausen, A., 'Bramante e il convento di S. Ambrogio', *Arte Lombarda*, 79 (1986), 19–48

West, C., *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c. 800–c. 1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

——, 'The Significance of the Carolingian Advocate', *EME*, 17 (2009), 186–206

——, 'Visions in a Ninth-Century Village: An Early Medieval Microhistory', *History Workshop Journal*, 81 (2016), 1–16

West, G. V. B., 'Studies in Representations and Perceptions of the Carolingians in Italy, 774–875' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1998)

White, H., *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973)

——, 'The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory', *History and Theory*, 23 (1994), 1–33

Wickham, C., 'Aristocratic Power in Eighth-Century Lombard Italy', in Murray, *After Rome's Fall*, pp. 153–70

——, 'La città altomedievale: una nota sul dibattito in corso', *AM*, 15 (1988), 649–56

——, 'Compulsory Gift Exchange in Lombard Italy, 650–1150', in Davies and Fouracre, *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 193–216

——, *Comunità e clientele nella Toscana del XII secolo: le origini del comunerurale nella Piana di Lucca* (Roma: Viella, 1995)

——, 'Early Medieval Archaeology in Italy: The Last Twenty Years', *AM*, 26 (1999), 7–20

——, *Early Medieval Italy* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1981)

——, 'The Economy of Italy and Spain in the Early Middle Ages', in Gelichi and Hodges, *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology*, pp. 335–46

——, 'European Forests in the Early Middle Ages', *Settimane*, 37 (1990), 479–548; repr. in Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 155–99

——, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

——, 'Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry', *P&P*, no. 160 (1998), 3–24

——, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2009)

——, 'L'Italia e L'Alto Medioevo', *Archeologia Medievale*, 15 (1988), 105–24

——, 'Italy and the Early Middle Ages', in Randsborg, *The Birth of Europe*, pp. 140–51; repr. in Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 99–118

——, 'Justice in the Kingdom of Italy in the Eleventh Century', *Settimane*, 44 (1997), 179–255

——, *Land and Power* (London: The British School at Rome, 1994)

——, 'Land Disputes and their Social Framework in Lombard-Carolingian Italy, 700–900', in Davies and Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 105–24; repr. in Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 229–56

——, '"Lawyers' Time": History and Memory in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Italy', in Mayr-Harting and Moore, *Studies in Medieval History*, pp. 56–60; repr. in Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 275–93

——, *Medieval Rome: Stability and Crisis of a City, 900–1150* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

——, 'Monastic Lands and Monastic Patrons', in Hodges, *San Vincenzo al Volturno*, II, 138–52

——, *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Appennines in the Early MiddleAges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988)

——, 'The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism', *P&P*, no. 103 (1984), 3–36

——, 'Overview: Production, Distribution and Demand, II', in Hansen and Wickham *The Long Eighth Century*, pp. 345–77

——, 'Pastoralism and Underdevelopment in the Early Middle Ages,' *Settimane*, 31 (1984), 401–55; repr. in Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 121–54

——, *Il problema dell'incastellamento nell'Italia centrale: l'esempio di San Vincenzo al Volturno. Studi sulla società appenninica nell'alto medioevo* (Firenze: All'Insegnadel Giglio, 1982)

——, 'Problems in Doing Comparative History', The Reuter Lecture 2004 (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2005)

——, 'Problems of Comparing Rural Societies in Early Medieval Western Europe', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 2 (1992), 221–46; repr. with additions in C. Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 201–26; repr. in Wickham, *Land and Power*, pp. 201–26

——, 'Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy', in Davis and McCormick, *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*, pp. 19–31

——, '*The Romans According to their Malign Custom*: Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in Smith, *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, pp. 151–67

——, 'Rural Economy and Society', in La Rocca, *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 118–43

——, 'Rural Society in Carolingian Europe', in *NCMH*, II, 510–37

——, *Sleepwalking into a New World: The Emergence of Italian City Communes in theTwelfth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015)

——, 'Systatic Structures: Social Theory for Historians', *P&P*, no. 132 (1991), 188–203

Wickham, C., and J. Fentress, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992)

Wolfram, H., 'Political Theory and Narrative in Charters', *Viator*, 26 (1995), 39–51

Wood, I. N., 'Entrusting Western Europe to the Church, 400–750', *TRHS*, 6th Ser., 23 (2013), 37–73

——, 'The Franks and Papal Theology, 550–660', in Chazelle and Cubitt, *The Crisis of the Oikoumene*, pp. 223–41

——, 'Jonas, the Merovingians, and Pope Honorius: *Diplomata* and the *Vita Columbani*', in Murray, *After Rome's Fall*, pp. 99–120

——, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (London: Longman, 1994)

——, *The Modern Origins of Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

——, 'Roman Law in the Barbarian Kingdoms', in *Rome and the North* ed. by A. Ellegård and G. Åkerstrom-Hougen (Jonsered: Paul Åströms förlag, 1996), pp. 5–14

——, 'The *Vita Columbani* and Merovingian Hagiography', *Peritia*, 1 (1982), 63–80

Wood, S., *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Wordsworth, C., *Journal of a Tour in Italy with Reflections on the Present Condition and Prospects of Religion in that Country*, 2 vols (London, 1863)

Wormald, P., *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London: Hambledon Press, 1999)

——, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999)

——, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. by S. Baxter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Yoffee, N., and A. Sherratt, ed., *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Zagni, L., 'Carta, breve, libello nella documentazione milanese dei secoli XI e XII', in *Studi in memoria di Giorgio Costamagna*, ed. D. Puncuh, Atti della Società ligure di storia patria, n.s., 43 (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 2003), pp. 1073–91

——, 'Gli atti arcivescovili milanesi dei secoli VIII–IX', *SSDM*, 2 (1977), 5–45

——, 'Note sulla documentazione arcivescovile milanese nel secolo X', *SSDM*, 3 (1978), 5–34

Zanetti, U., 'Les Passions des SS. Nazaire, Gervais, Protais et Celse', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 97 (1979), 69–88

Zanini, E., *Le Italie bizantine: territorio, insediamento ed economia nella provincial bizantina d'Italia (VI–VIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998)

Zardin, D., ed., *Il cuore di Milano: identità e storia di una 'capitale morale'* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2012)

Zastrow, O., *Gli affreschi della basilica e del battistero di Agliate* (Missaglia: Bellavite, 1991)

Zironi, A., *Il monastero longobardo di Bobbio: crocevia di uomini, manoscritti e culture* (Spoleto: CISAM, 2004)

Index

Studies in the Early Middle Ages

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

Titles in Series

The Genesis of Books: Studies in the Scribal Culture of Medieval England in Honour of A. N. Doane, ed. by Matthew T. Hussey and John D. Niles (2012)

Giselle de Nie, *Poetics of Wonder: Testimonies of the New Christian Miracles in the Late Antique Latin World* (2012)

Lilla Kopár, *Gods and Settlers: The Iconography of Norse Mythology in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture* (2012)

R. W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD, vol. I: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages* (2013)

Sacred Sites and Holy Places: Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Space and Time, ed. by Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (2013)

Christine Maddern, *Raising the Dead: Early Medieval Name Stones in Northumbria* (2013)

Landscapes of Defence in Early Medieval Europe, ed. by John Baker, Stuart Brookes, and Andrew Reynolds (2013)

Sara M. Pons-Sanz, *The Lexical Effects of Anglo-Scandinavian Linguistic Contact on Old English* (2013)

Society and Culture in Medieval Rouen, 911–1300, ed. by Leonie V. Hicks and Elma Brenner (2013)

Shane McLeod, *The Beginning of Scandinavian Settlement in England: The Viking 'Great Army' and Early Settlers, c. 865–900* (2014)

England and Rome in the Early Middle Ages: Pilgrimage, Art, and Politics, ed. by Francesca Tinti (2014)

Luigi Andrea Berto, *In Search of the First Venetians: Prosopography of Early Medieval Venice* (2014)

Clare Pilsworth, *Healthcare in Early Medieval Northern Italy: More to Life than Leeches* (2014)

Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England, ed. by Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (2015)

Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe: Integrating Archaeological and Historical Approaches, ed. by José C. Sánchez-Pardo and Michael G. Shapland (2015)

Niamh Wycherley, *The Cult of Relics in Early Medieval Ireland* (2015)